

Dr. Afif Erzen (b. 1913) received a scholarship to study in Germany after graduating at the top of his class from secondary school in Sivas. After completing his preparatory studies (German at the Gymnasium Züllichau) in 1934, he attended the Universities of Berlin (where he worked with Wilhelm Weber), Jena (where he worked with Fritz Schachermeyer on a dissertation on "Metal Extraction and Metal Processing in Eastern Anatolia"). Since Schachermeyer's move to Heidelberg prevented Dr. Erzen from completing his work in Jena, he moved on to Leipzig (Helmut Breue: *Das Aile-xander-reich: Griechische Geschichte*), where he completed his studies in 1940 with a doctoral thesis on "Cilicia Until the End of Persian Rule".

In 1944, Afif Erzen qualified as a lecturer (ancient history) at the University of Istanbul. In 1956, he became a corresponding member and in 1968 a full member of the German Archeological Institute in Berlin. He served until 1983 as chairman of the Department of Ancient History at the University of Istanbul. Afif Erzen has been a guest lecturer at the Universities of Bonn, Munich, Erlangen, Münster, Würzburg, and Tübingen. His most recent lectures have concerned his excavations in Çavuştepe and Ainos. Professor Erzen founded the Center for Historical and Archeological Research in Van in 1987 and the Center for Southeastern European Research in Edirne in 1969. Both institutes have to do with the history of the origins and the significance of the Armenian people, the Hakk, as well as their historical development.

Professor Erzen's international reputation is based on his excavations at Çavuştepe, the most significant Urartian site of our times. The numerous scientific publications that came out of his years of work at Çavuştepe have brought Professor Erzen world wide recognition. The most important of his works are:

Ankara in Antiquity. (Ankara, 1946)

The Founding of the City of Istanbul and Its Names. (Belleten, 1953)

The Settlement Problem of Pamphylia in Antiquity. (Belleten, 1976)

Cyprus in Ancient History. (Belleten, 1976)

The Sea of Marmara and the Straits of Marmara in Ancient History. (Southeastern European Research 1, 1972)

Çavuştepe I (Turk Tarihi Kurumu, Ankara, 1978) and from the same institute, *Eastern Anatolia and Urartians*. (1979). To these must be added the many essays which Dr. Erzen has published on his excavations in Ainos (Enez, Thrace) and most importantly his excavations in Van (the cita-delle), Toprakkale, and Yukariskale. All of these publications were related to Dr. Erzen's Urartian research. Some of them were written in collaboration with the sumerologist, Dr. Emin Bilgic, of the University of Ankara. In this connection, Dr. Erzen's publications, *The Neo-Urartians in the Van Region* (Ankara, 1979) and *Çavuştepe II* (Ankara, 1986), must also be mentioned. The latter, a synthesis of the results of Dr. Erzen's decades of archeological work in Çavuştepe, represents the culmination of his career to date.



The history of Armenian extremism is a *myth* in the true sense of the word - something from the realm of fiction and imagination, something that has been *made into a legend*. At the same time, it is something absolutely alive and potent, as we can see from the acts of terrorism and their horrible consequences. In the early twenties, an Armenian by the name of Aram Andonian published a "collection of documents" (actually they were photographs of "documents"), which he presented as "proof" that the Ottoman government had planned the extermination of the Armenian people. These documents consisted of "orders" that could certainly be compared to the insane acts of a Hitler or a Himmler. Franz Werfel based his tremendous novel, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, entirely on these "extermination orders" of the Ottoman government. He originally did this in good faith, and when he realized that he had been taken in by a forgery, it was too late. Fear of reprisals prevented him from publicly acknowledging his error. The photo shows Armenian children on Musa Dagh, the scene of the novel, where a thriving Armenian-Turkish community still lives today - in spite of the "extermination".

EDITION ZEITGESCHICHTE • FREILASSING – SALZBURG

ERICH FEIGL

A MYTH OF TERROR

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*Armenian Extremism:
Its Causes and Its Historical
Context*



EDITION
ZEITGESCHICHTE

Professor Erich Feigl (b. Vienna, 1931) began writing while still a student but soon switched over to documentary filmmaking. This brought him into the world of the religions and cultures of the Middle and Far East, as well as Central America. He created television series such as "Journey to the Early Christian World", "The Heritage of the Early Christian World", "The Great Religions of the World", "Telegallery", and "Men and Myths". A number of films from these series have won national awards. Individual television specials such as "Musil of Arabia", "On the Streams of Paradise" (about the religious communities of Mesopotamia), "Where the Turks Came From" and "Where the Turks Went" (about the origins and the fall of the Ottoman Empire), as well as the famous TV documentaries about Empress Zita ("Die Kronzeu-gin" and "Kaiserin Zita", first broadcast in 1986) repeatedly brought Professor Feigl into the precincts of the tragic events of 1915 and the history and context of the Armenian tragedy. The same happened in the course of Erich Feigl's work as an author. His great biographies, Kaiser Karl and Kaiserin Zita, as well as his books about Musil of Arabia and Athos (Athos - *Von Hülle zum Paradies*) were all tied to the study of Ottoman history - especially its final phase. A plan gradually took shape for a monograph on the origins and the history of the Armenian tragedy in Anatolia from the eyes of a man with profound knowledge of Anatolia and its Middle Eastern environment. Professor Feigl was already familiar with all the settings and had known many, many witnesses (from both camps) for decades. The preparatory work was already well under way when a shocking event (the murder in Vienna on June 20, 1984 of the Turkish labor attaché, Erdolün İzen, who was a personal friend of the author) led Erich Feigl to produce an extensive film expose of this "myth of terror", which has already claimed so many innocent lives. After more than a year's work on the films, Professor Feigl wrote this book, which is illustrated exclusively with the author's own photographs. The book exposes the roots of Armenian terrorism, which mainly harms the overwhelming majority of Armenians who are unable to come to terms with the reign of terror of a tiny minority. This may well be due in part to uncertainty about the true situation which has led and which continues to lead to Armenian terrorism. This is certainly the case with the public at large, who know nothing more than the unending Armenian terrorist attacks, a few code words like "genocide" and "massacre of the Armenians" and perhaps a few (misinterpreted) facts. This book presents the historical and contemporary contexts plainly and openly. The surprising truth that is revealed here will hopefully help to expose the true face of terror and avert further tragedy.

Attention Members of the U.S. House of Representatives

The undersigned American academicians who specialize in Turkish, Ottoman and Middle Eastern studies are concerned that the current language embodied in House Joint Resolution 192 is misleading and/or inaccurate in several respects.

Specifically, while fully supporting the concept of a "National Day of Remembrance of Mass' Inhumanity to Man," we respectfully take exception to that portion of the text which singles out for special recognition:

"...the one and one half million people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923..."

The reservations focus on the use of the words "Turkey" and "genocide" and may be summarized as follows:

- Even though the modern state until 1922, the area currently known as Turkey, or more correctly, the Republic of Turkey, was part of the territory encompassing the multi-national, multi-religious state known as the Ottoman Empire, it is wrong to equate the Ottoman Empire with the Republic of Turkey in the same way that it is wrong to equate the Hashemite Empire with the Republic of Arabia. The Ottoman Empire, which was brought to an end in 1922, by the successful conclusion of the Turkish Revolution which reconstituted the present day Republic of Turkey in 1923, encompassed lands and peoples which today stretch for more than twenty-five distinct countries in Southeastern Europe, South Africa, and the Middle East, only one of which is the Republic of Turkey. The Republic of Turkey bears no responsibility for any events which occurred in Ottoman times, yet by naming "Turkey" in the Resolution, its authors have implicitly charged it as guilty of the "genocide" it charges occurred between 1915 and 1923.

- As for the charge of "genocide," the signatories of this statement wish to re-emphasize the scope of human suffering. We are likewise cognizant that it cannot be viewed as separate from the suffering experienced by the Muslim inhabitants of the region. The weight of evidence as far as historical points to the discovery of various mass committed warfare perpetrated by Muslim and Christian troops alike, culminated by disease, famine, suffering and massacres in Armenia and adjoining areas during the first World War. Indeed, throughout the region in question, the region was the scene of some of the most continuous warfare, war after the tragedy which has gone on to lay waste to the past decade. The resulting death toll among both Muslims and Christian communities of the region was immense. The death count remains to be

discussed before historians will be able to sort out precisely responsibility between warring and innocent, and to identify the causes for the events which resulted in the death or removal of large numbers of the western Armenian population. Christian and Muslim alike.

Historians and politicians make history, and scholars write it. It has proven to wretched scholars that he given access to the written records of the statesmen and politicians of the past. To date, the relevant archives in the Soviet Union, Iran, Bulgaria and Turkey all remain, for the most part, closed to dispassionate historians. Until they become available the history of the Ottoman Empire in the period encompassed by H.J. Res. 192 (1915-1923) cannot be adequately known.

We believe that the proper position for the United States Congress to take on this and related issues, with encourage full and open access to all historical archives, and not to make changes on historical events before they are fully understood, such change as those contained in H.J. Res. 192 would inevitably reflect unfairly upon the people of Turkey, and perhaps on such important progress historians are just now beginning to achieve in understanding these tragic events.

As the above constitutes the history of the Ottoman-Empire in its death defying attempt scholars, many of whom do not agree with the historical assumptions embodied in the wording of H.J. Res. 192. By passing the resolution Congress will be attempting to determine its legislation which sets a historical precedent in contrast. Such a resolution, based on historically questionable assumptions, can only damage the cause of honest historical inquiry, and damage the credibility of the American legislative process.

Signatories of the Statement of H.J. Res. 192 addressed to the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives:

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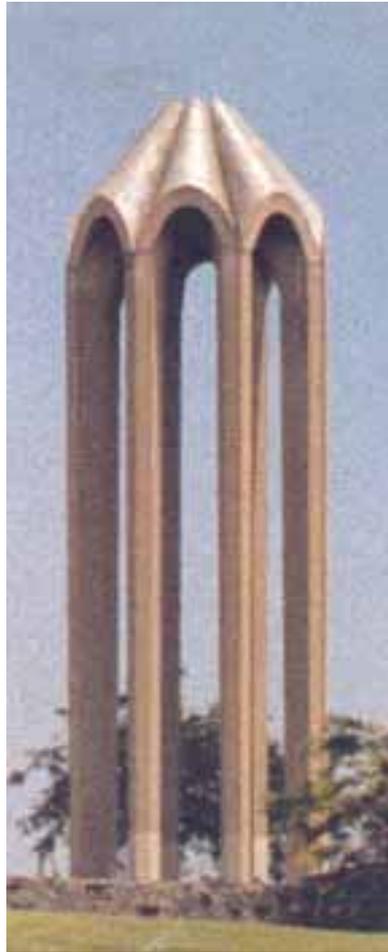
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FROM NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MAY 16, 1982

A MYTH OF TERROR



An Illustrated Exposé by Erich Feigl

A MYTH OF TERROR

Armenian Extremism:
Its Causes and Its Historical Context



EDITION ZEITGESCHICHTE • FREILASSING - SALZBURG

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DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND
ERDOĐAN ÖZEN

A Personal Foreword

"Have you gone crazy?" - "Are you tired of living?" These were the comments of friends and acquaintances when they heard that I was working on a book about the causes and historical context of Armenian terrorism.

Why should *I* be the one to take on such a dangerous subject? . . . Shouldn't it be a matter for the Turks and Armenians to work out among themselves? *All* of my friends considered my project dangerous, even threatening, and I realized that it must be these concerns, these fears, that have until now prevented unbiased accounts of the historical reality behind Armenian terrorism from appearing. People are obviously afraid of reprisals and therefore leave the whole issue to the advocates of reckless violence, who control virtually all the literature on the subject. In virtually every publication that discusses the Armenian question or Armenian terrorism, the authors plead for "understanding" toward terror. This is just as remarkable as when terrorist organizations claim "responsibility" after an attack.

With this "responsibility" - or rather with the perversion of this noble concept - they pretend to have "power" by creating the illusion of "justice", and with this legitimation they play fate, shoot down the reluctant and blackmail the hesitant.

It is not only human beings who have fates, however, but films and publications as well. HABENT SUA FATA LIBELLI, "books have fates", wrote Terentianus Maurus around 200 A.D., and in the preceding verse he says resolutely, "PRO CAPTU LECTORIS", "according to the grasp of the reader".

I had two key experiences in this connection following the appearance of the German edition of this book. The first was with a very high official of the Armenian Orthodox (Gregorian) Church of Central Europe who, in the course of a meeting with the (Catholic) Mekhitarists (who truly have nothing to do with this statement), said to my face, "How dare you set the worthless Turks off against the dead Armenians in your book!" When I asked in horror if I had understood correctly, he repeated even more vehemently, "Yes, I said the worthless Turks!"

The next question which this "shepherd" directed at me - whether I "as a Christian" could justify "taking sides with the Mohammedans" - sinks almost to the level of a review in the Austrian central organ of the Socialist Party, the "AZ" of April 14, 1987, in which a woman by the name of Annette Höss - at the beginning of a lengthy discussion, in which she does not spend a single syllable dealing with the central assertions of this book - dogmatically declares: "The genocide perpetrated against the Armenians living in Turkey at the time of the First World War has been portrayed in many books and has long been recognized by the world public."

Now we know: Whatever is "recognized by the world public" must also be "true".

Mankind has known this "world public" at least since Copernicus realized that the Earth revolves around the Sun. The "world public" did not recognize that, either. The truth did prevail, however, even if it took the "world public" quite a long while to separate fact from rumor, and even if the rumor was so very ingenious (and wrong). These experiences and other developments which followed the publication of the German edition of this book, along with comments of friends and colleagues, have led me to issue this new version in the English language with several additions and slight amendments, some of which have been made necessary by recent events.

My first encounter with the Turkish-Armenian tensions came many years ago when I was making one of my many documentary films about religious communities of the Middle and Far East. I had a meeting with the Armenian Catholicos of Sis, who lived in the elegant Beirut suburb of Antelias. He spoke solemnly of the Turkish slaughter of two million Armenians. I took the words of His Holiness very seriously, and for many years I based my own opinion upon them.

As time went by, I saw more and more of the world. I made many friends - kind, engaging, highly educated Armenian friends, and also Turkish friends.

The "Armenian Question" never directly touched the subjects that I was dealing with, but nevertheless I inevitably encountered the issue in the course of my innumerable film projects in Anatolia and throughout the Near East, whether in Istanbul, Van, Baghdad, Teheran, or for that matter even in the United States. I quickly observed that the severity of the words and arguments that people use is directly proportional to the distance from Turkey. Armenians living in Turkey or dividing their time between Istanbul and Europe speak with moderation and understanding, whereas those in Rio or Los Angeles, who have never seen a Turk in their lives, can be very vehement and one-sided.

My personal relationship to this issue changed from one second to the next when I heard the news of a bomb explosion in front of the Turkish Embassy on Prinz Eugen Street in Vienna. The Turkish labor and social affairs attache, Erdogan Özen, lost his life in that explosion. I knew Erdogan Özen very well.

He had been an enthusiastic, dedicated worker. His job had been to help Turkish workers in Austria and to take care of their problems. He had carried out those duties expertly and conscientiously. But there was more: I often heard him talk in those days of his eleven or twelve year old son, Murad. I saw the love in his eyes that tied him to his child and to his wife, Monika.

Erdogan Özen was born long after the end of the First World War and had absolutely nothing to do with the tragic events of 1915, which cost so many Armenians and Moslems their lives.

Moreover, I can say with absolute certainty, based on my friendship to him and everything that I know about him: had Erdogan Özen lived in those days and come into con-

tact with needy or persecuted Armenians, he would have helped them.

In the same instant that I heard the news of Erdogan's death, I decided to do something, something within the realm of my capabilities. After researching the subject thoroughly and meeting with a tremendous number of people, I made a series of films about this "myth of terror", and I wrote this book. The book, at least the large portion consisting of illustrations, grew out of the film work. The subject of this book is indeed a "myth" . . . in the true sense of the word. It is something from the realm of fiction and imagination, something that has been "made into a legend".

At the same time though, it is something absolutely alive and potent, as we can see from the acts of terrorism and their horrible consequences.

Present-day historians and commentators contribute little or nothing to our understanding of the circumstances under which so many Armenians were forced to endure such tragic suffering back then in 1915 - back then when so many Moslems had to endure the same kinds of sickness, hardship, and death. No one talks much about them, but they suffered at least as much as their Armenian brothers.

The key to Armenian terror is *history*. *History* is the cause of the terror, and at the same time, it is the *only* cure. Armenian terrorism is rooted in a certain view of history. Those who are waging the "struggle" for the cause of "Armenia", for "justice", or for plain old revenge are the ones who have figured out this view (or more accurately, they have had it drilled into them, since these youths could hardly have researched the history themselves). Only when we succeed in disproving this view of history will it be possible to stop the tragic "myth of terror" and to start building a future of mutual forgiveness and understanding.

As I see it, correcting our view of history is the only answer. The cream of the innocent, idealistic, impressionable Armenian youth is being driven onto the bloody battlefield of terrorism. The old, experienced rat kings who misuse these youths have obviously known the score all along.

Every young man who assumes command of a terrorist squad needs a *raison d'etre* - a philosophy and a cause for which he can risk his life and his freedom. The terrorists of other organizations, such as the I.R.A. and ETA, are ultimately fighting for a piece of land, for power within certain borders. In the case of *Armenian* terrorism, however, this motive can hardly be said to exist. Even the most insane terrorist has no intention of re-creating "Greater Armenia" as it existed for a few decades, two thousand years ago. And anyway, Eastern Anatolia would certainly be far too boring for *these* people.

No: Armenian terrorists represent a unique case. *Their* view of history, their understanding of what happened in 1915 and before and after, is their *only* justification. Their motive is *revenge*, and in their eyes - according to their

version of history - the "crimes" they are avenging are sufficient justification for the murder of a man like Erdogan Özen. Even the inevitability of injuring or even killing totally innocent bystanders, airline passengers, department-store customers, or policemen is fully accepted. And the fact that all this bloodshed comes generations after the "crimes" that supposedly provoked it makes no difference either.

The Armenian view of history is for the most part shared by the public at large. That is no surprise, and it should not be taken as a reproach. Virtually *all* the information that we have concerning the tragic events of 1915 comes from Armenian sources or from others who know nothing - or at least pretend to know nothing - about the much greater suffering endured by the Moslems at the time. The available information also presents a very incomplete, one-sided view of the events *leading up to* the tragedy of 1915.

While doing the background research for this book and for my films, I took great pains to collect information from a broad spectrum of sources. In so doing, I met many people to whom I owe the deepest respect: His Beatitude the Armenian Apostolic Patriarch Snork Kalutsyan of Istanbul, for example, and the doctors and nurses of the Armenian hospital in the same city. I mention these people here in lieu of the many, many noble Armenians whom I know - from scholars and intellectuals to the Armenian farmers and their families who live on Musa Dagh, made famous by Franz Werfel.

I did, of course, also meet other people in the course of my research work. I especially recall Dr. Gerard Libaridian, the head of the Armenian Zorian Institute. I spent several hours with Dr. Libaridian in his office in Cambridge, Massachusetts and had an extremely interesting conversation with him. Dr. Libaridian is a brilliant man, bubbling with vitality, knowledge, talent, and self-confidence. One could write a very compelling play based on my conversation with him.

I kept notes of my host's most provocative statements in this fascinating discussion. Several times he mentioned the so-called "Andonian papers". In the early twenties, an Armenian by the name of Aram Andonian published a "collection of documents" (actually they were photographs of "documents"), which he presented as "proof" that the Ottoman government had planned the extermination of the Armenian people. Basically, these "documents" consisted of "orders" that could certainly be compared to the insane acts of a Hitler or a Himmler.

Franz Werfel based his splendid novel, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, entirely on these "extermination orders" of the Ottoman government. Of course he originally did this in good faith, and when he found out that he had been taken in by a forgery, it was too late. Out of fear of Armenian reprisals, he did not even dare to publicly acknowledge his error.

Since it seemed reasonable to assume that Dr. Libaridian knew that the papers were forgeries, I did not want to

waste a single word on the subject. There were so many other, more interesting things to talk about. But remarkably enough, he stuck with Aram Andonian's book and its "documents". Finally, I had to say, "But Doctor Libaridian, you know as well as I that these 'Andonian papers' are forgeries!"

I will never forget Dr. Libaridian's answer or his facial expression as he replied simply and briefly to my reproach:

"And?"

. . . and I will never forget that answer. It was not even cold; it was the casual, matter-of-fact reply of one who has long since found other strategies but does not even bother to clean house, since he knows that the old dirt can be swept under the rug of history and - who knows? - maybe someday it will come in handy again to help obscure the truth.

It is a very tiny minority of Armenians who promote terrorism and misuse the idealistic, impressionable young people for their own irrational motives and objectives. The ironic tragedy of it all is that the people pulling the strings are themselves hanging from the strings of powerful puppet-masters. Or to use another analogy, they are nothing more than ridiculous little chess pieces in the game of the superpowers, who sacrifice their Armenian pawn whenever it seems to suit their game-plan.

INTRODUCTION

By Afif Erzen, Istanbul

It is hard to imagine anything that could be as detrimental to the search for historical truth as mixing *stories* with *history* - or worse yet, confusing one for the other. A similar error involves the confusion of politics with the use of violence. All too often, such confusions are the result of interest groups (seldom of peoples, who always want peace) laying claim to their "historical homeland". Such "historical demands" have always meant war, or at least terrorism, an ugly variation on war.

The right to sovereignty and independence can only be seen as legitimate when it is bound up with the rights of a majority. Anything else would contradict our commonly recognized democratic principles. Even the Armenian apologists for an "Armenian state" on Turkish territory clearly share this way of thinking. This is demonstrated by their support of the Greek Cypriots over the Turkish minority.

Many people try to give a superficial glimmer of "legitimacy" to the contemporary Armenian claims to Turkish lands in eastern Anatolia. These people are simply ignoring the fact that those demands violate the law of nations and international law since virtually no Armenians whatsoever live in the regions claimed. The standard counter-argument that Armenians once lived in these areas is indeed correct, but it fails to consider one important fact:

Even before 1915, the Armenians only made up a small minority (roughly a sixth) of the population in the land claimed by them. This minority had not enjoyed any kind of national sovereignty since long before the arrival of the Seljuks in Anatolia - in other words, for nearly a millennium. Aside from that, the Armenian minority was in a "state of war" with their own Ottoman government in 1915. The Armenians' own national leaders confirmed this repeatedly. They had started a civil war that had produced a genuine bloodbath among the Islamic inhabitants in eastern Anatolia, mainly in Van.

Another myth, which is equally detrimental to historical truth, involves the attempt to justify Armenian claims to eastern Anatolia on the basis of the alleged "descent" of the Armenians from the Urartians. In virtually every publication put out or supported by the Armenian side, there appears, in one form or another, a certain picture of history. This picture gives the impression that the history of the Haik - as the "Armenians" call themselves - in eastern Anatolia goes back to the second millennium before Christ. This impression is created by simply tacking the history of the Urartians onto that of the Haik. This is made much easier by the fact that many people today confuse the inhabitants of the historical province of Armenia with "the Armenians", who actually call themselves "Haik", as mentioned above, and are only one of the countless groups that have lived in the historical region of Armenia in the course of history.

This appropriation of the history of Urartu is the final attempt of certain Armenian historians and propagandists to bridge the gap between the Haik and their political and historical claims to the historical province of Armenia.

This effort was begun after an older attempt, claiming that the Haik were the first legitimate heirs of Noah (based on the Ararat legend), failed due to sheer ludicracy.



The Urartian king Menua built the Shamram Canal nearly 3000 years ago to bring water to the plain of Van. It has served an incredible variety of peoples and masters: Urartians, Medes, Armenians, Persians, Romans and Byzantines, Seljuks, Ottomans, and all the Turkic tribes who have lived here since the beginning.

Geographical and Historical Background

The land that concerns us here, eastern Anatolia, is a region of rugged mountains and elevated plains. The dramatic overall impression that it makes distinguished it from the rest of Anatolia. Average elevation here is 2000 meters, as opposed to only 1000 meters in the rest of Anatolia. The lowest point in the region is the Iğdir Plain at 875 meters above sea level. Lake Van, the dominant feature of the eastern Anatolian landscape, was created ages ago by the eruption of the volcano Nemrud. The masses of lava from the volcano blocked drainage from the basin. A large part of eastern Anatolia drains to the north, by way of the Kura and Aras rivers to the Caspian Sea, but the Tigris and the Euphrates flow south to the Gulf. These streams played a crucial role in the formation of the cultures of Mesopotamia. They not only brought water to the area, but fertile soil as well.

Eastern Anatolia, which stretches west to the foothills of the Taurus Mountains, also played a crucial role in the history of the Turkic peoples and their relatives. Cave-drawings in eastern Anatolia, which date back as far as the fifteenth millenium before Christ, provide evidence of the ancient tie between the inhabitants of eastern Anatolia and the peoples of Inner Asia. Particularly noteworthy are the ties to the Altai region, a cradle of the Turkic peoples, and to other areas of concentration of this race. Extensive excavations were carried out in the area around Elazığ during the construction of the Keban Dam. (This is the area in which the Tigris and the Euphrates have their sources.) Thanks to this work, we now know that there was a strong cultural unity in the area bordered by the Caucasus in the north, Lake Urmia in the east, northern Syria in the south, and the region around Malatya-Elazığ. Depending on the emphasis of the excavation and the richness of the finds, the cultures of this huge zone have been given names like "Kura-Aras Culture", "Yanik Culture", "Karaz Culture", "Early Transcaucasian Culture", "Eastern Anatolian Early Bronze Age Culture", and "Early Hurri Culture". All of these cultures have one thing in common: They are all of Hurrian origin. That means that they belonged to a cultural group with a language similar to that of the peoples of the Ural-Altai language family. The Turks also belonged to this group. The Hurrians were of Asian origin. It is therefore correct to refer to all the above-mentioned cultures as "early Hurri Culture", since they all sprang up in the lap of the Hurrians.

The Hurrians also established the cultural basis on which the kingdom of Urartu was later built. The Urartian kingdom lasted more than three centuries, from the beginning of the first millenium before Christ. It encompassed the highlands of Anatolia, northwestern Iran, Transcaucasia, and the Urfa-Halfeti region in the south. At times, it even included the area around Aleppo and the lands up to Malatya-Elazığ in the west.

For a long time, the predominate view was that Hurrian



Power and impotence of the Urartian kingdom, as documented in the stones of Çavuştepe-Sardurihinili. Above, the stones of the wall surrounding the royal castle. Cut and placed with unbelievable precision, they date from the reign of Sardur II (764–735 B. C), who built Sardurihinili. Below, the stones of the castle itself. They show the marks left by the great fire which ravaged the castle in the last decade of the seventh century B. C. (probably in the year 609). It broke out in the wake of the Scythian conquest of the castle and the plundering and arson that followed. In the rubble beneath the wall, the excavators led by Professor Afif Erzen found thousands of Scythian arrowheads . . . There is no evidence whatsoever of settlements in the millenium following the Scythian conquest. The same goes for the other great Urartian fortresses.



culture (and therefore Urartian culture as well) had its origins in the Transcaucasia of northwestern Iran. Consequently, it was assumed that the Hurrian culture spread from North to South as far as Syrian territory. It has now been established, however, that there was a highly developed Neolithic culture in the region of Elazığ, older than the Chalcolithic culture, and that this Neolithic culture of eastern Anatolia continued without a break with very distinctive, specifically Anatolian features. Early Paleolithic stone tools were discovered in Eskini-Sefini by Professor Kilic Kokten, and further discoveries in Pulur and Tepecik



The flat hilltop of (Çavuştepe. Here, Professor Afif Erzen excavated the Urartian double fortress of Sardurihinili.

prove that there were settlements there between 6000 and 5000 B.C. Together, these discoveries provide more crucial evidence to indicate that the Early Hurri Culture had its origins in eastern Anatolia. From there, Hurrian culture spread to northern Syria, Transcaucasia, and Lake Urmia.

The technique of building round houses, which is so important to all Turkish tribes, was inherited from the Hurrians.

Cuneiform tablets found in the Harbour Valley prove that Hurrians were living in eastern Anatolia in the third millennium before Christ - in other words, roughly at the time of the Accadians. Toward the end of the third millennium, Indo-European Hittite tribes pushed their way across the Caucasus to eastern Anatolia. The settlement of the Hittites in Anatolia two thousand years before Christ brought a number of changes to the life of the Hurrians of eastern Anatolia. Metalcraft and trading in metals gained rapidly in importance, as did the raising of livestock. In spite of this shifting of the economic base, however, Hurrian culture remained largely unchanged. The protection provided by the mountains certainly played a role in this as well.

Starting at the beginning of the Bronze Age, the population of eastern Anatolia grew steadily, and stable village communities started to form. As pastureland gradually became scarce, the semi-nomadic way of life evolved. This has left its mark on Anatolia right up to the present day. In the course of a prolonged dry-period, the settlements grew denser, especially on the plateau around Lake Van. In spite of the scarcity of written records from this period, it has been established that the center of Hurrian settlement in the second millennium B.C. was around Lake Van.



The foundation inscription of Sardurihinili was discovered in incredibly good condition by Afif Erzen. It was written in Urartian, an Asian, agglutinative language showing strong similarities to the Ural-Altaic language family and in particular to Turkish. The inscription has been translated by Emin Bilgic (sumerologist at Ankara University):

- Line 1 Sardur, son of Argishti, <built> this temple for the god Irmushini. <So says Sardur. >
- Line 2 Because I ascended my father's throne, says Sardur something of this nature has> never been built <in past times>.
- Line 3 I <built up> a temple throne for the god Haldi there. For the god Irmushini and for this fortress
- Line 4 I have <had> a canal from the Hoshap River <built, and with> wine gardens, fields and vegetable gardens. I have
- Line 5 surrounded this town. These magnificent <buildings I have erected there my self >.
- Line 6 As the name of the town, I have chosen Sardurihinili (Sardur City). Sardur says . . .
- Line 7 Village houses which were here before I have built here anew for all time.
- Line 8 I have <dedicated> this town to the god Irmushini, and the gates to the god Haldi because of the wealth.
- Line 9 The son of Argishti (Sardur II) built this temple with the help of the greatness and power of the god Haldi.
- Line 10 <I> mighty king, I great king, I great king (sic!) of the Biai lands*. The master of this city and of Tushpa, Sardur am I.

* "Biai" is what the Urartians called themselves. "Urartu" comes from the Assyrian. Until the tenth century B. C, it was written "Uruartu", but later "Urartu". The name "Van" may well come from "Biai" (Vi-á-i).



Hurrian names appear in the Kültepe texts (1950-1790 B.C.), and Hurrian inscriptions have been found in the Mari records of the mid-Euphrates region. These belong to the age of Hammurabi.

Evidence of the influence of Hurrian culture and religion on the Hittites is to be found in the Hurrian texts of Hattusa (Bogazköy, 1450-1180 B.C.) Hurrian elements influenced Hittite religion and mythology. Hurrian gods and goddesses take on an important role in the Yazilikaya texts of the Hittite rock-pictures. The gods of the Hurrians played an important role in the Hittite pantheon, especially the main Hurrian goddess, Hepat, and her husband, Teshup. We meet him again later as Teishebe in the Urartian pantheon.

The land of the Hurrians later degenerated into a vassal and buffer state between the Hittites and the Assyrians. In the thirteenth century before Christ, however, the Assyrians, who had fancied themselves supreme rulers in the area, were suddenly faced with a new opponent, a genuine rival. This was the result of a rapidly growing alliance of principalities in eastern Anatolia, in which the Urartian and Nairian forces played the central role.

The Urartians

The oldest sources which speak of the Urartians are of Assyrian origin. The Assyrian king Salmanassar (1274-1245 B.C.) reports that he undertook a campaign against the Urartians in the first years of his reign. The inscription tells us of no less than eight countries and fifty-one cities which the king (in the year 1274 B.C.) claims to have destroyed. This would indicate a dispersal of the Urartians in the mountainous regions of eastern Anatolia. The Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.) later reports on the conquest of Nairian lands (Nairi and Urartu appear to have been largely identical) and the defeat of forty kings who resided in the area of Lake Van. These were undoubtedly princes of Urartian and Nairian tribes, who ruled between the Euphrates and Lake Urmia, with the area around Lake Van as a natural center. They must have been of Hurrian or proto-Urartian origin.

The fact that Hurrians and Urartians have a common origin surely played an important role here, because the Urartian language is neither of Semitic nor of Indo-European origin. It is an Asian language related to Hurrian. The morphology as well as the phonology, syntax, and vocabulary of Urartian are closely related to Hurrian. This affinity of the languages is what provides us with conclusive evidence of the common roots of the Hurrians and Urartians. They are two branches on the same trunk, with common roots in the past. They apparently came in two successive waves of migration from Asia via Transcaucasia to Anatolia. Apart from the different times of migration, the linguistic and cultural differences appear to be due to the fact that the Urartians always tended to settle in the mountains. The prevalent view today holds that the



View from the castle of Sardurihinili-Çavuştepe looking down on the village of Çavuştepe, which is located on exactly the same spot as the Urartian village. The irrigation canals built by the Urartian kings are also still serving their purpose today, three thousand years after their construction. Virtually no signs of Armenian settlement have been found in the village, aside from a few Urartian inscription-stones which have been turned into Christian-Armenian tombstones.

Hurrians migrated from the steppes and highlands of Central Asia (just as the proto-Turks who produced the rock-drawings in the caves and on the cliffs of eastern Anatolia had done generations earlier). The Urartians then followed the same path to eastern Anatolia, but they had already been separated from the Hurrians since the third millennium B.C. It is also clear that Urartian is an Asian language, closely related to the agglutinative Hurrian language.

The deities of the Hurrians and Urartians are also largely identical. I should mention here that the capital of the Urartians - the immense castle of Van enthroned on its mighty rock - bore the name "Tushpa" in ancient times, in other words it belonged to the goddess Tushpuea. In addition to the main god, Haldi, who was also the god of war, seventy-eight gods and goddesses ruled the heavens of the Hurrians and Urartians. Their names alone document the closeness of these two nations. The weather-god of the Hurrians, Teshup, is called Teisheba among the Urartians. His wife, Herat, becomes Huba. A close connection of this type also exists between the Urartians and the Nairians. In fact, these two seem to be identical. The actual unification of the Nairian and Urartian principalities, with its resultant political union, took place in the mid-ninth century B.C.

The Assyrian king Salmanassar III (858-824 B.C.) already had to fight a king of the Urartians who ruled all the lands between the sources of the Tigris and those of the Euphrates: Aramu



Professor Afif Erzen, director of the Çavuştepe-Sardurihinili excavations, with his wife and faithful helper, Fikriye, as well as his assistant, Erol Bey, on the hilltop of Sardurihinili.

Shortly thereafter, King Sardur I (840-830 B.C.) became the true founder of the Urartian kingdom. Sardur I also built the Urartian capital Tushpa, modern-day Van (or more accurately, the castle of Van on its mighty rock). Tushpa/Van remained the capital of the Urartians until the fall of the kingdom. Sardur's son, Ishpuini, and his son, Menua, extended the rule of Urartu as far as Azerbaijan and Lake Urmia. Inscriptions were now being written in Urartian, and they show that the kings of Urartu considered themselves the equals of the Assyrian kings. This feeling was certainly reinforced by the fact that the Urartians had at that time extended their rule right up to the very gates of Nineveh and controlled the sources of the Tigris . . . previously undisputed Assyrian territory.

The reign of the Urartian king Menua, whom we know quite well thanks to more than 100 texts, was marked by excellent administration and great public-works projects. A fifty-one kilometer long irrigation canal was built at this time which is still in use today. The construction of this canal was later attributed to the legendary queen Semiramis. The memory of the great achievements of the Urartian rulers had apparently faded. The romantic imaginations of European travellers, who knew nothing of the existence of the Urartian kingdom, also attributed the construction of the magnificent castle of Van to "Queen Semiramis".

During the reign of King Argishti I (790-765 B.C.), the son of Menua, the power of Urartu grew even greater. Argishti I advanced beyond Gümrü (modern-day Lenakan) and Erivan deep into the Caucasus. From the inscriptions on the facade of his tomb, which were written in the

form of annals of his reign, we know that he also conquered the plains at the foot of Ararat. Urartu's power reached its absolute zenith during the reign of King Sardur II (764-735 B.C.) Partly because of the weakened position of the Assyrians, Urartu rose to become the leading force in the region. Sardur II even boasted of having defeated the Assyrian king Assurninari V. In the East, he conquered Transcaucasia, and the Urartian armies advanced as far as "Kulha", which is probably today's Colchis. Inscriptions from the reign of Sardur II are to be found from the Euphrates to Azerbaijan, from the Caucasus to Aleppo and Mossul, and even on the Caspian Sea and Lake Urmia. During this period, the extent of the Urartian realm was almost identical with that of their Hurrian cousins in the middle of the second millennium B.C. The most incredible achievement of Sardur II, however, was the extension of his power in the West. He pushed the borders of Urartu beyond Commagene to the region of Malatya. Here, in the village of Habib Ushagi, we find the westernmost Urartian inscription.

Sardur II joined with several principalities in northern Syria to form a political front against the Assyrians. This collapsed, however, when the strong Assyrian king Tiglathpileser III ascended the throne. Near Samsat, on the banks of the Euphrates, Sardur II suffered a grave defeat, and Tiglathpileser pursued the retreating Urartians all the way back to Tushpa (Van). He did not succeed, however, in taking the castle.

In spite of this, the reign of Sardur II, who seems to have recovered remarkably well from his defeat at the hands of the Assyrians, represented a golden age in the field of architecture and in other areas. Sardur II was responsible for the building of Sardurihinili (Çavuştepe). He constructed a canal from the Guguna River and crowned the twin hilltops of Sardurihinili with an imposing fortress, which also served as a luxurious estate.

I led the excavations on the twin hilltops of Çavuştepe for decades. It was there that I had my first curious encounter with political "Armenianism", which has always tried to derive its claims from the Urartians. In Armenian circles, Çavuştepe is known as "Haikapert", "Fortress of the Haik". Throughout the entire course of the excavations on the twin hilltops, however, I did not find the least trace of an Armenian presence. At the foot of the hills, I did find two inscription-stones into which someone had chiseled crosses, but that was all. The indications of Islamic settlement, on the other hand, are very strong, especially in the thirteenth century. Ceramic fragments have been found which are strongly reminiscent of the Ilhanidian ceramics of Tahte Sülieman in Iran.

Although it is not directly related to the issue of the early history of eastern Anatolia, I would like to comment briefly on the tremendous influence that Turkish art has had on the architecture of the Armenians. Armenian buildings clearly take their round style from the round style of the Turkic peoples. Around the time of the construction of Aghtamar, when the Armenians were living under the rule of the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad, the

Turkic peoples were the ones who exercised the real power. It was the Mamluks (Turkish military leaders and their forces) who held the reins of power in the Baghdad of the Abbasids, just as they did in the Cairo of the Fatamids. It was also they who determined the style of architecture, which they had brought with them from Asia, and which was reminiscent of their earlier nomadic way of life.

Returning now to the subject at hand: During the reign of King Rusa I (735-714 B.C.), the Urartians suffered another serious defeat at the hands of the Assyrians, as King Sargon II of Assyria conquered a number of Urartian provinces. Urartu was nevertheless able to retain its independence, thanks largely to the appearance of the Scythians, who started causing trouble for the Assyrians. This took the pressure off Urartu for a while.

After making a defense pact with the Assyrians, King Sardur III of Urartu (645-635[?] B.C.) made a sort of merger offer to the Assyrians. This led to the de facto hegemony of Assyria over Urartu. The golden age of Urartu was coming to an end, as was that of Assyria.

In spite of the insurmountable political and military problems of Urartu, numerous inscriptions from this period tell of a continued flourishing of culture and architecture. This is especially true of the reigns of the Urartian kings Sardur IV and Erimenas.

The fall of the great powers was, however, no longer avoidable. In 609 B.C., the Assyrian Empire collapsed. The vacuum that this created brought Urartu down as well. The Scythians advanced into Urartu immediately after the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The finds in the fortress of Sardurihinili-Çavuştepe prove that the kingdom collapsed under the blows of the Scythian invaders. The Scythians did not, however, settle down in the conquered lands. They moved right on to Egypt. Urartu then fell into the hands of the Medes.

There was virtually nothing left of the Urartian kingdom after the Scythian invasion. The surviving Urartians retreated into the mountains, and whatever was left of Urartian power was crushed by the Medes. It is remarkable, however, how well the surviving Urartians were able to preserve their culture, even if it was now only at a village level. It would nevertheless be incorrect to speak of a continuation of the colossal heritage of the Urartians, as manifested in the fortress of Çavuştepe.

The cultures that followed left no traces worth mentioning in Çavuştepe or in the other Urartian centers, such as Toprakkale and Adilcevaz.

At the beginning of the sixth century B.C., the lands once ruled over by the Urartians became the cause of a dispute between the Lydians and the Medes. The Medes finally won out. This appears to have been the time when the Armenian tribes immigrated to eastern Anatolia. They probably came from the Balkan area or from Thrace and had been driven out by the Illyrians. They were first mentioned in an inscription of Darius in the sixth century B.C. At this time, they already belonged to Darius' sphere of influence. During the course of time their Indo-European

language took on certain traces of the old, non-Aryan Anatolian languages, but that certainly did not make the "Haik" "Urartians".

The Armenians can be considered as more or less "related by marriage". They have no linguistic or ethnic connection to the greater Hurrian-Urartian family, which comes from the Asian linguistic sphere. The Turkic peoples, on the other hand, share common roots with the "proto-Turkic" peoples of the Hurrian-Urartian world. These facts were completely irrelevant to later developments and to the peaceful co-existence of so many peoples and races in eastern Anatolia, especially in the days of the Ottoman Empire. All ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire enjoyed equal standing. In fact, no one ever even asked about "ethnic" background. It was of absolutely no interest to the Sultan-Caliphs.

The reign of the Urartian king Menua was marked not only by excellent administration but also by great public-works projects such as this fifty-one kilometer-long irrigation canal which is still in use today.



It was the tragic developments connected with the emergence of the nation states and the nationality issue that led to the question of "racial origins" and the consequent "claims" that have been made. That is why I am happy to answer these questions, without making any value judgments. All human beings are equal before God, and the commandment of love and understanding is more valid today than ever before - especially in the face of terrorism, which tries with blind rage to enforce demands that have no foundation in reality.



The foundation inscription of the Urartian castle of Tushpa (Van), where King Sardur I recorded his accomplishments for posterity. The inscription is written in the Assyrian language with cuneiform characters.

The mighty limestone blocks in the old harbor section of the Urartian castle follow in the Human tradition. The top block bears the inscription.



The Hurrian-Urartian god of weather, Tesheba-Tashpuea, standing on his bull. The city of Van was in ancient times called "Tushpa" after the god Tashpuea. This is indicative of the territorial situation in eastern Anatolia long before the immigration of small tribes of Indo-European Armenians in the sixth century before Christ.



The Urartians were widely known in antiquity for their metal-work and for horse-raising.

Chariot of the god Haldi, eighth century B. C., Urartian.

A giant spider, cast in concrete - monument to a distortion of history, Montebello, California. Falsehood turned to stone. It is a monument to a cruel myth - the myth of the 'Terrible Turk'. Hecatombs of innocent people have already been sacrificed on this altar of ultra-nationalistic sentiment. The reason for spreading the message of the Terrible Turk and the war of liberation is the same now as it was in the nineteenth century: the establishment of an Armenian national state in Anatolia, a place where the Armenians have never in history been in the majority. Like every fanatical cult, the Armenian version of the myth of terror has its own scriptures. These consist of the *Documents officiels concernant les Massacres Arméniens*, published by Aram Andonian in 1920, and Franz Werfel's *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, a novel based entirely on the Andonian documents. The "Documents officiels" are supposed to prove that the Ottoman government issued a general order to exterminate the Armenians, but it has been firmly established that these "documents" were forged from beginning to end. Not even the ring-leaders of the Armenian anti-Turkish campaign dispute this today. The *liturgy* of the Armenian terrorists is limited to the constant, litany-like repetition of false casualty figures - a difference of a million or two one way or the other has never seemed to matter much - and the offering of human sacrifices. Those selected for these sacrifices include not only Turkish diplomats, but also historians who fight against the distortion of history and wealthy Armenians who refuse to pay their tribute to the terrorists. But the terror also strikes people who have nothing whatsoever to do with the conflict. They just happen to get caught at the scene of execution of an Armenian terrorist group.



ARMENIAN MARTYRS MEMORIAL INCIDENT

F. C. B. L. S. M. D. O. S. I. C. I. T. I. O. N. S.

THE MONUMENT
ERECTED BY AMERICANS
OF ARMENIAN DESCENT
IS DEDICATED TO THE
1,500,000 ARMENIAN VICTIMS
OF THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATED
BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT
1915-1921 AND TO MEN OF ALL
NATIONS WHO HAVE FALLEN
VICTIM TO CRIMES AGAINST
HUMANITY.

MAY 21, 1921

The basic historical falsification at the heart of the entire Armenian myth of terror is the constantly repeated claim that the Ottoman government had one and a half million Armenians put to death. In Monte-bello, the authors of the inscription on the Armenian memorial go one step further. They claim that the genocide was perpetrated "by the Turkish government", although in 1915 there had never been a *Turkish* government. The point of this exercise is clear. Modern Turkey is supposed to be linked to matters that did not

even apply to the Ottomans. The fact is that after the uprisings in Muş and Van, in March of 1915, an order to relocate the Armenians was issued by the Ottoman government. The uprisings had caused tens of thousands of Moslem casualties and amounted to a declaration of civil war. Many Armenians died in the turmoil of the war and in the constant revolts. The Islamic losses were nevertheless many times greater. To this day, no one has asked about the fate of the Moslem victims of the riots instigated by Armenian terrorists.



Five faces of terror



Four Armenians arrested in Los Angeles, from left: Karog Sarkisian, Diran Berberian, Vahan Hovsepian and Vahan Yacoubian. A fifth Armenian terror squad suspect, Steven John Daddian, right, was arrested by the FBI in Boston.

Charged as Armenian avengers

By KEVIN R. CONVEY

A suitcase at Logan Airport containing five sticks of dynamite and a timer was the link between alleged Armenian terrorists arrested in Boston and Los Angeles Friday night in a back-bush terror bombing investigation.

Authorities on both coasts clamped a lid on information about the arrests, one of which was made after a five-hour stake out of the Milner hotel in Boston's Park Square.

Arrested without incident by FBI agents at the modestly-priced residential hotel was Steven John Daddian, 26, of Canoga Park, Calif. Daddian was arraigned in secret in federal court and taken to an undisclosed location, where he is being held in lieu of \$1 million bail. The Herald American was told. He is charged with transporting explosives.

The silence of FBI and U.S. Attorneys on both coasts suggests that other suspected terrorists are being sought. A source at the Logan terminal said the luggage containing the bomb was never picked up, indicating that others may be involved.

Massport spokesman Phil Orlandella said the State Police bomb squad used a German shepherd to sniff out the suitcase containing the explosives. It came into the airport between 2 and 3 p.m. Friday aboard

a Northwest Orient jet from Los Angeles.

There was no explanation how security personnel who routinely check baggage for such devices missed the explosive suitcase. Five sticks of dynamite would easily have destroyed the jet in the air, Orlandella said.

Synchronous with Daddian's arrest, four members of the Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide — with which Daddian was linked — were arrested on similar charges in a police dragnet in the Los Angeles area.

FBI and Justice Department officials continued yesterday to refuse to answer any questions regarding

the nature of the alleged plot, the intended target of the explosives or the possibility of further arrests.

The FBI said the Justice Commandos terror group is responsible for a "series of bombings in the Los Angeles area since 1980, directed at foreign diplomats and establishments."

The Justice commandos have claimed responsibility for bombings and killings in the Los Angeles area, most directed at Turkish diplomats.

The group also claimed responsibility for the brutal assassination of the Turkish consul for New England, Orhan K. Gunduz, who was gunned down while stopped in traffic near Union Square in Somerville last May.

1915 killings recalled

By JAMES CONNOLLY

The produce markets, bakeries and pizza parlors along Watertown's St. Asilem Street post their signs in English, Arabic, Greek and Armenian, and the patrons and owners, often in broken English, that they come from throughout the Middle East.

But among the Greeks, Arabs, and Iranians, it is the Armenians who dominate the area's population. It is the Armenians who say they will never forget what happened in Turkey. And, it is the Armenians who don't want their names linked in any way with discussions of the terrorist tactics of the Justice Commandos for Armenian Genocide.

"When something happens, the government comes in here and watches people," said the Rev. Tarkenton Hagopian, pastor of St. Stephen's Armenian Apostolic Church. "The FBI searches people's homes. When something bad happens they just say, 'The Armenians, the Armenians.' They don't talk about the good things that Armenians have done in this country. I hear all of this from my parishioners."

One woman, a housewife of about 30, said, "We can't think of the Armenians as violent people."

What the Armenians said they wouldn't forget was the genocide of their ancestors at Turkish hands in

the first half of the century. They charge that in 1915 alone, 1.5 million Armenians were massacred.

"I myself don't like violence, but I don't care if 100 years go by. It's impossible to forget that they killed my grandfather and my uncles," said a merchant who left Turkey 25 years ago.

Slain consul's widow 'having a hard time'

By JAMES CONNOLLY

Meral Gunduz, widow of the Turkish honorary consul for New England and yesterday that she is still trying to find the words to explain her husband's murder to their 14-year-old son.

FLASHBACK



Grief-stricken Meral Gunduz at funeral of her husband, Orhan, who was assassinated last May in Somerville.

"I'm having a hard time, especially trying to explain it all to my son," said Gunduz from her Nahant home. Her husband, Orhan K. Gunduz, who ran an imported goods business in Cambridge, was ambushed May 4 by a gunman near Union Square, Somerville.

The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide claimed responsibility for that still-unsolved murder.

"I'm just trying to manage, trying to get by without him and without our main source of income, but I have to explain to our son. (The) guy who did this could happen to someone who was so good. He was such a good man, always trying to help others, including Armenians," Gunduz said yesterday.

She said that her husband's store, Topkapı Imports in Central Square, near a March 27 bombing, is now closed.

Contrived through the Turkish American Cultural Society of New England, Meral Gunduz questioned Armenian charges that 1.5 million Armenians were killed by Turks in 1915.

She says she doesn't ask people to believe her as an individual but independent journalists, the United Nations and the League of Nations, who she says "determined thirty days ago facts for the charges."

From the *Boston Herald* of October 24, 1982:

Five Faces of Terror

Four young Armenians were arrested in Los Angeles. Their names: Karnig Sarkissian; Dikran Berberian; Viken Hovsepian; and Viken Yacoubian. A fifth Armenian terror-squad suspect, Steven John Dadaian, was arrested by the FBI in Boston.



The place of worship of the First Armenian Church in Watertown, Mass., where Rev. Vartan Hartunian serves as pastor.

These young men - innocent victims in many ways - got caught up in the criminal underworld and were reared as murderers by their terrorist instructors, whose work was made much easier by the absurd myth of the extermination order supposedly issued by the Ottoman government. The only ones who benefit from this sort of behavior are the bosses of Armenian terror. They lead a carefree life, spending the money that wealthy Armenians have voluntarily - or in many cases involuntarily - contributed. In the meantime, the Armenian terrorists whom they have seduced are out risking their lives for an absurd myth. One of the key demands of the terrorists is always that the "genocide" of 1915 be cited in the media as the reason for every terrorist action. This wish is always granted and incites the terrorists to commit further acts of violence. Here, for example, we see the headline "1915 killings recalled".

In 1968, the Reverend Vartan Hartunian of Watertown, a suburb of Boston, published the memoirs of his father,

the Reverend Abraham H. Hartunian. They describe his experiences in the turmoil of the war and the years that followed. At first, he damns the Turks, but then in the end, before the capture of Izmir by the troops of Kemal Atatürk, he curses the Christian powers and their representatives:

"Woe unto you, unjust diplomacy!
Shameless, ignoble, deceitful diplomacy!
The Greek nation deceived her people and betrayed them to the Turk,
to be strangled by his hands!
I spit on you, hellish diplomacy!

Like madmen, we rushed here and there, saying to each other, That base, murderous, Moslem Turk dealt with us better than these European Christians! If only we had known this before and dealt instead with the Turk!" This realization came late, but the realization that it was in fact the Greeks and not the Turks who had started the invasion of 1919 never came at all. And of course it never even crossed his mind to have a little understanding for the behavior of the Turks, who had been attacked from behind by their own Armenian compatriots in the middle of the turmoil and peril of the First World War. The Armenians had, after all, allied themselves with the Entente, thus threatening the very existence of the Turks. Abraham H. Hartunian's son, the influential Armenian Protestant minister Vartan Hartunian of the First Armenian Church is also unaware of any Armenian terrorism. He only speaks of "*so-called* Armenian terrorists".

"The Liberation of our Homeland" is more than just a deadly but catchy phrase. It is *the* central lie propagated



by the bosses of Armenian terrorism. The Armenians *never* in history constituted a majority in eastern Anatolia or anywhere else in the Ottoman Empire. There is not one single district, not even a single city that they could call a "homeland" in this sense.



A telling letter to the editor in one of the countless Armenian weekly newspapers in the United States.



The owner of the service station named "ANI" is sure that the city of Ani fell to the Turks. Likewise, the owner of the car believes that Ahtamar was taken from the Armenians by the Seljuks. The truth, however, is that all the semi-independent Armenian principalities in Anatolia had already fallen to the Byzantines, to the Mamluks, or to the Crusaders decades or even generations before the Turks. The Turks were welcomed everywhere by the Armenians as liberators from Byzantine oppression. And this Turkish-Armenian friendship lasted well into the nineteenth century.



Human suffering is indivisible. A contrast to the horrifying picture of the starving Armenian mother: Moslem women and children of the village Hidir Ilias, Township of Chaud, Vilayet of Diarbekir mourn their loved ones, who were slaughtered by Armenian irregulars, led by a certain Hono, on August 23, 1915.

The Armenian terrorists had it easy in the Ottoman hinterland, since all the able-bodied men were fighting on the front. The truly terrifying thing is once again that the horror pictures of Islamic and Armenian dead are almost always interchangeable. The pictures of Armenian victims and of the suffering of Armenian refugees have merely met with more sympathy and echo due to the superiority of Armenian public relations, although the number of Islamic victims was far greater. The horrible memories of the civil war begun by the Armenians in 1915 (with the extermination of the Moslems of Van) should be leading today to reconciliation — not to further hatred.



The horrors of the civil war: dead Turkish policemen who were trapped in the ambush of an Armenian unit led by Dorian Kano and his brother. June 28, 1915, near Cheitan-Kaya - the Devil's Rock.

The Liberation of our Homeland

On March 12, 1985 three Armenian freedom fighters took over and held for 4½ hours the Turkish embassy in Ottawa, Canada. By telephone they expressed their demands which are: Turkey must give up Armenian lands and acknowledge the Armenian Genocide.

The media gave substantial coverage. However, despite the clearly stated demands the media continues to insist on portraying the aims of the Armenian cause (at least in part) as revenge.

Two weeks later, a threat was received that if the three were not released, a bomb would be placed in the Toronto subway system. Again the media responded with substantial coverage. The goal of the cause was misrepresented as revenge.

If we portray our goal as recognition of the Genocide then it is quite natural for non-Armenian public opinion to assume that Armenians are simply seeking revenge. However, if we clearly and emphatically state that our main goal is the liberation of our homeland, then public opinion will not view our cause as one of revenge.

Therefore, it is incumbent upon all Armenians, be they lobbyists in Congress, demonstrators in the streets, freedom fighters in military operations or spokespersons in media offices to state again and again that our goals are the liberation of Turkish occupied Armenia, recognition of the Armenian Genocide by Turkey and

Garen Yeghparian
Ara Khanjian
Woodside, N.Y.



Illustration from Abraham H. Hartunian's book *Neither to Laugh Nor to Weep* with the caption "Hartunian family in 1920" (ceded by the Hartunian family). The strong statement of this photograph is blatantly contradictory to what Abraham Hartunian has to say about the events of this period and his own personal experiences.

The basic historical falsification at the heart of the entire Armenian myth of terror is the constantly repeated claim that the Ottoman government had one and a half million Armenians put to death. In Montebello, the authors of the inscription on the Armenian memorial go one step further. They claim that the genocide was perpetrated "by the Turkish government", although in 1915 there had never been a *Turkish* government. The point of this exercise is clear. Modern Turkey is supposed to be linked to matters that did not even apply to the Ottomans. The fact is that after the uprisings in Mus and Van, in March of 1915, an order to relocate the Armenians was issued by the Ottoman government. The uprisings had caused tens of thousands of Moslem casualties and amounted to a declaration of civil war. Many Armenians died in the turmoil of the war and in the constant revolts. The Islamic losses were nevertheless many times greater. To this day, no one has asked about the fate of the Moslem victims of the riots instigated by Armenian terrorists.



Illustration from Abraham H. Hartunian's book *Neither to Laugh Nor to Weep* with the caption "Mother and child" (photograph provided by Harry S. Nakashian and John K. Garabedian). There is not one single word in the entire hate-filled book about the suffering of the Islamic population, which was even more severely stricken by death and hardship. There is not one single word mentioning that the civil war of 1915 was started by Armenian terrorist squads.

The Armenians and Their So-called Terror

Statement given by Reverend Vartan Hartunian of Watertown, Massachusetts, on August 12, 1985. How do some Armenians respond to terrorism? What does an Armenian clergyman think about Armenian terrorism?

"Concerning the so-called Armenian terrorists and the assassination of Turkish officials, from a rational point of view Armenians are agreed that such actions cannot be condoned and that they should be vigorously opposed and this is our opinion from a rational point of view. But there is also, in the Armenian psyche, a deep anguish that has persisted for 70 years. The anguish is not only the result of the experience of the horrendous acts on the part of the Turks which led to genocide, but the denial by the Turks officially that such a genocide ever took place. In the context of this anguish there is, in the inner feelings of Armenians, a sense of justice, which may even be a sense of irrational justice, which seems to be satisfied when such assassinations take place . . ." Apparently it is not terrorism but merely "so-called terrorism" as long as it is other people who are being killed.

The welcome sign in front of the church of the influential Armenian minister, Vartan Hartunian, who only speaks of "so-called" Armenian terrorism.

The conquest and destruction of Ani "by the Turks" is a part of the Armenian terrorists' basic legend and thus also a part of their spiritual cause. The truth is that the Armenian principality of Ani was occupied by the Byzantines decades before the arrival of the Seljuks and was later destroyed by earthquakes.





Armenia: Myth and Historical Reality

". . . and in the seventh month, on the seventh day of the month, the ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat." So says the Bible. Later, God speaks to Noah, "Go forth from the ark, you and your wife and your sons and your sons' wives with you. Bring forth with you every living thing that is with you of all flesh - birds and animals and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth - that they may breed abundantly on the earth, and be fruitful and multiply upon the earth."

The early Armenian chroniclers, Moses of Khorene, Thomas Ardzrouni and others, wrote that the Armenian people were the descendants of Noah, whose ark landed on Ararat. They apparently overlooked, in their holy zeal, that if anyone at all truly comes from Noah, then all mankind must be descended from him.

Some countries take their name from their inhabitants. France, England, Germany or Turkey are home to French, English, Germans or Turks respectively. Names of countries such as America Bolivia and Ecuador, on the other hand, designate a geographical area without making any reference to the origins of the people who live there. In antiquity, there were many names for the provinces of Anatolia, and these names were also applied to the inhabitants of each province. Some examples are Paphlagonia, Pamphylia, and Cappadocia. The inhabitants of such provinces were by no means all members of a single

tribe. They simply had a common name based on the area in which they lived.

As with so many other place names, the name "Armenia" designates a geographical region, not a people. The Armenians call themselves "Haik" in their own language. This already indicates that the area known as Armenia is in no way their place of origin.

Just where the "Haik" (singular "Hai") do come from is not exactly clear. Everything indicates that they migrated from the West and finally settled in small groups east of the Euphrates. The language of the Armenians is for the most part Indo-European. After their migration, however, it became mixed with non-Aryan, Anatolian languages.

Some scholars (such as J. Karst, author of *Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker*) believe that Armenian or proto-Armenian tribes once lived on the northern Aegean in northern Thessaly and neighboring Illyria, in other words in the Balkans. A similar view holds that the Armenians are descendants of Phrygian-Thracian tribes who migrated to the East as a result of Illyrian pressure. Although it is virtually certain that the Armenians originally lived in the Balkans or in Thessaly, the exact date of their migration to Anatolia cannot be pinpointed with certainty. They did not leave any traces of their presence in their original homeland, but it was certainly not before the sixth century B.C.



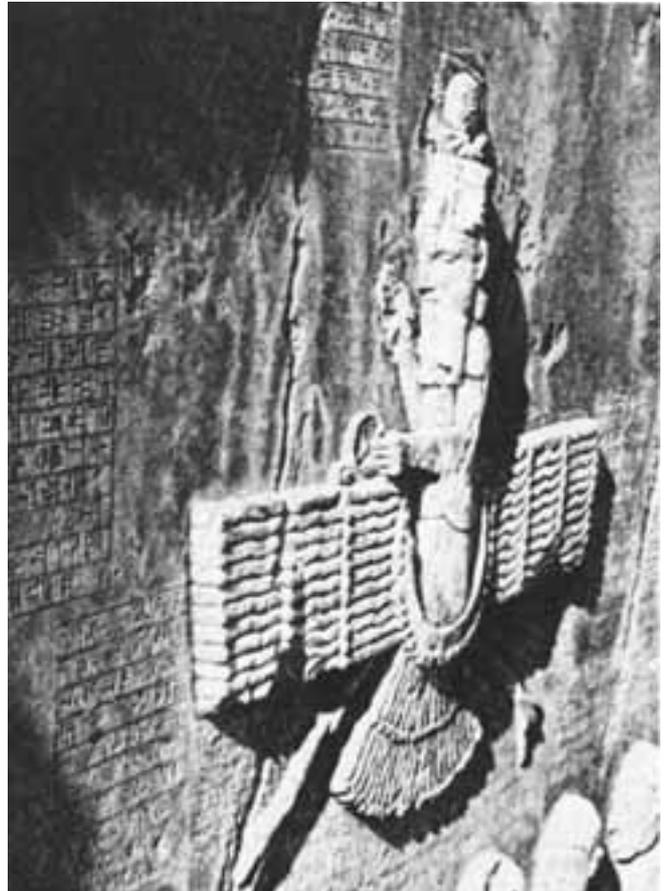
On the walls of this deep canyon south of Van on the edge of the Hakkari, one finds the caves of Yedisalkim, just eighty meters above the valley floor. The rock-drawings here were mostly done in dark red or brown. Pictures of gods, goddesses with exaggerated sexual parts, dancing human figures, sun motifs, wild animals and hunting scenes showing now-extinct beasts are the dominate images. A depiction of the mother deity standing on an animal is the oldest known drawing of a "queen of the animal kingdom" anywhere in Anatolia.

that the Armenians arrived in Anatolia. At the end of the fifth century (401-400 B.C.), Xenophon writes in his *Anabasis* of the Armenians in connection with other Anatolian tribes.

The very first mention of the Armenians anywhere is to be found in the trilingual (Iranian, Babylonian, and Elamitic) inscription of Behistun in western Iran, in which the Persian king Darius (485 B.C.) lists Armenia as one of his satrapies. This first written record could be seen as having symbolic significance, in light of the fact that the Armenian communities almost never in their history rose above the status of satrapies, or at best semi-independent principalities.



Bisutun (Behistun): This watercolor by Sir Robert Ker Porter from the year 1818 shows the cliffs in western Persia where the royal inscription of Darius is to be found.



Bisutun (Behistun): Depiction of the god Ahura Mazda with the trilingual inscription of King Darius. Beneath the bas-relief we see figures representing the tribes owing tribute to Darius; among them is an Armenian.

The Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Anatolia – a Key to the Understanding of the History of Anatolia

From the geopolitical standpoint, eastern Anatolia has played a key role in world history. To the south lies Mesopotamia. (The Tigris and Euphrates rivers both have their sources in the mountains of eastern Anatolia!) To the east is Iran; to the north, the Caucasus; and to the west, central Anatolia. The cultural puzzles of eastern Anatolia, including those of the Urartians and their predecessors the Hur-rians, have only recently been solved. Because of the unique location of this region, these cultures are very closely related to the surrounding cultures of Iran, Mesopotamia, and central Anatolia.

Until the second half of the twentieth century, virtually nothing was known of the prehistoric settlement of eastern Anatolia. When ancient cave-paintings were discovered in western Europe, they were thought to be the oldest examples of human artwork anywhere. Then cave-drawings were discovered on the steppes of Asia and in Africa. It was only recently that Turkish archeologists discovered very old, dense settlements in eastern Anatolia. The highland of the area provided the hunters and gatherers of the time with everything they needed: dense forest; plenty of wild game; and water.

The sensational discovery in the last years of innumerable rock-drawings in eastern Anatolia suddenly threw an entirely new light on the understanding of the early

development of this region. The depictions of gods, worshippers, animals, and hunters are in some cases 15,000 years old.

The rock-drawings of eastern Anatolia are found primarily in four districts: around Malatya-Adiaman; near Kars; in the region around Van; and in the mountains of Hak-kari.

Dr. Oktay Belli, member of the Turkish Historical Society (Turk Tarih Kurumu), discovered the rock-drawings of the Van region, which were done between 15,000 and 7,000 B.C. In the region of Yedisalkim, in the Hakkari Mountains, there are also prehistoric pictures of gods in the caves high above the valley floor.

Concerning the people who created these works of art,

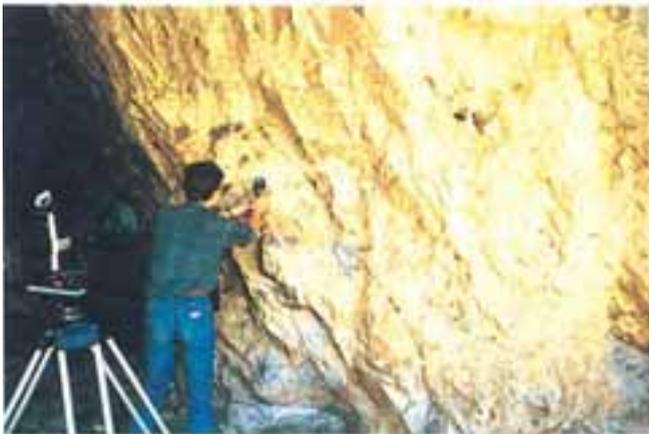
Thracian landscape not far from Edirne.

The Armenians, who immigrated to Anatolia sometime between the sixth and fourth centuries B. C., probably came from the Balkans, perhaps from Thrace. No traces have yet been found of the Indo-European Armenians in their original homeland, however. It is possible that the intensive archeological research currently underway in southwestern Europe will soon provide an answer to the question of the place of origin of the Armenians.





These drawings were done by proto-Turkish tribes living in eastern Anatolia thousands of years ago. Nomadic Turkish tribes still dominate the landscape of the mountainous regions of eastern Anatolia. (Below: rock-drawings from the Kurbanaga Cave, not far from Camiſli, in the district of Kars.)



there exist some very clear indications. Similar rock-drawings have been found in eastern Azerbaijan, in Kobistan, in the Altai region, and in Siberia. The density with which these rock-drawings occur shows beyond a doubt that they are of proto-Turkish origin. The people who made these drawings belonged to early nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkish tribes. A similar conclusion can be drawn in the case of the stylized drawings from the Gevaruk Valley (Hakkari) and those on the Plateau of Tirshin. The rock-drawings of Gevaruk and Tirshin are of particular significance because they bear a strong resemblance to the drawings and symbols in the Cunni cave, near Erzurum, and on the stone blocks of the temple of Zeus in Aizani (Çavdarhisar, near Kutahya). They were done by ancient Turkish clans of the region.

The latest discoveries demonstrate clearly that there was already a connection in prehistoric times between eastern Anatolia and the artistic and cultural centers of the steppes of Azerbaijan and Siberia, as well as the mountainous regions of the Altai - the original homeland of the Turkic peoples. From prehistoric days right up to modern times, wandering and semi-nomadic Turkish and proto-Turkish tribes have formed a living tie between Inner Asia and Anatolia.

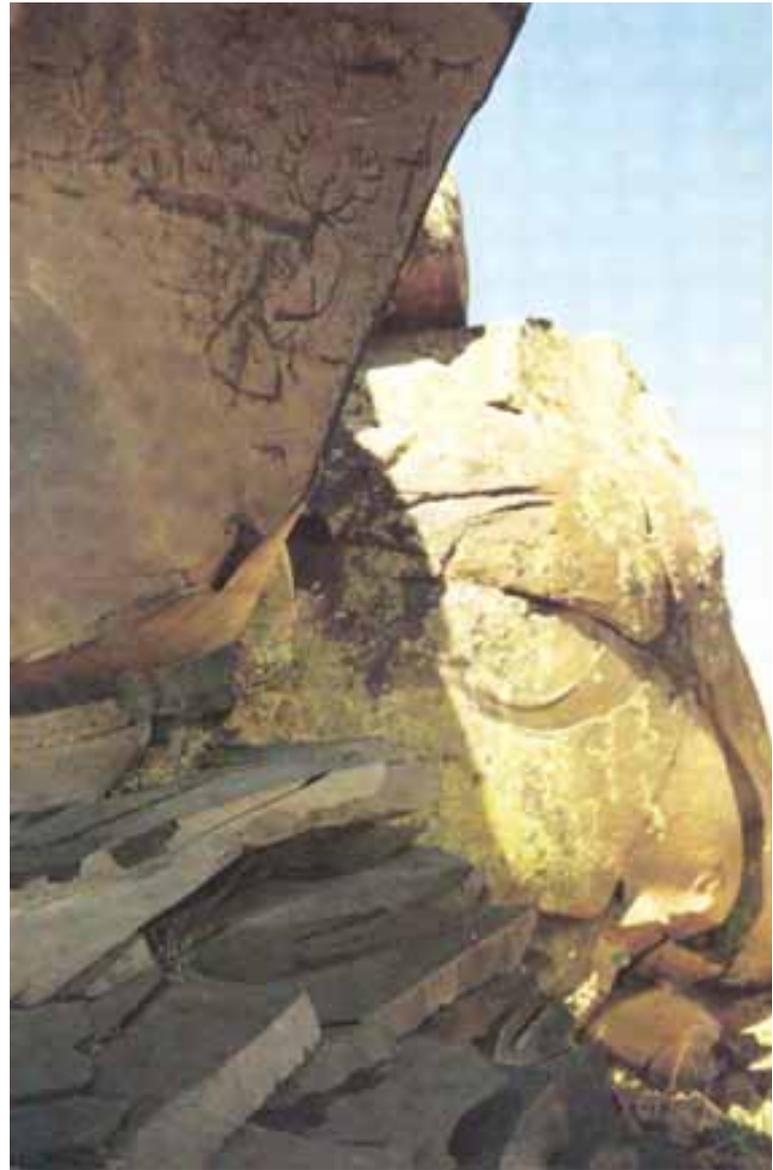
Asia is the home of the yurts. "Yurt" is a Turkish word meaning both "tent" and "home". Bee-hive houses, similar to yurts, can be seen in Anatolia. They are a creation of the Hurrians, predecessors of the Urartians, whose realm lay between the Caucasus, Lake Urmia, and the region around Malatya-Elazig. Various local names have been given to this cultural zone. These include "Kura-Aras Culture" and "Karaz Culture". The creators and upholders of this culture spoke a language belonging to the Ural-Altai family, to which Turkish also belongs.

Early Hurri Culture together with Hurri Culture formed the foundation for the Urartian kingdom which followed. A characteristic feature of Hurrian culture was the round house, similar to the round tents of the semi-nomadic Hurrians. Round houses of the Hurrian type can still be seen today in the region of Urfa and Haran. The later Turkish domed buildings of the Ottoman period would appear to be a logical development from the yurt and the bee-hive house. It was the Greeks and the Romans who developed the techniques for constructing large domes, but the enthusiasm with which the Ottomans adopted these techniques is undoubtedly related to the ancient preference of the Turkic peoples for round houses and yurts.

Eastern Anatolian landscape above Lake Van. In Urartian times thick forests still covered these hills, but they were cleared long ago.



A "yurt" of the Yörüks in central Anatolia. - Bee-hive houses in southern Anatolia (Haran). - The Ottoman preference for domed buildings was a logical development from life in yurts and round houses.

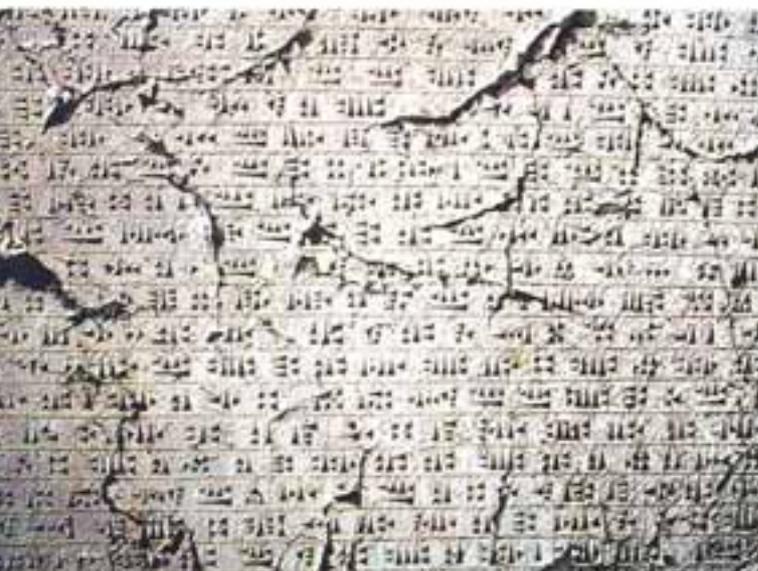


Proto-Turkish rock-drawings from Camişli.



Cuneiform writing from the eighth century B. C. on the castle of Van, which, as the capital of the kingdom of Urartu, bore the name Tushpa (after a deity common to both Hurrians and Urartians: Tashpuea). The founder of the kingdom of Urartu was King Sardur I (840-830 B. C). He also built the castle of Van (Tushpa). The name "Ararat", which is mentioned by the Hebrews, is "Urarat" in the Qumran texts, "Urartu" in Assyrian. The Urartians called themselves "Biainili". The name "Van" may well be derived from this word. (View from the castle-rock of Van, looking out on the old Ottoman part of the city, which was destroyed by the Armenians in 1915.)

Anatolia has known many masters: Hittites under the sign of the double eagle; Persians; Alexander the Great; Greeks; Romans; Byzantines; Arabs; Mamluks; and finally Seljuks and Ottomans. They all ruled over the historical region of "Armenia" in eastern Anatolia. The name of this region has nothing to do with the claims of the Armenians (who call themselves "Haik" and probably came originally from the Balkans). The Haik never constituted a majority in this region. ▷



A royal inscription on the castle of Van in eastern Anatolia. The Urartian script has recently been deciphered. It has now been firmly established that the Urartian language is of Asian origin. It belongs, like Turkish, to the agglutinative languages. Linguists believe that the Hurrians came to Anatolia from the steppes and mountains of central Asia. The Urartians came from the same area, splitting with the Hurrians around the middle of the third millennium B. C. Today, we know for certain that there is no connection between Urartian or Hurrian and the Indo-European Armenian language (aside from certain Urartian elements that were taken over by the speakers of Armenian after their immigration). Armenian belongs to the Satem group of Indo-European languages, whereas Urartian has the peculiar feature of forming new words by simply adding suffixes to a given root. It shares this feature with the Ural-Altai languages.





The Holy Koran, Sura II/62:
Those who believe (in the Qur-ān), / And those who follow the
Jewish (scriptures), / And the Christians and the Sabians, - /
Any who believe in God / And the Last Day / And work right-
eousness / Shall have their reward / With their Lord: on them /
Shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve.

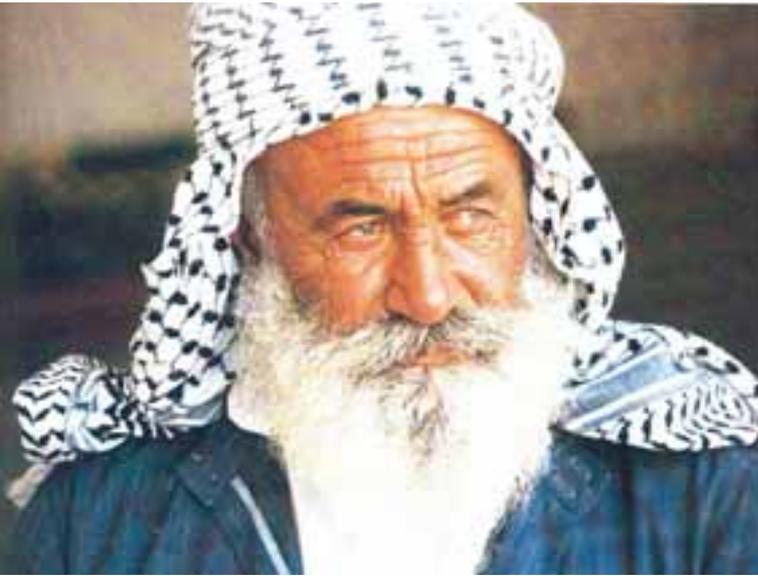
This photograph shows the religious community of the Sabians at a baptism on the Tigris. The Koran mentions the Sabians four times. The Jews and Christians are also "People of the Book" according to Mohammed and have always been respected as such by Islam.



Following the conquest of eastern Anatolia by the Arabs, the Caliphs of Damascus became the masters of the Armenians.
Photo: the Omayja Mosque in Damascus.

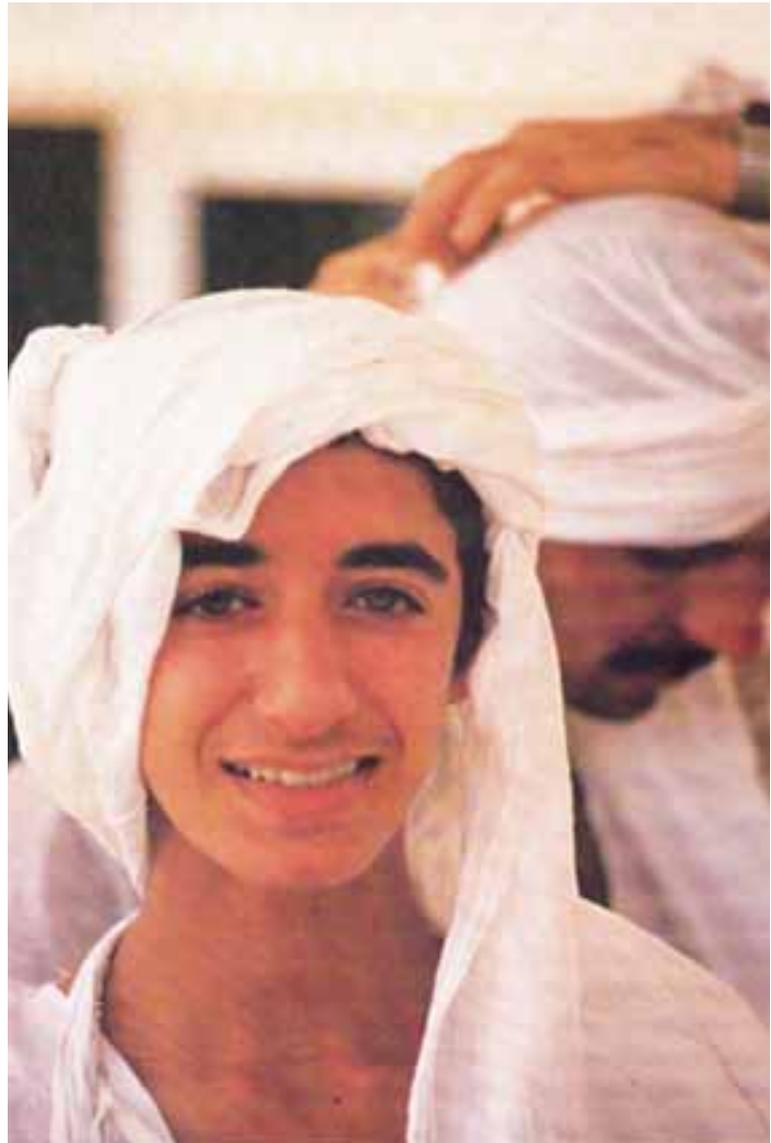


The "devil worshippers" who have their places of worship in the mountains of eastern Anatolia and in the Zagros Mountains of Iraq were one of the most remarkable religious communities of the Ottoman Empire. Their cult, which has many shamanistic elements, combines aspects of Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Zoroastrianism. Although they could hardly be called "People of the Book" in the sense intended in the Koran, they have managed to preserve their peculiar character through all the vicissitudes of history.



In the mighty realm of the Ottoman Caliphs, the Sunni majority was not the only element in the Empire's populace. There was also an important Shiite minority. Although the Shiites were indeed much less strong numerically, they were nevertheless very influential due to their structure and their secret societies and denominations. The photo shows the sheik of the Shiite sect of the Shebek from the region around Mossul, which was one of the most important centers of Ottoman power in Mesopotamia.

His Holiness Patriarch Mar Addai II of the "Church of the East" (Nestorian) in Baghdad.



A young Sabian from Baghdad. Mohammed cites the Sabians explicitly in the Koran as "People of the book", like the Jews and Christians.

The Nestorian Christians, who did not recognize the decision of the Council of Ephesus to call Mary "Mother of God", would have been totally rubbed out by the power of the Byzantine state and the Greek Orthodox Church, had they not found protection and refuge under the Zoroastrian Persians and later under the Ommiad, Abbaside, and Ottoman Caliphs. Disaster did not befall them until they, like the Armenians, made common cause with the Russians and stabbed the Turks in the back during World War I. They were forced to retreat from the Hakkari Mountains. The majority of them, roughly 40,000 Nestorian Christians (they call themselves "Church of the East"), live today in Iraq.



For centuries the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad or Samarra ruled over the Christian Armenians of eastern Anatolia.

Vankale (the castle of Van on its characteristic rock); the lake landscape of the Urartian heartland; and the plain of Van - as seen from the lower slopes of Susan Dag, one of the castles where the Urartians later sought refuge.





Seljuks, Mongol Invaders and Ottomans

Emperor Romanus IV Diogenus (1068-71) was a skillful and circumspect general. He was left with the task of trying to cover the mistakes that the "Bulgar-slayer" and "Monomachus" Constantine had made in their frenzy of excessive expansionism . . . and he failed.

The people living in the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire were tired of endless taxation and loathsome religious pressure. They greeted the Turkish Seljuks as a lesser evil, if not as liberators.

Near Mantzikert (Malazgirt), only a few hours march north of Lake Van, the deciding battle between Seljuks and Byzantines was fought. It ended in a total defeat for Romanus Diogenus, who was the first Byzantine emperor ever to be taken prisoner.

The chivalrous victor, Alp Arslan, made a treaty with Romanus IV Diogenus, but as soon as he was back in Constantinople, the emperor met with a typical fate of the kind that have made Byzantine politics proverbial. The traitorous opposition burned his eyes out with hot irons, in spite of written quarantees that had been countersigned by the church.

"It was only this monstrous postlude that turned the defeat of Mantzikert into a true catastrophe," writes Georg Ostrogorsky, because this made the treaty between Alp Arslan and the emperor Romanus IV null and void.

The way was now open for the Turkish Seljuks. Just two years later, Konia (central Anatolia) was the capial of the Seljuk Empire of Rum. Armenian traders and craftsmen, known for their fine talents, were already following their new rulers - and enjoying an unprecedented religious and social freedom.

Two generations later, the devastating Mongol invasion brought the blossoming Seljuk Empire of Rum to an abrupt end. In 1236, it was the Mongols who laid waste to flourishing Ani, not the Turkish Seljuks, who suffered just as much under the Mongol invasion as all the other peoples of eastern and central Anatolia.

In an "official publication" of the "Catholicosate of Cilicia", published in Lebanon, the following passage appears: "In 1065, when the Armenian kingdom fell simultaneously with the destruction of its capital, Ani, by the Seljuks . . .". It is no wonder then that countless Armenians who read the publications of their churches in good faith do not know the truth about the fall of the last semi-independent Armenian principalities in eastern Anatolia, which took place decades before the arrival of the Seljuks.



Photo at top: View of the Ottoman fortress of Hoshap-Güzelsu, which served as a border fortification against the Persians in the East.



The mighty castle of Hoshap formed an Ottoman barrier against the Persians, who were liable to attack at any time. Hoshap was built on Uartian foundations.



Symbols of power after the collapse of the Byzantines, the Seljuks and the last semi-independent Armenian principalities: a Mongol coat of arms and the symbol of Turkish rule, the "Black Ram" (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A. D.) To the detriment of all concerned, the extreme nationalism of the Armenian ruling class prevented the continued co-existence of the Armenians with the other peoples and tribes of eastern Anatolia.



"The Lion of Patnos", bronze, Uartian, early 8th century B. C. (All objects are from the museum in Van.)



The battlefield of Malazgirt, north of Lake Van. This is where a Seljuk mounted army led by Alp Arslan destroyed the Byzantine army in 1071 and took Emperor Romanus IV Diogenus prisoner. The way was now completely open for the Turks to move into Anatolia. This was made especially easy by the fact that the Byzantines had long since subjugated the Armenian buffer principalities.



A church of the Armenian Orthodox congregation in Kayseri (Roman Caesarea), in central Anatolia. This is the city where the young Parthian, Gregory, was converted to Christianity. He went down in history as "St. Gregory the Illuminator" and the converter of the Armenian people.



The Seljuk cemetery of Ahlat on Lake Van, a symbol of the peaceful cooperation between the Seljuk conquerors and the Haik. Byzantine rule had meant constant religious persecution for the Haik, who were finally relieved of that burden by the Seljuks.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for the art historian to analyse the reciprocal influences of Iranian, Turkish, Byzantine, and Arab art.

It is a fact that the empire of the Caliphs, whether they resided in Cairo, Damascus, or Baghdad, was under strong Mamluk (i.e. Turkish) influence. It is also a fact that the peaceful cooperation of Turks and Armenians produced some magnificent results.

Jews in the Ottoman Empire

Report sent to London by her Majesty's Ambassador in Istanbul:

No. 350

Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury

No. 148

Constantinople, April 13, 1880 (received April 23).

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a Report on the Vilayet of Angora (Ankara) by Mr. Vice-Consul Gatheral which I have received from Mr. Consul-General Wilson, who is sending it to me suggests that it should be printed. I have, &c. (Signed) A. H. Layard

F. O. 424/106, p. 306, No. 151

Turkey No. 23 (1880), p. 121, No. 72

Inclosure in No. 350

Report on the Population, Industries, Trade, Commerce, Agriculture, Public Works, Land Tenure, and Government of City and Province of Angora, Anatolia, by Vice-Consul Gatheral. Extract.

The population of this city and province is a small one, taking into consideration its wide extent and general fertility, and for five years past that population has been visibly diminishing, owing to the emigration of considerable numbers during the famine of 1873-74, the drain on the male Moslem population owing to the war of 1877-78, and the special products of the province having for three years in succession proved unremunerative to the Christians engaged in its commerce many of them have quitted the province for Constantinople or other parts of Anatolia.

A Turkish census takes no note of females or male children under fifteen years of age, returning only the total of males liable to military service amongst Moslems, and amongst Christians those from whom the "military service exemption tax" is exigible. The last enumeration was in 1877, and the total then returned was 449,241; this multiplied by three, according to the Redhouse rule, gives a total of 1,347,723 souls. These are divided into the following sects or communities: Moslems, Gregorian or Orthodox Armenians, Catholic Armenians, Protestant Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Gipsies. The numbers of each community are stated in the same Return as follows:

Males liable to military service	
Moslems	393,074
Total population (Moslems)	1,179,222
Males paying military service exemption tax -	
Christians -	
Gregorian Armenians	33,445

Roman Catholic Armenians	3,985
Protestant Armenians	660
Jews	280
Gipsies	262
Total population other than Moslems	168,501
Total of males	449,241
Total population.....	1,347,723

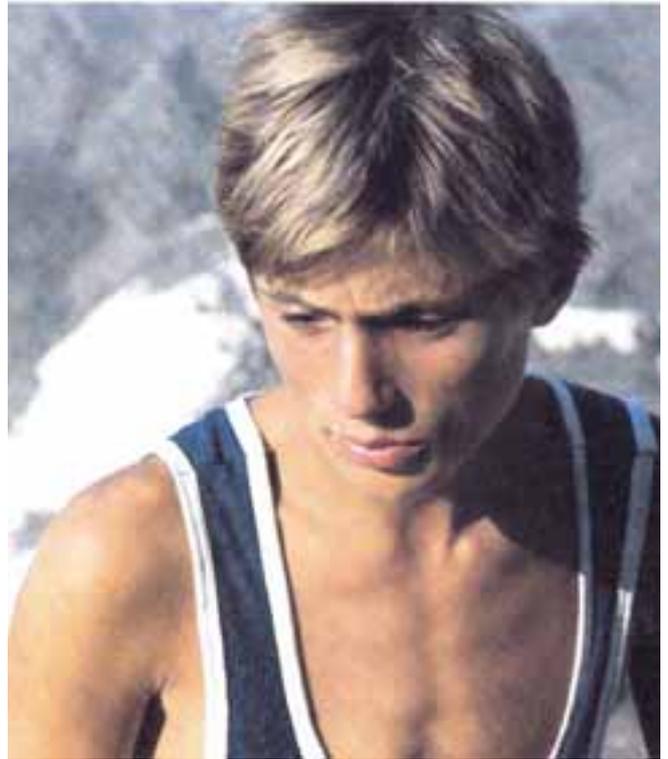
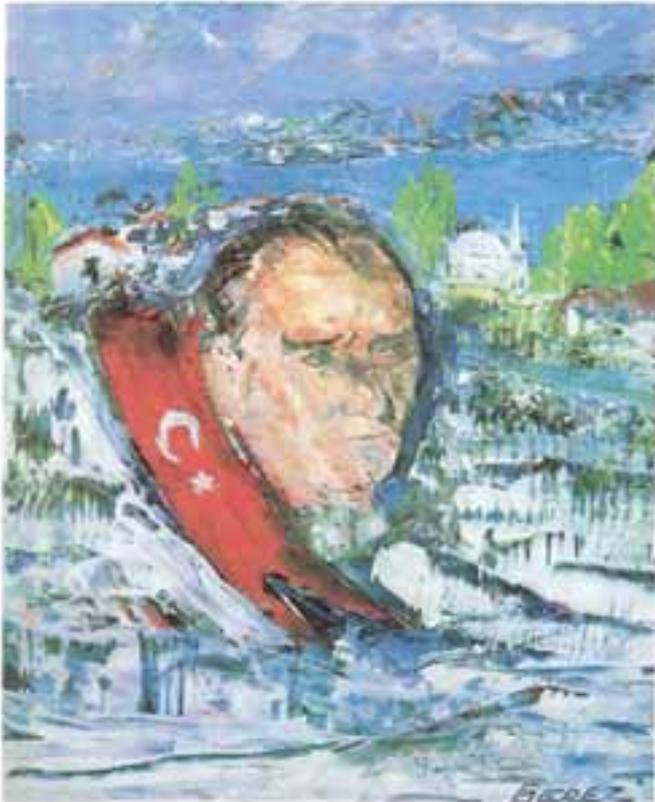
Those different races have origins as varied as their creeds. The Moslems are for the most part the descendants of the Turkish soldiery who conquered the province from the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 1344-45, under Sultan Murad, then reigning at Broussa. The Armenians are the result of an emigration from the eastward during the fifteenth century; they have been subdivided into Roman Catholic and Protestant in recent times; the leading Roman Catholic families were exiles from Constantinople in 1830, during the reign of Sultan Mahmoud; their wealth, intelligence, and commercial relations with Europe added greatly to the prosperity of the city, later an energetic Jesuit propaganda, directed from Rome, had considerable success, but in later years they have lost their ascendancy, having split up into old and new Catholics as in Europe; the schism officially and outwardly has been healed, but the rancorous feeling towards each other remains, and they seem to have no further success in making converts. The Protestants are the result of American missionary effort during the last twenty-eight years. Though meanwhile small in numbers, they are as a community better educated, more truthful and honest, than any of the other Christian sects, and are gaining rapidly in numbers and influence. The Orthodox or Gregorian Armenians are, as a community, ignorant, superstitious, and poverty-stricken, but count more adherents than either of the later sects. The small Jewish community, being mostly blonde and speaking a bastard Spanish, are evidently of Iberian origin; whilst the origin of the few nomad gipsy tribes who come and go is as great a mystery in Anatolia as in Europe.

(The rest of the letter deals with details of the province of Ankara which, although interesting, are less relevant to the subject matter of this book.)

"The small Jewish community, being mostly blonde and speaking a bastard Spanish, are evidently of Iberian origin . . ." reports the British Vice-Consul, Gatheral, to his ambassador in Istanbul. The ambassador rushed these precise notes concerning the Vilayet of Angora (Ankara) on to his Foreign Minister in London.

The blond-haired Jewish community with its "bastard Spanish" was indeed of Iberian origin. The Catholic kings had not only cracked down radically on the Arabs and all other Moslems on the Iberian peninsula, they had also envisaged a final solution for the Jews of the Christian kingdom. Since 1412, the Jews had been forced to wear degrading markings on their clothes. In 1480, the Inquisition started persecuting them with deadly hostility, and finally the Grand Inquisitor carried out the expropriation

and expulsion of 300,000 Jews. Some fled to Morocco, but many more found refuge in the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan even sent his own ship to them, in order to speed up the rescue operation. The Turkish government showed similar generosity towards the Jewish refugees from Germany and the countries occupied by Hitler. Asylum was granted to tens of thousands.



"The small Jewish community, being mostly blonde . . ."

◁ It was not only the Ottomans who offered protection to the Jews (when they were being threatened by the Catholic kings of Spain). Kemal Atatürk's Turkey also provided asylum for tens of thousands of Jewish refugees in the Hitler era. In spite of massive threats and attempts at intervention, Turkey never turned over a single Jewish refugee. Shown here is a painting by the Turkish-Jewish painter-poet J. Gabib Gerez (1982).

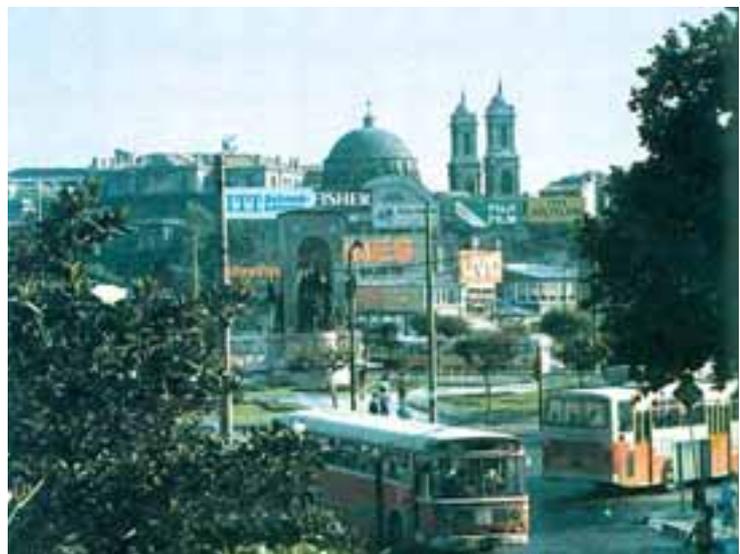
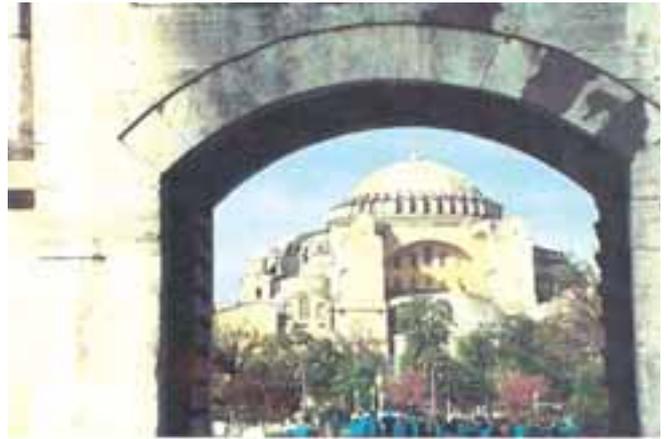


The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate

Before the conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed Fatih in the year 1453, the sphere of influence of the Greek Orthodox patriarchs had shrunk to the point where it was limited to the city of Constantinople. That changed abruptly when Constantinople-Istanbul became the capital of the Ottoman Empire on the 29th of May, 1453. While it is true that the Patriarch had to move out of the church of Hagia Sophia (it was turned into a mosque), the power of the Greek Orthodox patriarchs was greater under the Sultans than it had ever been under the Byzantine emperors. The Greek Orthodox patriarch ruled like a national king over all the Greek Orthodox citizens of the Ottoman Empire. The Greeks of the "Phanar", the district of Istanbul in which the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate is still located today, were among the most respected, wealthy, and influential citizens of the Ottoman Empire, as were the equally capable Armenians. The situation took a tragic turn centuries later when the Kingdom of Greece, and in particular the Venizelos government, tried to realize the dream of a "Great Greek Empire" after World War I. In May, 1919, the Greeks occupied Izmir (Smyrna) and pushed ahead toward central Anatolia with their invading troops. Their hope was to score an easy victory over the disintegrating Ottoman Empire.

The resistance of the Turks led by Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, however, put an end to the high-flying plans of the Greeks in 1922. The invading army was forced to withdraw from Asia Minor in disgrace. Before their retreat, they set fire to Izmir-Smyrna, so that the Turks would be left with nothing but "scorched earth". The Armenians of Izmir, who had *not* been relocated in 1915, repaid the Turks very poorly for their tolerance . . .

After the collapse of the Greek offensive, the two sides agreed upon an exchange. The Greeks in Asia Minor moved to Greece, while the Turks living in Greece moved to Anatolia and Thrace. This exchange naturally weakened the position of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul. After the overthrow of the Greek military junta in 1974, many more Greeks left Istanbul, so that today the importance of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate is greatly reduced (solely because of the inconsiderate expansionist policy of Athens), although the reputations of individuals like Patriarch Athenagoras and Patriarch Demetrios remain strong in spite of daily politics and outside influences.



The church of divine wisdom - Hagia Sophia. Mehmed the Conqueror converted it to a mosque, and Kemal Atatürk made it a museum. - His Holiness Patriarch Demetrios. - The Greek Orthodox church on the Taksim (built in the nineteenth century). In the foreground is the Monument of the Republic built by the Italian, Canonica, in 1928.

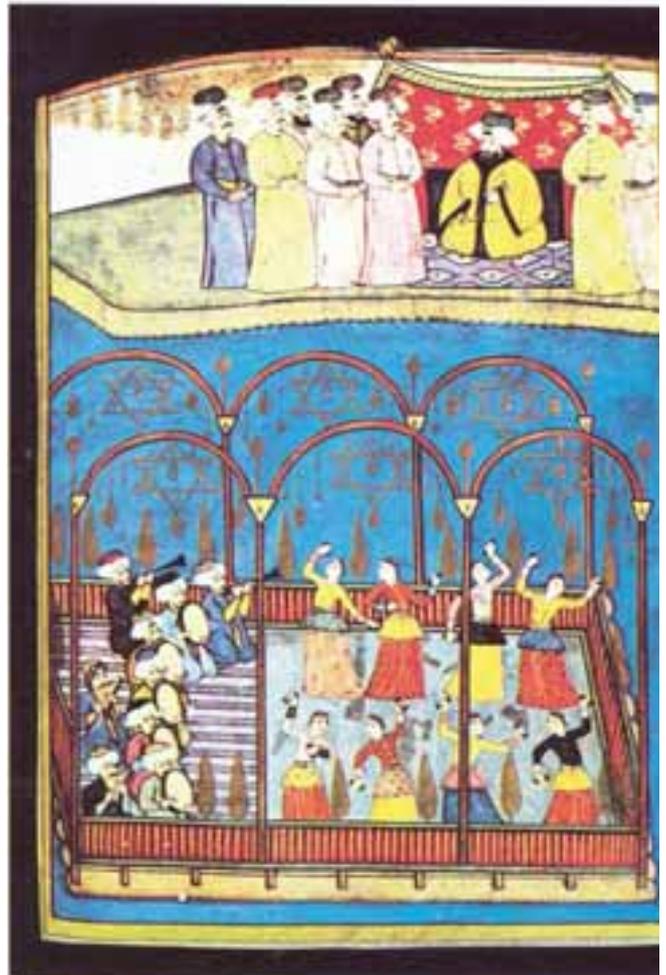
The Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate

The Ottoman Sultan-Caliphs lovingly called them their "most loyal subjects". Under the rule of the Seljuks and the Ottomans, from the eleventh to the nineteenth century, the Armenians enjoyed their happiest time, their golden age.

Today, the Armenians are still Turkey's largest minority, and they are still highly respected as businessmen, artists, engineers, doctors, traders, and craftsmen. They also enjoy the same rights and have the same responsibilities as all other Turkish citizens, regardless of national origin. The *Armenian Question* was created by the Russian dictate of San Stefano in 1878. Before that time, the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire was made up of four very distinct groups. In Istanbul and Izmir lived the influential *Amiras*, who were prosperous and highly educated Armenians. Anatolia was home to the Kavaragan. These were well-to-do, provincial craftsmen and traders, whose influence could be felt in the cities as well. The Armenian peasants had largely the same way of life as their Islamic counterparts. Last but not least were the mountain-dwellers, who had special rights. Even within the autonomy of the Armenian *millet*, they enjoyed special rights, one could even call it semi-independence. As long as it was possible, the central Ottoman government left the Armenians alone. Unfortunately, there were a few Armenian revolutionaries and Protestant zealots whose nationalistic fervor knew no bounds. These people used all available means of demagoguery to stir up unrest in the semIndependent rural communities. The Armenian uprising in Zeitun is an example of what resulted.

Every national/religious community (in Turkish "*millet*") within the Ottoman Empire enjoyed extensive autonomy and took care of its own administration.

Patriarch Snork Kalutsyan, spiritual leader of the Armenians of Turkey. In the Ottoman Empire, the patriarch's power was that of a "national king". All Monophysitic Christians of the Empire - and all gypsies - were subject to his rule.



The Armenian Orthodox patriarch of Istanbul ruled over all Christians who did not belong to the Greek Orthodox Church. Aside from the Armenian Gregorians themselves, these included the Monophysitic churches of Asia Minor and Africa, such as the Jacobites and the Syrians, as well as the Copts in Egypt.

In those days, gypsies were believed to come from Egypt and were called "Copti". Therefore, all the gypsies of the Ottoman Empire were also subject to the rule of the Armenian patriarch of Istanbul in matters of civil law.

Another religious group under Armenian Orthodox rule were the Bogomils of the Balkans and their founding fathers, the Paulicians. They still survived in small communities in eastern Anatolia and held Manichean beliefs. The history of the historical province of Armenia and the many peoples who have lived there begins under the banner of the fight between East and West for world supremacy.

The Haik, an Indo-European people, probably from the Balkans or Thrace, migrated to the historical province of Armenia in the sixth century B.C. At that time, the Urartian kingdom was collapsing under the blows of the Scythians.

The newly-arrived Indo-European Haik mixed with the Urartians to some extent. The Asian language of the Urartians was an agglutinative language like Turkish. It had a certain influence on the Indo-European language of the Armenians, as did the superior culture of the Urartians. While their immigration to eastern Anatolia was still going on, the Haik (Armenians) fell under Median rule, and in the year 550 the emperor Kyros took possession of the ancient lands of the Urartians along with the newly arrived Haik. The first mention of the Armenians is to be found in the inscription of Behistun in connection with the triumphant reports of the victories of Darius (486 B.C.) At that time, the Armenians were already Persian subjects.

In the fourth century before Christ, Armenia (with all its races, tribes, and people of mixed blood) was under the rule of the Achaemids and later, that of the Seleucids. When the Parthians took over, the Armenian prince Tigranes became a hostage in the Parthian court.

Tigranes II. (95-55 B.C.) succeeded in freeing Armenia from the Parthians and creating an independent Armenian nation. His capital was Tigranakert (now called Silvan, south-west of Lake Van). Tigranes II. married the daughter of the king of Pontus, Mithridates VI. Eupator, and made the disastrous mistake of joining Mithridates in a revolt against Rome.

In 69 B.C., the Roman general Lucullus defeated the Armenian ruler Tigranes II., and the short-lived dream of Armenian independence was over. For the Haik to refer nowadays on occasion to that short period of real Armenian rule in eastern Anatolia and for Armenian terrorists to base their territorial demands on that is comparable to Italian mafiosi in the United States wishing to be the suc-

When the Armenian king Tigranes refused to hand over his megalomaniac father-in-law, Mithridates, ruler of Pontus, to the Roman generals, Lucullus attacked "Tigranes City". Tigranes' armored lancers were alone more numerous than Lucullus' entire force, which the Armenians scorned, saying it was "too large for a legation but too small for an army". The battle lasted just one day (October 9, 69 A. D.), and the Romans destroyed the army of Tigranes, which had been twenty times stronger. According to the Roman military report there were virtually no Romans killed at all, only Armenians. Tigranes managed to escape unrecognized and met up again with his father-in-law, Mithridates, who was later killed by his own people. The subject peoples deserted the tyrant Tigranes and paid homage to the victors, Lucullus and Pompeius.

cessors of the Romans (or better of Lucullus or Trajan) and taking control of eastern Anatolia as the heirs of the victors of Tigranakert . . . The French could demand vast portions of North America over which they once ruled. And the examples go on ad infinitum. If every group of people claimed all the lands over which they ruled at some point in their history, then the entire world would have to be evacuated and resettled, and there would be constant warfare.

There were several eventful centuries during which dominance in eastern Anatolia belonged sometimes to the Romans (Trajan, Nero, Hadrian, Diocletian) and sometimes to the Persian Sassanids. At the end of this period, the emperor Diocletian named Tiridates III. King of Armenia. Gregory Parthev, a Parthian, preached Christianity. The most recent findings indicate that Armenia did not adopt Christianity until after the conversion of the emperor Constantine in 313 A.D. The Armenian conversion most likely occurred in 314 at the behest of King Trdat (Tiridates). The missionizing of Armenia probably began in Edessa (present-day Urfa). It has been proven that Christian communities existed as early as the second century. The great converter was Gregory Parthev Lusarevic, the Illuminator. He was not a Haik, but rather an Armenian in the true sense of the word, an inhabitant of the province of Armenia. He was, however, of Parthian origin.

Gregory lived in Roman Caesarea (Kayseri) as a refugee from the Persians. It was there that he became a Christian. At first, King Tiridates persecuted Gregory, but then he himself became a Christian, and with him, gradually, the people of Armenia.

Christianity quickly took hold throughout the Roman Empire, in Georgia as well as in Caucasian Albania and in Armenia. This deeply troubled the Persians. Julian the Apostate, who might have been able to handle the Persians, died unexpectedly. His successor, Jovian, relinquished the Caucasus and Armenia to the Persians without a fight. After the death of Emperor Theodosius in 395, the

Roman Empire was divided into an Eastern and a Western Empire. The Armenian princes, who suffered greatly under the intolerant, sometimes fanatically anti-Christian religious policies of the Sassanids tried in vain to obtain more freedom.

In the decisive battle of Avarayr in the year 451, the Armenian leader Vardan Mamikonean was defeated by the Persians. His pleas to the Byzantines for help were of no avail. 451 was a fateful year for the Armenians, it was also the year of the Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalzedon (present-day Kadikoy, in Istanbul). Because of the tragic war situation, the Christians from beyond the Byzantine borders were unable to attend the Council. The imperial policy, which was also the official policy of the Byzantine clergy, won an unchallenged victory. The doctrine of the dual nature of Christ, divine and human, prevailed. The Monophysites did not recognize the decisions of the Council. The most important Monophysitic group was the Armenians, but also in this category were the Syrians, the Egyptian Copts, their neighbors to the south in Ethiopia, and the Indian church. One must also mention the Nesto-rians in Persia, who at that time were quite strong.

This conflict resulted in a feud between Byzantium and the Armenians - a feud which had grave consequences for both sides. The Byzantines watched disdainfully as the



When the church of Aghtamar was built in the tenth century, the Armenians of eastern Anatolia and their princes were subjects of the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad. The Caliphs were in turn at the mercy of the "Mamluks", who lived at the Caliphs' court and controlled art and culture (not just the military!). These Mamluks were Turkish and belonged to the administrative and military caste. They influenced both Seljuk and Armenian architecture with their classical round buildings.

Armenians were weakened. They failed to recognize that they were losing a buffer against their Persian arch-enemies, as well as against the new invaders from the East. In 484, Byzantium was decisively weakened by Persians attacking from the East. When the emperor Justinian came to power in Byzantium a generation later, there was not a trace left of Armenian independence. Power was divided between Persians and Byzantines. The emperor Maurice even resettled a lot of Armenians in Thrace, which may well have been their original home.

Recurring themes of Armenian art: the constant struggle with the Persians, which lasted from the days of the Armenian immigration to the battle near Caldiran in 1514, where the Ottomans drove the Persians out.

Illustration from Codex 189 of Lake Van: the Haik fighting the Persians in 451. Near Avarayr the Haik lost not only the battle but also the cream of their fighting nobility under Vartan Mamigonean. (Illustration from the sixteenth century from the canon of Saint Vartan and his companions, Mechitaristenkloster, Vienna.) The same theme, the battle of Avarayr, seen through the eyes of the nineteenth century (Georg Drah, 1888): The Persian king, Yazdegerd II, tried to force the Haik to return to Mazdaism in 451 (exactly at the time of the Council of Chalzedon). He did not succeed, but the Haik ended up in a schism due to their absence at Chalzedon. Mechitaristenkloster, Vienna.

Following the struggle between Persians and Romans to gain the upper hand in Armenia, the Arabs and Byzantium shared power until Byzantium wiped out what little was left of Armenian autonomy in 1040. As late as 630 A.D., the emperor Heraclios had been hammering out plans for a Church union with the Monophysitic Armenians, but just ten years later, the Arabs relieved him of this concern by invading eastern Anatolia and breaking the Byzantines' hold on power. The occasional victories of the Byzantines (such as those under Emperor Justinian II., 685-695) only led to more brutal attempts to bring the Armenians into line with the official Greek Orthodox Church. In the end, the Byzantines and the Arabs divided up control of Armenia in much the same way as the Romans and Persians had done for eastern Anatolia and the adjoining Caucasus.

At his coronation as King of Armenia, Prince Ashkot received his insignia from both Arabs and Byzantines. Armenia blossomed as a semi-independent buffer state between Arabs and Byzantines and did not do too badly. The cleverness of the Armenian princes, who recognized the limits of their power and knew what was attainable, was always the best guarantee for the well-being of the Haik.

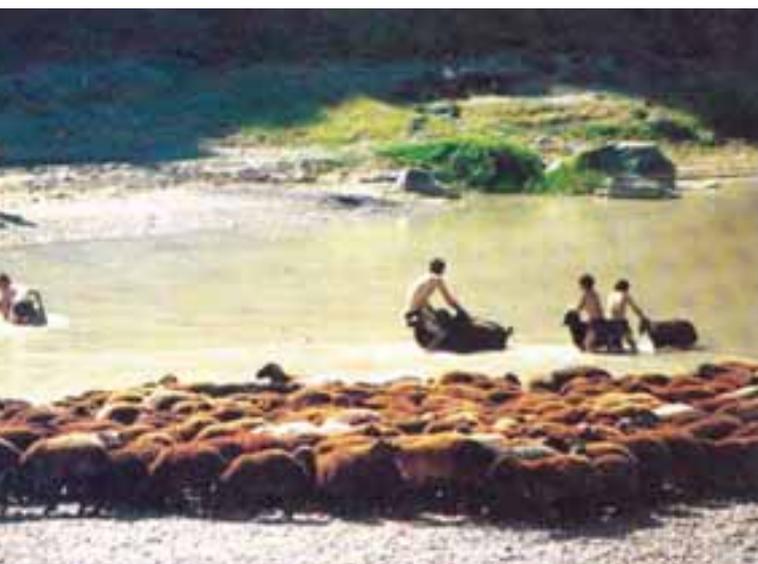
It was during this period that the magnificent buildings of Ani and the church on the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van were constructed. The supremacy of the Caliphs of Damascus and Baghdad was entirely bearable. No Arab would ever have dreamed of harrasing the Armenians because of their Monophysitic beliefs. On the contrary, they gave the Armenians the job of supervising the holy sites of Jerusalem. Under the Bagratids, who were in turn under Byzantine and Arab rule, the Armenians achieved a blossoming of their culture. Ani was completed, and the church of Aghtamar became the thriving see of the Armenian Catholicoses.



Castle and mosque of the Semiramis near Van. From the art collection of the bibliographical institute in Hildshausen, West Germany. A. D. MDCCCXXXIX (1849).

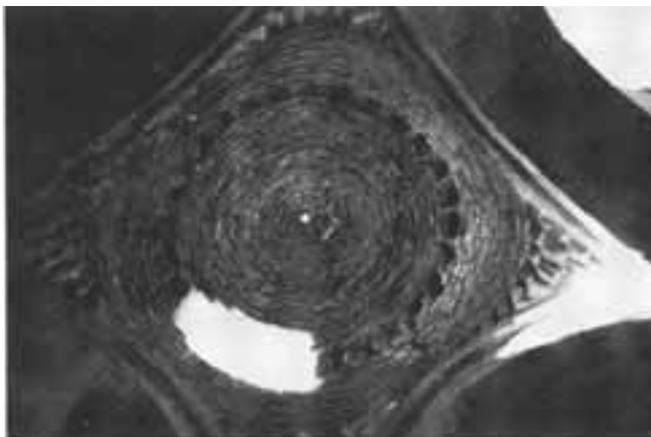
Nevertheless, the Byzantines could not resist shortening the Armenians' leash more and more. New, unsettling reports kept coming in about new tribes out of the East who were advancing across Persia to the West. But instead of promoting and reinforcing the Armenian buffer state, the Byzantines forced the prince of Ani, Hovanes Smbat, to relinquish Ani fully and unconditionally. After his triumph in the Balkans, Emperor Basil II., the "Bulgar-slayer", turned to the Caucasus and Armenia, where he met with equally great success. His expansionist policies had their crowning glory in Armenia under his successor, the emperor Constantine IX. Constantine IX. Monomachus was a ruthless Orthodox zealot. He annexed "heretical" Ani and made it part of the Orthodox Byzantine Empire. The Armenian version reads, "King Gagik II. is forced to surrender the Kingdom in Constantinople." That was in 1045, another fateful year for the Armenians. Since 1045, there has never been an independent or semi-independent principality or kingdom in eastern Anatolia,

Happy children, fresh, clean water, shepherds with their flocks, freedom . . . that has been the Turkish-Anatolian way of life since time immemorial.





the historical region of Armenia. There has been no trace of Armenian self-government or autonomy. It was Emperor Basil II., the Bulgar-slayer, and after him Emperor Constantine IX. Monomachus who wiped out every kind of Armenian political life in eastern Anatolia - no one else.



The Church of St. Gregory of Tigran Honent. It is part of the unquestioned mythology of the Armenians that "the Turks" destroyed the capital of the Bagritid dynasty. The historical truth: Since at least 772 A. D., the one-time Urartian city had been under Arab control.

After the Byzantine invasion, the pillaging of the city by the Georgians and further weakening of the principality, Hovhannes Smbat was forced to sign an agreement bequeathing his capital to the Byzantines. In 1041, Basil II (the "Bulgar-slayer") was ready to cash this I. O. U. in. When the Armenians did not want to give their capital up, the Byzantine emperor Constantine Monomachus sent two armies to Ani. Together with the Arab princes of Dvin, they broke the Armenian resistance. In 1045, the patriarch and the governor of Ani opened the gates of the city to the Byzantines, and with that the last remnants of Armenian independence in eastern Anatolia vanished. The Seljuk leader Alp Arslan did not make it as far as Ani until 1065 - a full two decades later - and he did *not* fight against Armenians, but rather Byzantines, who at that time shared power in eastern Anatolia with the Arabs.

The destruction of the semi-independent Armenian principalities, which had long served as buffer states between Byzantium and the Moslems and Persians of the East, was the work of the Greeks. They were not willing to tolerate the Monophysitic Armenians, whom they saw as inferior heretics, and they were constantly trying to convert them by force. It was the Mamie Seljuks and Ottomans who finally saved the Armenians from this fate.

The Triumph of the Ottomans in Eastern Anatolia and Cilicia

As it is not possible here to go into the history of the Armenian principalities in Cilicia, suffice it to say that at the time of the Ottoman takeover of power (1512, by Sultan Selim I.), there had not been an independent or semi-independent Armenian principality in Cilicia for 137 years. Sis was conquered by the Mamluks in 1375. The struggle for supremacy in eastern Anatolia and the adjacent regions in the south and south-west of the Ottoman realm ended on the 23rd of August, 1514 at the battle near Çaldıran. Here, Sultan Selim I. (1512-1520) dealt a crushing blow to the Persian Safavids, and with that the entire historical province of Armenia was brought under Ottoman control. At this time, it had already been nearly five centuries since an Armenian prince had held any kind of power here.

Almost exactly two years later, on August 24, 1516, Selim I. opened the way to Syria with his victory at the battle of Marc Dabik, not far from Aleppo. Selim's successor, Süleyman the Magnificent, went on to conquer Rhodes, Azerbaijan and the entire Caucasus, Mesopotamia (which was not lost again until World War I) and Hungary. The Viennese finally brought him to a halt in 1529. For the Armenians, this was the beginning of a golden age. As the Ottomans expanded their realm further and further, the Armenians followed right on the heels of the victorious armies. The domain for their activities as traders and craftsmen grew until it was a hundred times the size of their original district in eastern Anatolia.

The battlefield of Çaldıran. On August 23, 1514, Sultan Selim I defeated the Persians on this site and finally brought eastern Anatolia under Ottoman control. The border that was agreed to at that time still stands today. On the same day two years later, Selim brought southern Anatolia and Syria under his control. Immediately thereafter, Selim I made his triumphant entrance into Cairo, and the Sherif of Mecca recognized Selim as the new Caliph. Ottomans continued to be Caliphs until the new Turkish Republic abolished the Caliphate in 1924.



The island of Aghtamar with its famous church of the Holy Cross. When the church was built in the tenth century, eastern Anatolia with its Armenian principalities was ruled by the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad. Before the Abbasides, eastern Anatolia and its inhabitants had belonged to the realm of the Ommiad Caliphs, who ruled from Damascus.



The Causes of the Armenian Tragedy

The Armenian tragedy begins. Ultra-nationalistic ideologies together with an unfortunate rivalry between the various Armenian churches and sects heat up the internal political climate in the Ottoman Empire. The superpowers of the time - England, Russia and France - wanted to weaken the Ottoman Empire, and they used the Armenians callously toward this end.

Until this time, Armenians and Turks had lived together in nearly perfect harmony from the time of the Seljuk conquest of the Byzantine lands in eastern Anatolia (eleventh and twelfth centuries) until well into the nineteenth century.

The causes of the "Armenian Tragedy" are not to be found inside, but rather outside the realm of the multinational empire of the Seljuks and Ottomans.

In the nineteenth century, it was primarily Russia which was responsible for bringing unrest to the Ottoman Empire. They did, however, have the help of some Americans, such as the Protestant missionaries from Boston. Russia's objective was to gain access to the "warm seas". The American Protestant missionaries proved themselves to be "useful idiots" for the Russians.

The Rivalry Among the Churches and Sects to Win the Favor of the Ottoman Armenians

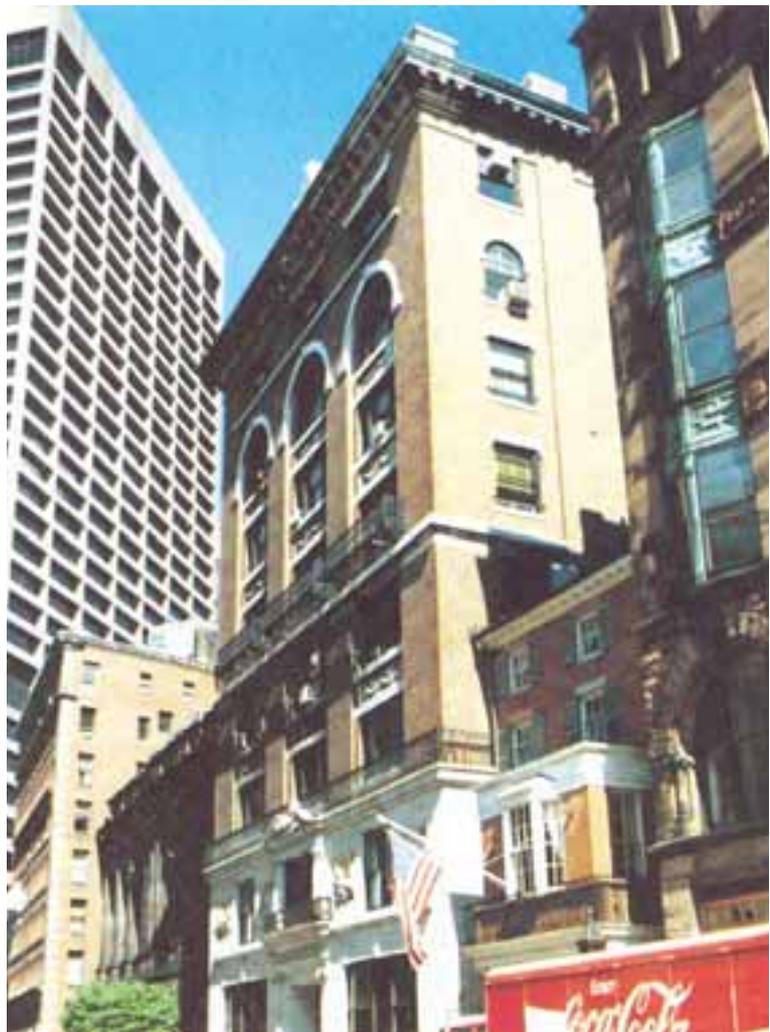
While on a missionary trip to the Choctaw Indians, the North American missionary William Goodell came up with the idea of "reconquering" the Holy Land for Christianity. At that time, the Holy Land was entirely under Ottoman rule.

This new *Crusade* - for that is exactly how the undertaking was seen - began with a series of reconnaissance tours, planned in an almost military fashion. The American missionaries spared no personal sacrifice in the course of these tours. Their total dedication to a cause in which they truly believed deserves our respect. In 1821, a small advance troop set up camp on the Holy Sepulchre. Their main objective was to have a missionary (Protestant) influence on the many pilgrims there. This first missionary effort in Jerusalem was a complete fiasco. Neither the Jews nor the Moslems nor anyone else was interested in being converted to American-style Protestantism. Finally the Americans abandoned this unfortunate attempt at proselytizing in Jerusalem, and they moved their operations to Beirut. In spite of strong resistance from all the Christian groups in Lebanon, the Americans did succeed in winning *two* Armenians over to their camp, Gre-gor Vardapet and Garabed Dionysius.

At that time, the Armenians were exclusively Gregorian. They were subject to the rule of their patriarch in Istanbul

in all matters of civil law. It soon became clear that it was the Armenians who were most interested in what the Americans were offering. What they found most attractive was the generous offer of *education*.

The Protestant missionaries started down several false paths in the Ottoman Empire. Their missionary activities took them to Malta, Greece, and finally on to Smyrna-Izmir. At the same time, they must be credited with some admirable achievements. In the end, it became quite clear that their experiences throughout the empire would follow the pattern established in Beirut. In other words, their



The Armenian tragedy also began here, at 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Headquarters of the American Protestant missionaries.

mission *only* met with success among the Armenian Gregorians. Two major facts about the Armenian Orthodox hierarchy contributed to this success. First of all, the hier-



From Boston Harbor the American missionaries set out on a new "Crusade" - as they themselves saw it - to make the Holy Land Christian again. Unfortunately, the missionaries had no success at all among the Jews or the Moslems, but only among the Armenians, in other words Christians, who were being lured away from their ancestral church.

archy did not pay enough attention to the educational needs of the highly intelligent Armenians. Secondly, it was practically drowning in wealth and power. The Americans finally opened their mission headquarters in Constantinople under the direction of William Goodell. In studying the history of the American missionaries in the

Ottoman Empire, it is quite intriguing to follow the story of all the wrong turns the missionaries took before they finally recognized with great relief that the capital of the huge empire was also without a doubt the best location for their headquarters.

The studies done by the missionaries Smith and Dwight soon confirmed the pattern established in Beirut and Smyrna. The Armenians, hungry for learning, gratefully and eagerly accepted the education offered by the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" in Constantinople.

As early as 1833, many Armenian students, eager for learning and knowledge, were converting to Protestantism. In the same year, the Protestant mission already had more than fifteen young Armenian clergymen. The missionary wave soon spread from Constantinople into the provinces. In 1834, Benjamin Schneider opened a mission in Bursa. Another in Trabzon soon followed. Five years later, in 1839, came the beginning of what the Protestant Armenian-Americans refer to in their historical writings as the "spirit of persecution". The Armenian orthodox clergy had become uneasy about the incredible success that the American missionaries were having among the most talented and capable Armenians. They launched an effort to get rid of the missionaries and win back the Armenians who had gone astray.

When persuasion did not work, the church turned to force. Schools were burned to the ground, and according to the missionary chronicler William E. Strong, "arrests were made and terror spread". The patriarch was deposed for being too tolerant, and a list was drawn up of roughly five hundred "principal suspects". They belonged to the highest social classes of the Armenian millet; they were bishops, bankers, businessmen and artists; and they were all accused of heresy. That meant expulsion from the Gregorian Church, which at that time was equivalent to losing one's nationality - a personal catastrophe for those affected. Without membership in a *millet*, one could not marry or have a Christian burial. One enjoyed no protection under the law and was subject to social ostracism.

Nevertheless, Protestantism continued to gain ground among the Armenians. This was undoubtedly due to the fine abilities of the American-Armenian clergy, as well as the thirst for learning of the Ottoman Armenians. A Protestant mission even sprung up in Van, practically the farthest corner of the huge Ottoman Empire, and the Protestants won converts among the "Mountain Nestorians" in the distant Hakkari Mountains. Protestantism did not bring much luck to either the Nestorians or the people of Van, however. Both the Armenians and the Nestorians started collaborating with the Russians (using American money) and finally drifted into the revolt movement of March, 1915. The Ottomans responded with a general relocation order. That was the beginning of the Ottoman-Armenian catastrophe of 1915, which claimed so many tragic victims on both sides.

The Beginning of the End - The Formation of a Protestant Armenian Millet

In 1846, the curtain came down twice on the Armenians, both literally and figuratively. In the church of the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople, with the curtains drawn and the altar covered, the patriarch read an excommunication order against the Armenians who had converted to Protestantism. They were accused of - and threatened with - every kind of evil in the world. Afterwards, the excommunication edict was read in all the Armenian Orthodox churches in the land under the same kind of theatrical circumstances.

The great powers rushed to the aid of the Protestant Armenians, who had now been stripped of all their rights. England was especially eager to help because it saw the situation as a good opportunity for intervention. Finally, the grand vezir of the Ottoman Empire was forced to act. On July 1, 1846, a new millet was created in the Ottoman Empire - the "First Evangelical Armenian Church". In 1848, the grand vezir published an imperial "firman" (proclamation) concerning this matter, and two years later the Sultan personally granted a charter to his new Protestant millet. Now the Protestant Armenians had the right to elect their own representatives, who could then present their concerns to the Sublime Porte with the same rights as the representatives of the Orthodox Church.

In the beginning, the new era looked promising. The intentions of the Protestant missionaries had undoubtedly been good, and they had shown unprecedented courage and selfless devotion. Nevertheless, the outcome was unintentionally disastrous for the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire.

The Catholic Armenians

With the establishment of the Protestant millet, a three-way struggle began for the hearts of the Ottoman Armenians. First, there was the old, established "Gregorian" Church, which still referred back to its founding by St. Gregory the Illuminator. Next came the Protestant Church, officially established in 1850, and thirdly the Armenian Catholic community of the Ottoman Empire, although the latter must admittedly be measured on a different scale. While the Protestants owed their official acceptance to English (and to a lesser extent American) intervention, the establishment of the Catholic Armenian millet was a result of the intervention of the French, who had always seen themselves as the protectors of Catholics living in the East.

The first Catholic Armenian patriarch Hagop Chukurian was recognized by the Sultan in 1831. It is significant that his first residence was in Adana, in the precincts of the

former Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which had ceased to exist centuries before.

Armenians had been living in Cilicia ever since an ambitious relocation program carried out by the Byzantines in the wake of several Byzantine victories over the Arabs. The Hetums and the Rubens were the most important Armenian families among those relocated, and they produced the leaders of Cilicia. In 1080, the Rubens felt that they were strong enough to establish a separate principality, independent of the Byzantines. "Armenian Cilicia" existed as a wholly or at least partially independent principality until the year 1375, when the Mamluks brought it to an end.

The Armenian leaders of Cilicia were of course always looking for allies positioned behind their immediate



One of the most important, outstanding individuals in the Armenian millet was Mekhitar of Sebaste (of Sivas in central Anatolia). He was born on February 7, 1676, the son of Armenian merchants. He soon came in contact with Jesuit missionaries, "Franks", who relied heavily on Frankish-Armenian relations established at the time of the Crusades in their missionary work among the Armenians. Mekhitar became one of the greatest of Ottoman-Armenian scholars. He founded a congregation and is considered responsible for the renaissance of Armenian literature.



The location of the Armenian Catholic church in Istanbul could not be more appropriate. The church practically grows out of the elegant building complex of the former French Embassy. Analogously, the establishment of a separate Armenian Catholic millet in 1831 can be attributed to massive French pressure on the Sublime Porte.

neighbors. These included the otherwise disparaged Mongols and the even more hated Catholics. Cilicia even formed an alliance with the Crusaders. The climax of this alliance came in 1198 when Conrad Cardinal von Wittelsbach anointed Prince Leo II. King of Cilicia. The fourteenth century was a time of bitter, merciless struggle between the Armenian Orthodox and Armenian Catholic families of Cilicia. In 1342, Cilicia became "Frankish" when it fell to Guy de Lusignan. The Gregorian majority among the Cilician Armenians reacted with rebellion, and in 1344 Guy de Lusignan and three hundred of his Frankish knights were killed. Under his Catholic successors, the "kingdom" of Cilicia consisted only of the city of Sis. In April of 1375, the Mamluks conquered Sis and took Leo V. prisoner, thus extinguishing the last traces of any Armenian state entity. It is open to question, however, whether Frankish Cilicia really had anything to do with Armenia in the first place.

The death in Paris of the last king of Cilicia struck many Europeans as very romantic. A Franciscan monk had bought the king's freedom from the Mamluks following an ambitious fund-raising drive. It was especially the French who remembered the king's death. This was, among reasons, because Leo V. was laid to rest next to the French kings in the Celestine Monastery in Paris following a solemn state funeral.

The fall of the Cilician kingdom occurred in the year 1375, a good century and a half before the conquest of Cilicia by the Ottomans. Many Armenians did of course continue to live in Cilicia, although they were always a small minority here, as they were throughout Anatolia.

The memory of King Leo was still alive in 1831 when the French forced the establishment of a Catholic Armenian patriarchate. It was probably also still alive in 1915 when they acted as accomplices to the tragedy suffered by the

local Ottoman-Armenian population during the rebellion of Musa Dagh. They were accomplices to another crime in 1918 when they landed troops in the South and made promises to the Armenian community which they were unable to keep.

A book that appeared in 1896 with the title *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities* (the author was certainly not aware of the ambiguity of the chosen title) shows just how far the American Protestants were willing to go with their propa-gandistic excesses. The spirit and content of the book are best illustrated by a few lines from the foreword by Francis E. Willard.

Armenians are apparently the most noble race in the world since, "in countenance, figure, and poise they are



Roberts College, Istanbul (today, Bosporus University). Founded in 1840 as a school for gifted Armenians, it also proved to be a training ground for Armenian nationalism.

The founders of Roberts College, in particular Cyrus Hamlin, saw great significance in the location of the new college. It was built right next to Rumeli-Hisar, the fortress from which the Ottomans had conquered half of Europe. The new school buildings were to become a symbol of the "reconquista". In his history of the "American Board", William E. Strong describes the school's founder as the "terror of the evasive Turk", whereas the Armenians were to be assisted "in every way possible". Misunderstood ultra-nationalism now started to run its course.





The American Protestant mission to the Armenians of Van began its work in 1872. The resistance from the indigenous Armenian Orthodox clergy was bitter. (Van had, after all, been the seat of the Armenian Catholicos for a long time.) It was thus a full five years before the Americans managed to erect the first place of worship for their mission.

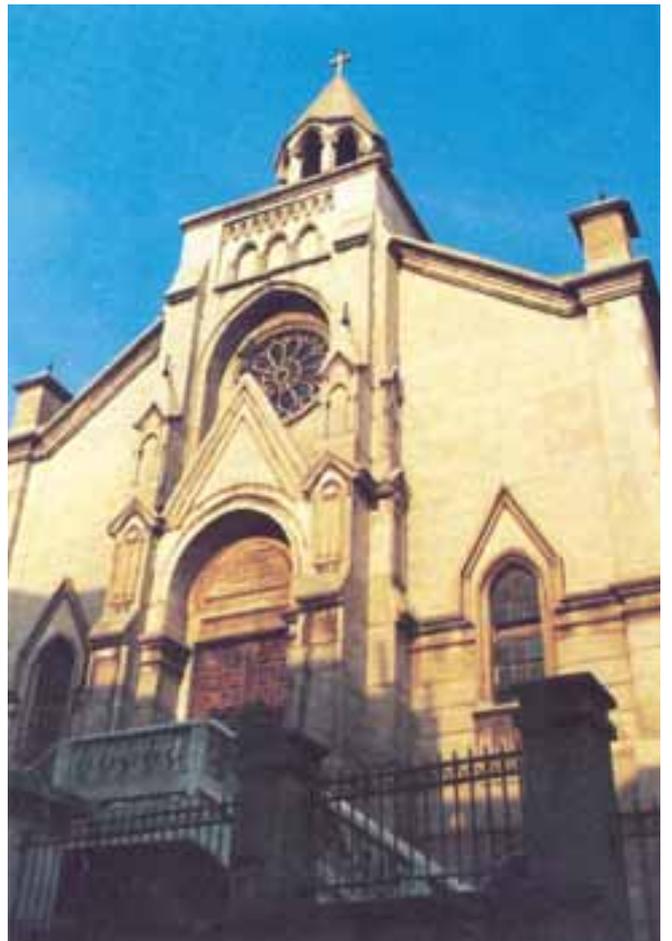
The Americans called Van "the Sebastopol of the Armenian Church" obviously alluding to the long siege and eventual assault by the allies in 1855. Partly because of the bitter rivalry between Orthodox and Protestant Armenians over who the "better" Armenian was, Van quickly became a breeding ground for fanatical nationalism. This erupted in a number of uprisings and finally led to the revolt of 1915, in which tens of thousands of Moslems lost their lives. What had started with an offer of education ended in nationalistic excesses, in spite of the idealistic zeal of many well-meaning missionaries, such as Dr. Reynolds and his wife.

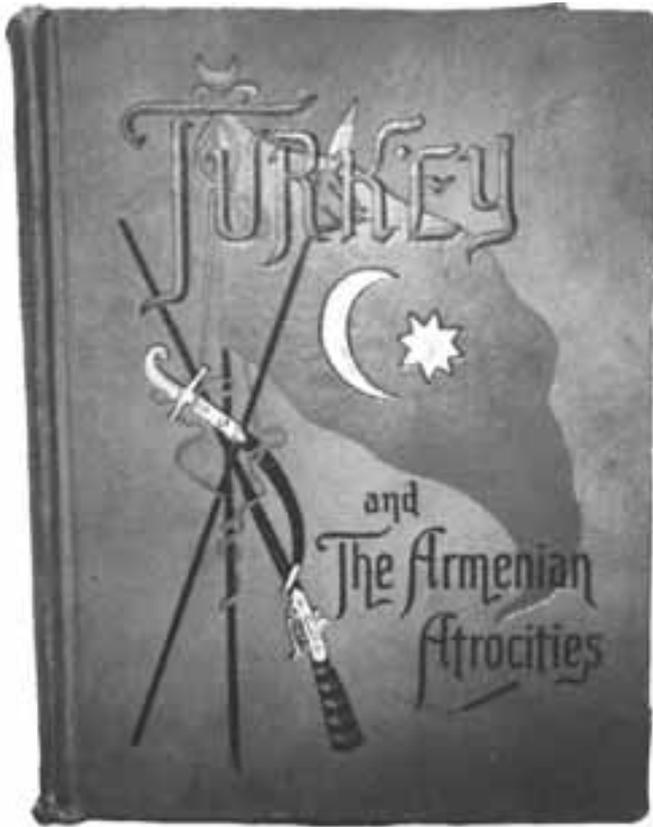


Worship service in an Armenian Protestant church in Istanbul (built in 1914, immediately before the outbreak of World War I).



The "Red House" - headquarters of the American Protestant mission in Istanbul.





Artin Dadyan Pasha, Ottoman Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1880-1887) actually did not work for the Sultan but for the Armenian case . . .

remarkably attractive. That is to say that their personal appearance comes closer to the probable appearance of Our Lord than that of any other race."

Francis E. Willard describes the Armenians as "unarmed" and says that they would never do "anything to harm anyone". In view of the huge quantities of arms that the Armenians not only stockpiled but also put to use in numerous uprisings, these remarks seem to be nothing but pure mockery. 1896 was a year of intensive Armenian terrorist activity. It was the year of the spectacular raid on the Ottoman Bank, where hostages were taken. But Islamic hostages obviously meant nothing at all to those who had an uncritical preference for the "Armenian race". After all, "the Mohammedans believe in the harem above all else." Conclusion: "Armenians are the nation, the Sultan and his soldiers are the devil's scourge. A cold-hearted observer is the Anglo-Saxon race."

Apparently the intervention of England and the United States was not enough to satisfy some Protestant missionaries. Similar views were expressed by the Russians. By the turn of the century, the Armenians had become the great powers' favorite pretense for getting involved in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire.



Trapped by bloodhounds: Sultan Murad V is shown here trying to deal with the rebellious European provinces of the Ottoman Empire: Bosnia; Herzegovina; Montenegro; and Serbia. These nations all had the distinct advantage of having solid, self-contained national minorities on their territory. (The Armenians, on the other hand, did not even come close to having a well-defined area of settlement anywhere in the Ottoman Empire in which they were in the majority.) The Czar of Russia, Austria's Emperor Franz Joseph, Emperor Wilhelm I, King George I of Greece, and Italy's King Humbert all look on with interest, while Germany's Bismarck and England's Beaconsfield are ready to jump into the fray. The Armenian patriarch, Nerses II Vartabedian, declared to the British ambassador at the time, "that if, in order to secure the sympathy of the European powers, it was necessary to rise in insurrection, there would be no difficulty in getting up such a movement" (Letter of the British ambassador, Henry Elliot, to his foreign minister in London; F. O. 424/46, p. 205-206; December 7, 1876).

Cartoon: PUNCH, July 22, 1876



"Crowds of people await the arrival of the Catholicos in Adana", says the typewritten text on this historical photograph from the year 1903. Above the picture is an exact topographical description of the various Armenian and pseudo-Armenian institutions, which unwittingly reveals the situation that led to the coming Armenian tragedy. On the far left is the Mission Residence, home of the Protestant American missionaries; then comes the Gregorian Church; the Church of the Orthodox Armenians; next is the Armenian Catholic School of the Mekhitarists; and finally, the church of the Protestants. This fragmentation into mutually hostile camps may well explain why only very modest "crowds" awaited the visit of the Catholicos, which must have been a sensational event for a provincial town like Adana. It was probably this internal strife and the nationalistic rivalry pitting Armenian against Armenian which prevented a united welcome for the Armenian Orthodox religious leader.



Rev. Melvin A. Wittier of the Armenian Protestant Church at a celebration on Kinali Ada, where the Armenian Orthodox patriarch has his summer residence.

Statement of Reverend Melvin A. Wittier, representative of the American Board of Missionaries, Istanbul, June 8, 1985.

Unrealistic dreams . . .

"In that period of tragedy of the First World War, there were ideals of nationalism which had arisen from the same line of Western thought that was taught in the foreign schools. There were severe tragedies, sometimes as a result of unrealistic dreams and feelings of nationalism on the part of several different ethnic communities. There was a movement of Christian people from today's Turkey into other parts of the Ottoman Empire. There is no doubt that some of the ideas that were expressed and were activated by some of these communities were ideas which were part of the instruction of some of the foreign schools. But with the rise of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and the establishment of a secular state, our mission has continued to reside in Turkey and to operate, accepting the secular principle fully and attempting to be agents of reconciliation in a part of the world where there still are many different ethnic communities represented."

A peaceful gathering of religious leaders of modern Turkey on Kinali-Ada to help celebrate an Armenian church festival. Kinali-Ada is a symbol of the interdenominational strife of the Christians. At first, the island was inhabited almost exclusively by Greek Orthodox Christians. It later became almost entirely Armenian. In the nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries succeeded in converting the entire population of the island to Protestantism, and it took a mighty effort on the part of the Patriarchate to bring the Armenians of Kinali-Ada back into the Gregorian fold.

One-time bitter enemies now sit peacefully side by side, either out of more or less ecumenical persuasions or simply because the situation calls for it. There are United (Catholic) Armenians, representatives of Rome (which contributed significantly to the fall of Byzantium with the Crusade of 1204), Chaldeans (whose Nestorian brothers were exposed to Byzantine persecution), Orthodox Greeks (once the mortal enemies of the Armenians, now largely united by their common hatred for the Turks), and Protestants.

They all owe their survival as churches in the Holy Land and on the territory of the former Ottoman Empire to the tolerant attitude of the Mamluks and Ottomans. In the lands that were reconquered by Europeans after a period of Islamic rule (Spain for example), there remained no Islamic minority whatsoever.

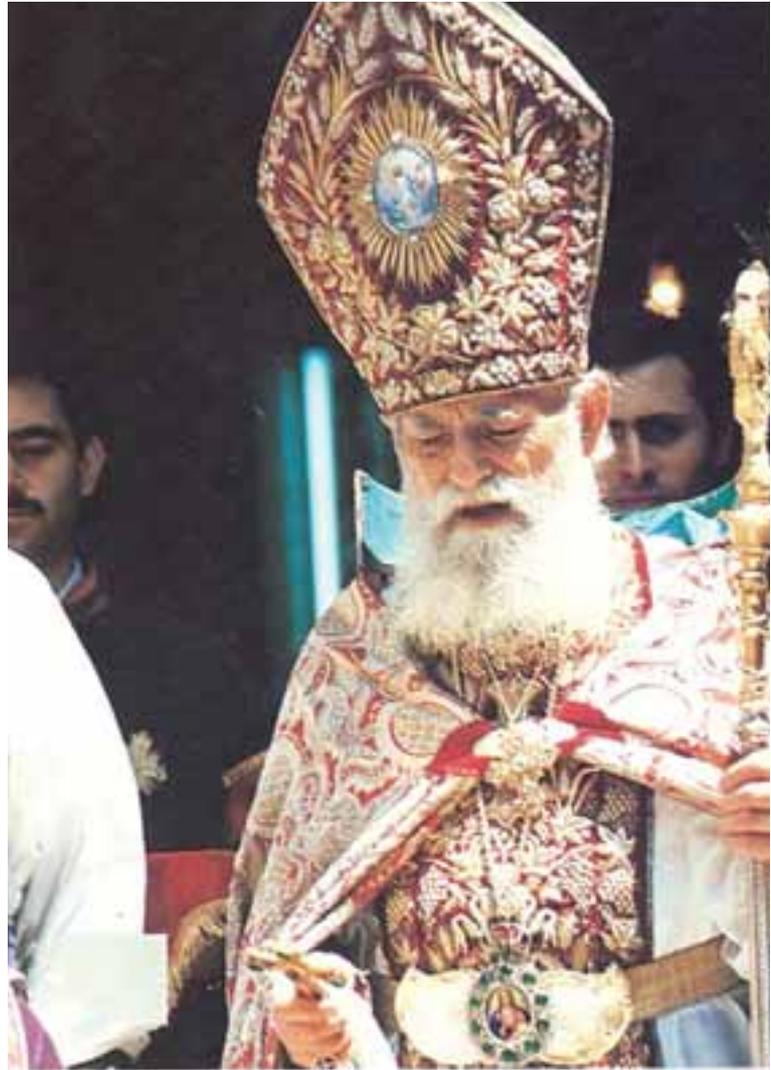


The Ottoman-Armenian architect Garabed Amira Balyan (1800-1866, above left) worked for the Sultans Mahmud II Abdül-mejid (center) and Abdul Hamid II (right). Among his most significant works are the Ortakoy Camu and the imposing Dolmabahce Palace in Istanbul, on the banks of the Bosphorus. Over the years,

virtually all foreign and domestic trade passed into the hands of the Ottoman Armenians. Later, this fact would contribute to their undoing because the ringleaders of the Armenian uprisings based their actions partly on the belief that the Ottoman Empire would surely collapse if the Armenians withdrew their friendship.



The Nineteenth Century: A Golden Age for Armenians and Ottomans, in Spite of the Beginnings of Nationalistic Agitating from Abroad



After the conquest of Istanbul, Sultan Mehmed Fatih strove to establish a good working relationship with all the peoples subject to him and to grant wide-ranging autonomy. (It would actually be more correct to speak of religious communities instead of "peoples". Ethnic and racial concepts hardly existed at the time.)

Just eight years after the conquest of Istanbul, Sultan Mehmed Fatih summoned the Armenian Orthodox archbishop of Bursa, Hovakim, to Istanbul. He had been chosen by the Ottomans, and the Sultan named him patriarch.

Patriarch Hovakim became the spiritual (and to a large extent also the secular) leader of all non-Islamic, non-Greek Orthodox inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. His power greatly surpassed that of the Armenian Catholicoses of Echmiadzin and Sis. Never in the history of the Armenian people had an Armenian possessed as much power and authority as Patriarch Hovakim (and his successors until well into the nineteenth century). The Armenians always got along better with the Ottoman Sultans than did the Greeks. The Greek Orthodox patriarchs of Constantinople, such as Gennadios II Scholarios, Isidoros II Xanthoüulos, and Sophronios I Syropolos, came and went so fast that they seemed to be developing a revolving-door patriarchate. The Armenians, on the other hand, found the right tone for dealing with the Ottomans from the start, and their power grew ever greater.

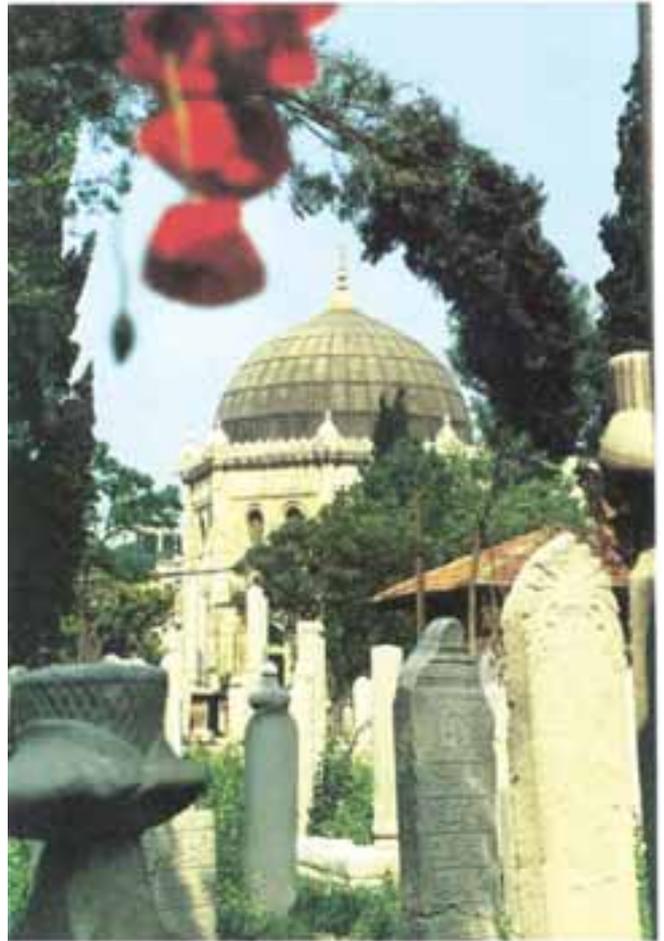
Photos: His Beatitude the Armenian Orthodox Patriarch of Istanbul Snork Kalutsyan; scenes from the 29th of May, the anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

A golden age for Ottoman-Armenian cooperation. From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, the Armenians are the Sultan's "loyal millet", and the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul is the Sultan-Caliph's very own creation.



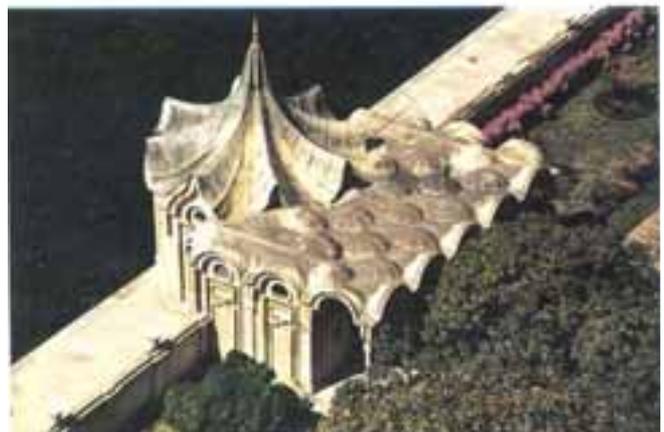


An illustration from the "Türkischer Hofer" (Nuremberg, 1721) shows a typical master builder from the happy days of Ottoman-Armenian co-existence and mutually beneficial cooperation. In those days, the Sultan still referred to the Armenians as his "loyal millet". That was before diabolical ultra-nationalistic sentiments began creeping into the Armenian community. These sentiments were as misunderstood as they were excessive. They have been the downfall of many a people, and they were indeed the downfall of the Haik.



A few more examples of the total cooperation between Ottomans and Armenians, which partially survived the Armenian uprising of 1915 and the subsequent relocation of the Armenians in Anatolia.

The "türbe" (mausoleum) of the last Sultan to die on Ottoman soil, Mehmed V Reshad. He ascended the throne on April 27, 1909 and died when the First World War was at its climax, on July 2, 1918. His mausoleum was built by an Armenian architect. It was located below Eyüp, directly on the banks of the Golden Horn.



A kiosk of Beylerbey Palace, across from Ciragan Palace on the south bank of the Bosphorus. Built by Agop Balyan.



Krikor Amira Balyan built the charming Nusretiye Camii (1835).



The portal of Dolmabahçe Palace, built by the Ottoman-Armenian architect, Garabed Amira Balyan, showing the "tughra", the supreme imperial signature of Sultan Abdul Abdülmecid

The conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed Fatih in 1453 and the subsequent promotion of the Armenian Orthodox archbishop of Bursa to patriarch of Constantinople marked the beginning of a *golden* age for the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire - often in the literal sense of the word. Armenians took over the minting of coins in the Ottoman Empire, and the accounting in the main treasury office in Istanbul was conducted in the Armenian language.



Armenian architects were responsible for an unbroken chain of major projects commissioned by their Ottoman lords. The image of the "loyal Armenian community", serving its Sultan with complete devotion, became proverbial in the Ottoman Empire.



The English saw what the Russians were demanding of the Europeans in the dictate of San Stefano as reckless gambling. As a precondition for their participation in the Congress of Berlin, which was Bismarck's idea, England insisted that every single article of the "Treaty" of San Stefano be closely scrutinized. (PUNCH, March 30, 1878)



The Marquis of Salisbury (British foreign minister, 1878-1880).



The American Embassy building in Istanbul-Pera, one of the most elegant parts of town. At the turn of the century, it was the neighborhood of choice for rich Armenians and Greeks. It is unlikely that any other ambassador in the Ottoman Empire was as dependent as the U. S. ambassador on the reports and translations of his dragomans (who were without exception of Armenian origin) and the equally pro-Armenian American missionaries. Although the United States and the Ottoman Empire were never at war with one another, the image of the "Terrible Turk" was especially strong in American public opinion. This was one of the effects of the twisted reports that reached Washington from Constantinople.

Great-Power Politics and the *Armenian Question*

The Mongols were, in their day, *the* great power. In 1236, they laid waste to Ani, and in 1379 they invaded eastern Anatolia once again under Timur-lenk. The plight of the Armenian population was so desperate that the Catholicosate had to be moved to Echmiadzin. Sis, in southern Anatolia was the last Armenian stronghold. It was conquered by the Mamluks in 1375.

After that date, the religious and cultural activities of the Armenians continued to be of significance, but as far as power or territory were concerned, they were out of the historical picture.

To understand how an *Armenian Question* could nevertheless become a factor in great-power politics, we must consider the expansionist aspirations of Czarist Russia and the chess moves connected with those aspirations. The Armenians were merely a pawn in an ugly chess game, and the Russians, whether in Moscow or St. Petersburg, often found it useful to sacrifice that pawn. The speed and determination with which Russia won Persian and Turkish territory is breathtaking. They conquered the southern part of central Asia, northern Persia, the Caucasus, the Crimea, and eventually won access to the Balkans. A quick look at these events makes the importance of an *Armenian Question* clear, especially if we remember what Russia's primary goal has always been: the conquest of the Dardanelles.

1774 was the prelude to the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of Karlowitz, sixty-five years earlier, had already been bad enough for the Turks, but now in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, the Ottoman Empire lost so much of its prestige that only the Austrians and the Russians were left with any say in the Balkans. In the East, it was the Russians all alone.

Eastern Anatolia had been Ottoman since 1515. Sultan Murad III. had conquered Georgia in 1578. The Turks' only rivals in the East had been the Persians. In 1639, the Ottomans signed the Treaty of Kasr-i Şirin with the Safavids, and in spite of the wars that followed, the Turkish-Iranian border still follows the line determined in 1639.

All the Turkish-Persian wars affected Armenian territory, but "Armenian" is to be understood here as referring to the historical province. It has nothing to do with any official authority of the Haik people, who lived together with other peoples and tribes in eastern Anatolia and the surrounding area. At the time of the Treaty of Kasr-i Şirin, 1639, the Crimea was Ottoman as was Georgia and the entire coastline of the Black Sea. The Black Sea was a Turkish-Ottoman inland sea.

Erivan had belonged to the Persians since 1639. It was an almost exclusively Islamic city.

Russia's first step toward the Caucasus came in 1556 with the conquest of Astrakhan.

Transcaucasia nominally belonged to the Persians, but Azerbaijan was under de facto Ottoman control. Armenians - or more accurately, Haik - were only mentioned once during this period. That was when Shah Abbas moved the Armenians from Erivan and Julfa into the interior of Persia in 1603-1604.

Mehmed the Conqueror had founded the Patriarchate of Istanbul in 1461. All the Armenians and Monophysites of the Empire were subject to the patriarchs of Istanbul. The Catholicosates of Sis and Echmiadzin, which was at that time Persian, had absolutely no power in the Ottoman Empire.

The Russians became involved in the Turkish-Persian war of 1723-1727 and sent troops to the Caspian Sea. The Khanate of Kuba, north of Baku, fell under Russian influence.

In 1768, a Russian-Turkish war broke out in the wake of the events in Poland. The Ottoman army was defeated and the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca was signed in 1774. The Russians now advanced into the Caucasus for the first time. They made it as far as Kutaisi and Ahiska by way of Poti. In other words, they were almost to the present-day border between Turkey and the Soviet Union.



The Imperial Russian Embassy complex in Istanbul-Şişhane. From the bel etage of the embassy, the Russians have a magnificent view of the Straits. Russian politics, which have always betrayed a yearning for the "warm waters", have not changed any more than Russian support for the Armenian terrorists, which has a bloody tradition dating back to the days of the Czars.

The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca also gave Kabartay in Transcaucasia (on the east slope of Mount Elbrus) to the Russians, but more important than any territorial gains, it granted to the Russians a certain say in protecting the rights of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire. From this point on, Russia was constantly striving to expand its territory at the expense of the Turks and Ottomans. This was almost always done under the pretense of protecting Christians.

1783 Russia concluded a defense treaty with the Christian princes of Georgia, thus winning a great deal of control over ancient "Iberia".

1787 Empress Catherine II. of Russia met with Emperor Joseph II. of Austria in Kherson, on the Crimean peninsula, just sixty kilometers from Yalta. From May 14 until June 13, they discussed how they would divide up the Ottoman Empire. The leaders agreed to the "Greek Scheme", which envisaged the formation of a Greek Orthodox state to be called "Dacia".

It was to encompass Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Walachia. This would secure the Russian lands west of the Dnieper as well as Austrian influence in the Balkans. In case of the fall of Constantinople, a new Byzantium was to be established. A short time later, the Ottomans declared war on the Russians, and there was once again fighting in the Caucasus. No more territory changed hands, however.

1796 The Russians took advantage of Persian attempts to win back lost territory as an excuse for marching into Kuba, Baku, Derbent, Shirvan, and Karabagh.

1801 The Russians annexed Georgia.

1812 Following the Peace of Bucharest, the Russians gained control of the Rion Basin, west of Souram in the Caucasus.

1813 Following the Peace of Butistan, the Russians occupied the Persian territories on the Caspian Sea (roughly in accordance with the present-day Russian-Iranian border). When Shah Abbas Mirzan tried to win back his lost territory, he was defeated once again, this time disastrously.

1828 In the Treaty of Turkmenchai, the Persians were forced to cede the Khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan (today an autonomous S.S.R., just to the southeast of Ararat) to the Russians. The borders laid down at that time are still valid today. This was the first war in which Armenian volunteers took part in large numbers, as they did later in 1914-22. The Haik of the Erivan region were now under Russian rather than Iranian control. This had very grave consequences, since the Russians had already seen how they could exploit the Armenians as useful tools. Echmiadzin, the seat of an Armenian Orthodox Catholicos, also fell under Russian control in 1828.

In the wake of the Treaty of Turkmenchai and the dismal war with the Greeks, British, and French in

the West, the Russians were able to advance as far as Erzurum.

1829 In the Treaty of Edirne, the Russians obtained the Black-Sea strongholds of Poti and Anapa, as well as Ahiska, Ahilkalek, and Akchur, thus establishing the present-day Russian-Turkish border. The Caucasus now belonged entirely to the Russians.

This peace treaty granted the Haik and the Moslems the right to choose between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. More than 100,000 Armenians left the areas beyond Erzurum at that time and moved to the region that is now the Soviet Republic of Armenia. Likewise, the majority of Moslems left the Caucasus and settled in Anatolia. Until this time, Erivan had been inhabited almost exclusively by Moslems.

After the Treaty of Turkmenchai (1828, Turkmenchai is located in northern Persia, on Lake Urmia), the Czar founded an *Armenia* out of the former Khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan. He made all inhabitants of the region Russian citizens, and declared himself "King of Armenia". He also had the title "King of Poland".

1849 The Caucasus region was divided into two parts, but in

1854 this division was revoked because of constant riots



SIR AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD
British Ambassador at Istanbul
(1877-1880)

as the Moslems simply could not accept the rule of the Georgian and Armenian Christians in these large regions.

Prince Vorontsov, who was in charge of reorganizing this region, broke it up into a large number of small political provinces. The Armenians lived mainly in the province of Tiflis, but they soon came in large numbers to the Erivan region as well.

1854 was also the year of the Crimean War, which broke out because the Ottomans refused to recognize a general Russian protectorate of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire.

The goal of the Russians was to bring about the fall of the Ottoman Empire. They wanted to let the "sick man on the Bosphorus" die and seize power themselves.

1854 Kars fell to the Russians after a heroic defense.

1856 The "Protocol of Vienna" brought an end to the Crimean War. The Peace of Paris, in the same year, was a genuine success for the Ottoman Empire. Kars was given back to them, and the odious "protectorate" over the Orthodox Christians of Turkey was abolished. (This protectorate could almost be seen as an anticipation of the later Brezhnev Doctrine.) England, in particular, had refused to accept the plans for dividing up the Ottoman Empire because they saw their own interests endangered. Just twenty years later, Russia would try once again to bring the Ottoman Empire to its knees.

1863 A "Règlement de la nation armenienne" was published. This did not alter the status of the Armenians within the Ottoman Empire in any way. Its purpose was to restrict the rights of the patriarch, in accordance with the wishes of the representatives of the Armenian minority. The creation of the Catholic and Protestant millets had already curbed the power of the patriarch. Now the political representatives of the Armenians were getting into the act as well, and everyone was fighting with everyone else to gain the upper hand within the Armenian millet. The effect was obviously detrimental to the Armenians and only profitable for the radicals.

Sensible Armenians recognized even then that it could only have disastrous consequences for their people if the old plans to set up a Greek Orthodox *Byzantium* under Russian protectorate were realized. These plans had not been forgotten since the Crimean conference between Joseph II. and Catherine II. If carried out, they would certainly have led to renewed attempts from the Greek (or Russian) Orthodox Church to bring the Armenians entirely under their control.

Russian rule in the Caucasus had already demonstrated quite clearly that the Czar had never dreamed of granting special rights to the Armenians and certainly had no thought of granting them their independence as some had hoped. That would only



The Russian victory in the war of 1878/79 was disastrous for the Ottoman Empire and also brought on a catastrophe for the Turks of the Balkan peninsula. Within just a few days, 400,000 Islamic Turks were slaughtered in the newly formed principality of Bulgaria. More than one million Turkish refugees fled to Istanbul. The refugees tried in desperation to free the deposed Sultan, Murad, who was interned in Ciragan Palace. They believed he might be able to change the course of the war. The guards were responsible for a bloodbath among the rebels. (Drawing from the VSEMIRNAYA ILLUSTRATIYA, St. Petersburg, May 24, 1878.) None of the major powers saw fit to champion the cause of the Ottoman refugees. The mass murders went unpunished.



One of the masterpieces of Ottoman-Armenian architecture. Even in ruins, it is still enchantingly beautiful. This is what remains of Ciragan Palace on the Bosphorus, built by Nigogosh Balyan. Sultan Murad V spent his years of banishment here.

have led the other nations under Russian control to have similar thoughts of independence. The fact is that until 1870 the Armenians were of almost no significance on the international political scene. The calamity that was to come crept up slowly, almost unnoticed.

1876 A conference of ambassadors in Istanbul simply refused outright to accept a demarche from the Armenian patriarch. The only ones who had ever shown any interest in the Armenians were the Rus-Beylerbey Palace on the Bosphorus, one of the masterpieces of the Ottoman-Armenian



architect, Agop Bey Balyan, was the scene of a meeting between Sultan Abdul Hamid and Russian Grand Duke Nicholas. At the beginning of the war, the Armenians had solemnly declared their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, but in the Ottomans' hour of greatest need, the Armenians, who had always been the "loyal millet" in the past, ran to the Russians and tried to take advantage of the situation. The Ottomans could never forget this breach of faith. Ottoman-Armenian relations started becoming more difficult from that moment on.

sians, who sometimes found the Armenian minority useful for their territorial expansion in the East. Occasionally, they even used the Armenians as henchmen to spread fear and panic among the Moslems without getting their own hands dirty. (A good example is the conquest of Erzurum in 1839 where the Armenians were responsible for a massacre of Moslems.)

1877 With the Balkans already given away, it became clearer and clearer that the Russians wanted to advance along the Erzurum-Alexandretta (today Isken-derun) axis toward the Mediterranean.

Now the Armenians started to take on real importance for the Russians. They were expected to serve as a Fifth Column. At this point, the Russians no longer restricted themselves to exploiting the Armenian clergy. They started using the Armenian revolutionary cadres more and more.

At the same time, the English developed an interest in the Armenians. They came up with the idea of an Armenian buffer state, which could serve as a check on the great powers in the event of a collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

1877 April 24 saw the beginning of a new war with

Russia. It was the shortest of all the wars, but also the most devastating for the Ottomans. "The catastrophe of twelve-ninety-three" (that was the year according to the Ottoman calendar) is still proverbial for the Turks of today. From the start, the Russians had the advantage on the eastern front. Kars fell on November 18. The Russians were under the command of the Armenian general Loris Melikof. While Erzurum stood firm against all the Russian attacks, the Turks suffered a disastrous defeat near Plevne on the Balkan front.

1878 The Armistice of Edirne was concluded on January 31. The fate of the Ottoman Empire appeared to be sealed. Nothing could stop the Russians from marching right on to Constantinople.

The Armenians now established contact with the Russians in Edirne. At the beginning of the war, they had stood solidly behind their Ottoman fatherland. Now, after the catastrophe of Plevne, the entire Armenian camp swung over to the Russian side. The first contacts took place in Edirne. Whether and in what way the patriarch and the catholicos were involved in this scenario is a subject of debate. In any case, the result of these interventions was that the Russians interceded expressly on behalf of the Armenians in the peace dictate of San Stefano. The wording of the passage was, however, left entirely non-committal since the Russians clearly had no intention of granting independence to their own Armenians.

Article 16 of the Treaty of San Stefano (Yesilköy) states: ". . . la Sublime Porte s'engage à réaliser sans plus de retard les améliorations et les réformes exigées par les besoins locaux dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens et à garantir leur sécurité contre les Kurdes et les Circassiens."

This totally empty clause does nothing more than demand that the Ottomans provide for the security of the Armenians against Kurdish and Circassian attacks. It was nevertheless a turning point. The Armenians had now for the first time been mentioned in an international treaty, even if it was in fact a dictate. The Armenians appreciated it, regardless of its insignificance (and the Russians had good reason for making it so insignificant).

Only too soon did it become clear that the "peace treaty" of San Stefano was of a very provisional nature. Both England and Austria rejected it. Eventually the parties agreed to Bismarck's suggestion that a conference be held in Berlin to deal with the *Ottoman Question*.

The representatives of the great powers met in Berlin from June 13 to July 13, 1878. Aside from the two chancellors, Gorchakov and Bismarck, those present in the new German capital included Count An-drassy of Austria-Hungary, Lord Beaconsfield of Great Britain, Waddington of France, Corti of Italy,

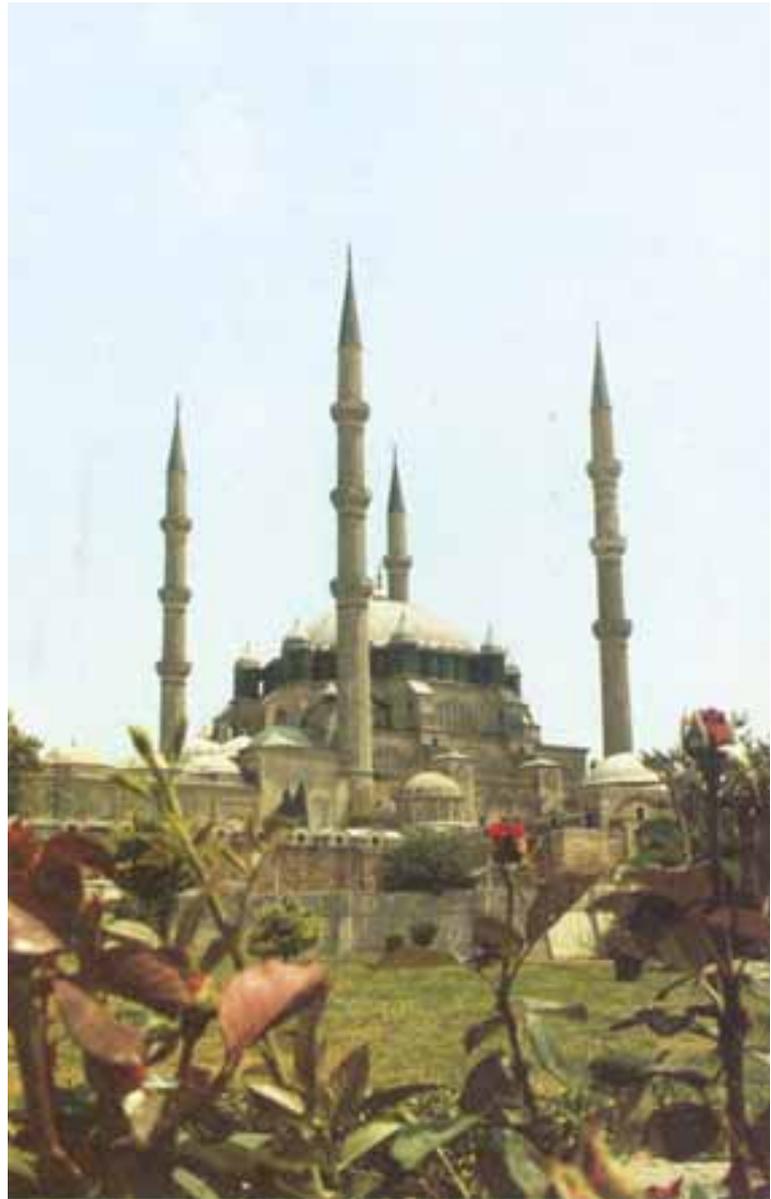
and Karatheodori and Mehmed Ali of the Ottoman Empire. The only purpose of the Congress was to remove those conditions from the dictate of San Stefano which were too oppressive for the Ottomans. And that is just what was done.

The strong Armenian delegation, under the leadership of Prelate Khrimian - a former Armenian patriarch - had travelled to Berlin in vain. It was already common knowledge that the Armenians did not constitute a majority anywhere in Anatolia. It was only in Van itself that they even made up a third of the population. No one wanted to grant autonomy to such a minority. On what grounds could such an action be justified?

On the 8th of July, 1878, the Congress replaced Article 16 of San Stefano with "Article 61", which for the most part corresponded to the original. Article 62 also dealt with religious freedom, but nowhere was there any talk of autonomy. The Armenian millet was simply not large enough for that. The nineteenth century had become a century of the triumph of the nation states - but also of the democratic majority. Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Romania all became independent, but in every case the nation constituted a solid majority.

In the case of the Armenians, the situation was totally different. It may have been true that an Armenian king had once ruled over an Armenian kingdom in the vast territories that the Armenians were claiming, but that had been almost two thousand years earlier under totally different circumstances. The nineteenth century called for majorities, and it was the Moslems who had the majorities - throughout Anatolia.

There were certain Armenian circles that simply could not come to terms with these facts. Groups of revolutionaries, intellectuals, and clergymen, egged on primarily by the Russians but also to some extent by the missionaries, turned to ever more daring and adventurous means in order to attract attention and eventually gain power over the majority.



The Selimie of Edirne, a masterpiece by Mimar Sinan. Representatives of the Armenian patriarch (Khrimian) of Istanbul met in Edirne in 1878 with the victorious Russians. The Ottomans saw this as shameless treachery.



Bismarck's Germany and emperor Franz Joseph's Austria-Hungary joined Great Britain in thwarting the Czar's plans to carry out the liquidation of the Ottoman Empire, as provided for in the dictate of San Stefano.

Photo: The magnificent summer residence of the Austrian-Hungarian ambassador on the Bosphorus. Today it has been abandoned by the Austrian government and has fallen into disrepair.

Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.

No. 211. Confidential.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *February 17,*
1880. (Received February 26.)

My Lord,

The Gregorian Armenian Patriarch, Mgr. Narses, is constantly complaining to me of the ill-treatment and injustice to which the Armenians in Asia Minor are exposed, and appealing to me to obtain for them a reformed Administration and redress. Similar complaints are being made by him to the German Embassy, and, no doubt, to other Embassies. As I was desirous of sending Sir A. Sandison to his Beatitude to obtain fuller information on the subject of the demands of the Armenian population, and to learn more precisely his views as to the measures to be taken for its improvement, which I could urge upon the Porte with some prospect of success, I thought the opportunity a good one of carrying out your Lordship's instruction, contained in your despatch No. 79, Secret and Most Confidential, of the 2nd instant, to show myself as acting with the German Charge d'Affaires in the Armenian question. On my proposal, Count Radolinski at once agreed that M. Testa, the first interpreter to the German Embassy, should accompany Sir A. Sandison in his visit to Mgr. Narses. I have the honour to inclose a memorandum from Sir Alfred of the result of their interview with his Beatitude, which your Lordship will read with interest.

I have already expressed my opinion to your Lordship that the Porte could not be called upon to pledge itself that an Armenian should always be appointed Governor of the Province of Erzeoum. This would be the first step to the assertion of a claim to autonomy to which the Turkish Government would not agree. Nor, it appears to me, have the Armenians any right to insist upon this condition. A demand that the appointment should be open to Christians as well as Mussulmans is another thing, and would be justifiable. It has already been conceded in principle by the recent nomination of Rustem Pasha, who was unfortunately compelled to decline the post on account of the state of his health.

It is not likely that the Porte would listen to any suggestion for the creation of an Armenian autonomous province, nor is it, I am convinced, to the real interest of the Armenians that they should put forward such a pretension. They appear to forget when they point to Eastern Roumelia as a precedent to justify their demand, that in that province the Christians were in a very considerable majority when compared with the Mussulman population. The contrary is the case in almost every part of Asiatic Turkey. Any attempt of the Armenians to obtain autonomy, which, of course, in

the sense they place upon the term, means exclusive Christian rule and administration, would be resisted to the utmost by the Mahommedans, who are well acquainted with the fate which has befallen their co-religionists in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. The consequence would, most probably, be a bloody struggle, if not a general massacre of the Armenians, which could only be stopped by an armed intervention on the part of Russia, ending, in all likelihood, in the absorption of the Armenians into her dominions, and the loss of their nationality, as she is even less disposed to encourage Armenian autonomy and ultimate independence than Turkey.

(The rest of the letter tells of the denial of consular reports concerning conditions in Anatolia, which the Porte believed to be inspired by Patriarch Nar-ses.)

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. Layard

F. O. 424/106, p. 174-175,
No. 81

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby. No. 1337.
CONSTANTINOPLE, December 7, 1876.
(Received December 15.)

My Lord,

The Armenian Patriarch called upon me yesterday. His object was to express, on behalf of the large Christian community of which he is the head, the hope that the Conference will not insist upon the Porte conceding to the provinces which had risen against the Government privileges which would be denied to those which had remained quiet, but which were entitled to equal consideration.

I answered with reserve, saying that the object of the Conference was to restore tranquillity to the provinces where an insurrection threatened the general peace, but that it would not, I imagined, go into the whole question of the administration of the entire Ottoman Empire.

The Patriarch replied that his people were much excited, and said that if, in order to secure the sympathy of the European Powers, it was necessary to rise in insurrection, there would be no difficulty in getting up such a movement.

(The rest of the letter concerns Circassian refugees who were forced to move from Europe to Asia.)

I have, &c.
(Signed) Henry Elliot

F. O. 424/46, p. 205-206, No. 336



Patriarch Mygirdich Khrimian (1869-1874) was the leader of an Armenian delegation which visited a number of European capitals to try to drum up support for an "autonomous" Armenia. On the eve of the Congress of Berlin, Prelate Khrimian submitted a brief in support of his case to the Congress. Upon his return, Prelate Khrimian indirectly encouraged the Armenians to use violence by commenting allegorically on the fact that the Balkan nations had picked up their ration of freedom "with the iron spoon", whereas the Armenians were eating with paper spoons. The result was a whole series of bloody rebellions of the Armenian minority, who simply did not want to acknowledge the decisions of the Congress of Berlin.

Patriarch Nerses II Vartabejian, Armenian patriarch of Istanbul (1874-1884), wrote Lord Salisbury on April 13, 1877 that co-existence between Armenians and Turks was impossible and that the only solution would be the creation of an "autonomous Christian organization" (in other words a Christian state) based on the Lebanese model.

"Une autorité Chrétienne . . . doit donc remplacer l'autorité Musulmane partout où il y a agglomération des Chrétiens . . ." Even the patriarch did not venture to speak of a Christian majority in eastern or southern Anatolia. He chose instead the word "agglomération", which was perhaps to be found in a few streets or in some of the better neighborhoods of eastern Anatolian cities. The word could not, however, be applied to one single complete city. (Quotation taken from F. O. 424/70, pp. 70-72, No. 134/1).



The Congress of Berlin: Bismarck's dominating personality takes center stage. The parties agree to honorable, acceptable terms for the Ottoman Empire. The Armenian Question is certainly not resolved as the Armenian minority might have hoped, but it remains a pretext and a focal point for foreign intervention.



Grand Duke Nicholas meets the Sultan in Beylerbey. In tough negotiations, the Caliph manages with great difficulty to prevent a Russian occupation of Istanbul.

Bon appetit!

In 1879, rumors surfaced of an impending war with Burma. The power of the worldwide British Empire was approaching its absolute zenith, and nothing seemed as important as the protection of the Indian colonies. Burma was a casualty of this situation, in the same way as Cyprus and the Ottoman Empire as a whole. The Armenian Question was merely a cheap pretext for intervening in Turkey under these circumstances. No real interest in the true needs of the Armenian minority had ever existed. Rumelia, Cyprus, Burma, Afghanistan and Turkey were all on a par with the issue of the Armenians and Zululand as far as the British were concerned.

Letter from the British Foreign Ministry to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Istanbul

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *May 30, 1878.*

Sir,

The progress of the confidential negotiations which have for some time past been in progress between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Russia make it probable that those Articles of the Treaty of San Stefano which concern European Turkey will be sufficiently modified to bring them into harmony with the interests of the other European Powers, and of England in particular. There is, however, no such prospect with respect to that portion of the Treaty which concerns Turkey in Asia. It is sufficiently manifest that, in respect to Batoum and the fortresses north of the Araxes, the Government of Russia is not prepared to recede from the stipulations to which the Porte has been led by the events of the war to consent. (This very comprehensive letter continues with a discussion of the fact that the Russians will henceforth use the fortresses of Batoum, Ardahan, and above all Kars to "exercise a powerful influence disintegrating the Asiatic dominion of the Porte".) The surprising, truly imperialistic conclusion drawn from the Russian expansionist aspirations reads as follows:

I request, therefore, your Excellency to propose to the Porte to agree to a Convention to the following effect, and I have to convey to you full authority to conclude the same on behalf of the Queen and of Her Majesty's Government:

"If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, or any of them shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further portion of the Asiatic territories of the Sultan, as fixed by the definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join the Sultan in defending them by force of arms. In return, the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms (to be agreed upon later between the two Powers) into the government of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories; and, in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England."

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

Turkey No. 36 (1878), p. 1-2, No. 1

Nationalism Spreads From the Church to Secular Organizations

Armenakan, Hunchaks and Dashnaktsutun:
Revolutionary Parties; Terror as Method

The first political party of the Armenian minority to attain any significance was the "Armenakan" Party. Founded in Van in the autumn of 1885, the party was organized along European lines and had its own publication.

The mastermind behind this thoroughly revolutionary organization was the son of a tremendously wealthy banker from Constantinople. His name was Mekertich Portukalian. After running into many difficulties with schools that he had established in Van, he emigrated to Marseilles, and from then on he directed his party from there. He also published a periodical in Marseilles, called "Armenia". His objective was to rouse enthusiasm for an Armenian state among the Armenians who were scattered across Europe. The response came in the form of an "Armenian Patriotic Society", which raised money and bought arms and munitions.

Their aim was to "win for the Armenians the right to rule over themselves, through revolution." The members of the Armenakan in Van and the surrounding area were equipped with the most modern weapons and trained in the art of guerilla warfare and in "preparing the people for a general movement" with due consideration given to the support "of friendly great powers". Soon, the Armenakan had revolutionary cells in Trabzon and Constantinople, as well as cadres in Russia, Persia, and the United States.

According to the pro-Armenian historian Christopher Walker, the "enlightenment developed by Portukalian" was soon lost in the "sterile brutality" of the Armenian terrorist scene.

In 1887, Armenians in Geneva founded the first Armenian party emphasizing Marxist principles. Their symbol was the bell ("hshak" = bell). The Hunchaks drew their membership almost entirely from Russian Armenians, who gave the party the militant-revolutionary spirit that comes from the Caucasus (the young Dzhughashvili, commonly known as Stalin, also came from this world.) The party organ was called Hunchak, and in 1890 the group adopted the name "Hunchakian Revolutionary Party", or "Hunchaks" for short. Their leader was the fanatical revolutionary Avetis Nazarbekian. He was reportedly "dark, slender, very handsome in an oriental style, and played the violin excellently". He also saw "revolutionary terror" as the natural consequence of rejecting "capitalist" legislation.

Finally, the "Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries", the "Hai Hegapokhakanneri Dashnaktsutun", appeared as a result of the need for an umbrella organization for all the little terrorist groups and revolutionary cells. The goal of the organization was (and is) to win Armenian independence by means of a people's war. Many groups



Theater curtain from an Armenian school in eastern Anatolia showing the revolutionary Hunchaks, Habete Tavekelian and Kalust Andrassian. Terrorists such as these prepared the ambitious, carefully planned "rebellion of Van", which was supposed to rouse world opinion once again against the "atrocities of the Turks".

Money was needed for this purpose, lots of money, and the abbot of the monastery of Aghtamar in Lake Van was expected to contribute his share. He refused to pay tribute to the terrorists because he felt that the Armenians had a good life within the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, he and his secretary were murdered. The terrorists quartered their bodies and threw them into the lake. Abbot Boghos' successor willingly paid the sum demanded.

One year later, in June of 1896, the revolt of Van erupted. It was a bloody preview of the tragedy of 1915, when the terrorists wiped out the entire population of the Islamic part of town.

shunned this common umbrella from the start, however, so the Dashnaks changed their name to "Hai Hegapokhakan Dashnaktsutiun" - "Armenian Revolutionary Federation". This name is still used by the Dashnaks today. In the nineteenth century, some Protestant-Armenian pastors had fought bitterly with the Gregorian priests over who the best nationalist shepherds were. Now, two political groups, the Dashnaks and the Hunchaks were competing for the favor of the Armenians in the same way. The Hunchaks stressed their socialist convictions whereas the Dashnaks put more emphasis on their nationalist views. Together, they produce exactly the same fanatically distorted, national-socialist world view as other organizations with the same ideological persuasions.



The banner of the Dashnaktsutiun with the two legends "Revolutionary Committee of the Armenian Dashnaktsutiun" and "Freedom or Death". Heavily armed Dashnaks are seen coming from Ararat, and the bomb exploding in the foreground symbolizes the "work" of the revolutionary groups of the Ottoman Empire. This picture was published in Geneva in 1909.

The Dashnaks in particular used brutal terrorism again and again as a political means to accomplish their ends. They have been responsible for numerous attacks, including some very recent ones. Their activities are financed largely by means of intimidation and extortion.

One of the ugliest attacks of the Dashnak organization was the assassination attempt on Sultan Abdul Hamid.

The Armenian politician K. Papazian, author of the book *Patriotism Perverted* (Boston, 1934), writes that "the at



July 21, 1905: The "Yildiz attempt" on the life of Sultan Abdül Hamid.

tempt on the life of Abdul Hamid in 1905 constitutes the last episode of the revolutionary attempts of the A. R. Federation" to achieve political goals by means of assassinations. Since the attempt failed, its consequences were merely unpleasant. The bombs went off too soon because the Sultan spent too much time talking to the Sheik ul Islam after his visit to the Yıldız Mosque. The Sultan's pardon of the assailants was futile. The trouble-makers just turned to plotting flashy uprisings in order to attract European attention.

The Bab-i Ali Demonstration, the Hunchaks, and the Kusaktsakan

On September 30, 1895, the Hunchak Party organized a spectacular demonstration in the immediate vicinity of the Sublime Porte (Bab-i Ali). The Revolutionary Hunchak Party had planned something special, and it worked just as they had planned. The Hunchaks sent letters in advance to all the embassies in Istanbul, announcing their "*peaceful demonstration*" and at the same time denouncing any acts of violence as the work of the police and military. Everyone involved knew, however, that an especially radical wing of the party was planning well-calculated riots. Many demonstrators appeared heavily armed in order to make September 30 a "*memorable*" day. Around noon, two thousand people had already gathered in the Kum Kapu district, near the Armenian Patriarchate. Extravagant demands could be heard, and finally one of the ringleaders of the Sasun uprising shouted "Liberty or Death!" into the crowd. With that, the demonstrators started moving in the direction of Bab-i Ali. A police officer was killed along the way. That brought about what the organizers had wanted all along: It provoked the soldiers and police to use violence. For three days, the rioting held the capital in suspense.

On October 3, even "Murad" (Hampartsum Boyadjian - another professional agitator from the Sasun revolt) suffered a slight injury.

The Sultan personally asked the patriarch to intercede and restore order, but to no avail. The Hunchak party bigwigs wanted chaos. The expected retaliation from the Moslem population finally came, and as is always the case in such situations, it mainly struck innocent people who had nothing to do with the trouble-makers. This was, however, part of the plan, just as it was in Sasun and Zeitun. On October 10, the last of the Armenians left their churches, where they had sought sanctuary. Any who wished to do so could place themselves under the personal protection of the Russian ambassador. Ambassador Nelidov knew who needed his help, considering that arms had been found on hundreds of demonstrators.

In the wake of the Bab-i Ali demonstration, a new word was coined: *kusaktsakan*. A *kusaktsakan* was an especially faithful follower of the Hunchaks, one who never asked why the party issued an order, but simply obeyed. In Russia, this type of person was later given the name "apparatchik".

The events of Sasun are truly illustrations for a picture book. It is not, however, the bloodthirstiness of the Kurds and the "enraged soldiers" that is illustrated by those events, but rather the technique of stirring up trouble with just one purpose in mind: to force one's political opponents to take actions that will bring one's minority group into the headlines of the international press as a "*victim of persecution*". The fact that many innocent people truly did lose their lives in the unrest did not bother the ringleaders one bit. They belonged, by the way, to the party of the Hunchaks.



A "self-portrait" of the Hunchaks, the Marxist revolutionary organization, to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of their founding. Around the central symbol of the bell, we see a commemorative rainbow of especially bloody riots, all incited by Hunchaks or their spiritual fathers.



Armenian riots in Istanbul, 1896: The tumult always followed the same basic pattern. First, an attack was carried out somewhere in the city. It might be at the Ottoman Bank, in front of the Sultan's palace, or near the seat of the patriarch. Where feasible, European correspondents would be invited to these attacks. The troublemakers were almost always let off, partly due to foreign pressure and partly because the Sublime Porte hoped that its show of forgiveness would have a calming effect. That is why the same ringleaders kept turning up at one attack after another. This occasionally angered the people so much that the revolutionaries got their wish: *Armenian riots* with dead or wounded making news around the world once again.



An illustration from the book *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*, published in the United States in 1896. Caption: "Slaughter of Armenians in Sasun. This is a true picture of the slaughter of innocent people which was inflicted on the innocent Armenians by the bloody Kurds and enraged soldiers. The carnage ended in the massacre of 50,000 people or more. Hundreds of thousands were left without food or shelter after the plundering and burning".

In many handbooks of Armenian history, one can read the names of the "heroes" who incited the population of Sasun to revolt. These names are Mihran Damadian and Hampartsum Boyadjian. Both had previous experience in trouble-making, having organized the revolt of Kum Kapu (April, 1890). Mihran Damadian had plotted anti-Turkish demonstrations in Athens after fleeing from Constantinople. Boyadjian had come to Sasun from the Caucasus, disguised as a sheik and carrying lots of money. Purchasing arms was thus no problem for him. Just how "unarmed" the rebels were becomes clear when we learn that the Kurds needed *twelve days of ferocious battle* to capture a single position from the Armenians. The *Times* of November 17, 1894 published an article from the pen of a certain G. Hagopian, writing from Fulham, concerning the events of Sasun. Even Christopher Walker, in his work *Armenia - The Survival of a Nation*, speaks of "rather imprecise details" when referring to this letter. But what did that matter? The world press seized upon Hagopian's account and the entire world was outraged by the suppression of revolts which in fact were already taking on the characteristics of civil war. They

Gang leader Kavafian, one of the troublemakers at Sasun. He is seen here as a Russian officer, which he had been all along - even when he was making trouble in Sasun.

The Armenian revolts in the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the years leading up to the First World War often made international headlines. The ringleaders and agitators behind these revolts were of course professional revolutionaries. When the First World War broke out, they promptly turned up again as the commanders of Armenian volunteer units or terrorist groups. They still

had the same goal in mind: the destruction of the Turks. were supposed to be "unarmed" revolts. It was also at this time that the world public became accustomed to the totally meaningless casualty figures appearing in captions (e. g., "50,000 dead or more"). The readers accepted these absurd figures just as uncritically as modern readers accept the accounts of two and a half million Armenian dead in World War I. To ask about the Islamic victims was already uninteresting at the time of the publication of *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*.



An Armenian work of art glorifying the attack of the Hunchaks on the imperial Ottoman troops. (The Hunchaks were a revolutionary Armenian party, strongly influenced from Russia.) As always, the unsuspecting Americans were playing into the hands of the Russians: This publication, put out by the *American Hunchak* committee, was distributed in the Ottoman Empire, thus serving only the interests of Russian expansionist policies - as is often the case today.



ONE OF THE CLIMAXES OF ARMENIAN TERROR: THE RAID ON THE OTTOMAN BANK

The main door of the imposing facade of the "Osmanli Bankasi" in Bankalar Caddesi, Istanbul-Şişhane. The Ottoman Bank is still among the most important private banks in Turkey. In the nineteenth century, it was the leading financial institution in the Ottoman Empire. It played an especially important role in the construction of the railroads and industries of the time.

On August 26, 1896, Armenian terrorists raided the Ottoman Bank, taking hostages in the process. This was the sad culmination of a year which had already seen more than its share of violence. This time, the operation was masterminded by the Armenian Dashnak Party. They saw this spectacular raid as a chance to catch up with their competition, the Armenian Hunchak Party, which was responsible for almost all the other acts of terrorism in 1896.

The raid was executed by three Armenians from the Caucasus (which was already in Russian hands at that time). Their ringleader, Karakin Pasdermadjian, would later be elected delegate to the National Assembly from Erzurum (1908) and lead a group of Armenian volunteers fighting for the Russian side against the Ottomans in World War I. On August 26, the terrorists forced their way into the bank, threw bombs, barricaded themselves in with sacks full of silver coins, and fired wildly in all directions. They took hostages and insisted that their list of demands be published and met. This operation served as a model for all terrorists to come, and the style of this type of terrorist raid has remained largely unchanged.

The demands:

- The appointment of a European high commissioner for the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire.
- The subordination of the militia and the police to a European officer.
- Judicial reform consistent with the European system.
- Absolute freedom of the press and of religion.
- An overhaul of the taxation system.
- The annulment of tax debts.
- A general amnesty.
- The formation of a European commission to supervise the implementation of the above demands.

After the standard negotiations that are always held in cases of hostage taking and death threats, the General Director of the Ottoman Bank, Sir Edgar Vincent, entered the besieged building along with the head dragoman of the Imperial Russian Embassy, Maximoff. Their negotiations ended with a guarantee that the terrorists could leave the country safely. This also set a precedent which is still valid today.

The seventeen insurgents probably expected the entire British and French fleets to turn up at Istanbul and give them a festive welcome. While this did not happen, it was nonetheless aboard the sumptuous private yacht of Sir Edgar Vincent himself that the gang made its get-away. They later boarded the French warship *La Gironde*, which



The main door of the Ottoman Bank in Bankalar Street, Istanbul. Scene of the raid of August 26, 1896. The raid on the Ottoman Bank still serves as a classic model of terror and extortion for terrorists around the world: taking of hostages; demanding publication of a "manifesto"; demanding (and receiving!) "safe passage" with the help of foreign powers.



A postlude to the spectacular raid on the Ottoman Bank: The "Leipziger Illustrierte" reported not only on the exposition of weapons and explosives confiscated from Armenian terrorists, but also on the prompt closing of the exposition following the intervention of the foreign embassies. This also set a terrorist example that is still valid today.

brought them safely to Marseilles. From there, they were free to continue planning and carrying out terrorist attacks.

The raid had only partially fulfilled its purpose. The expected riots had not materialized. These riots were needed by the terrorists, because along with the dead and wounded they would bring a flood of contributions for the "Armenian Cause". Other terrorist units therefore helped out by arranging a number of bomb explosions in Galata on August 30.

This time things worked out better, since it was now possible to dream up tales of "4000-6000 Armenians killed in the rioting". Not the least bit of evidence could be found to support these figures in the secret report of the British Embassy (F. O. 424/188, Nos. 149 and 169). But what difference did that make?

A model had been created for all future terrorist raids, complete with hostage-taking, forced publication of a list of demands, and permission for the terrorists to leave the country - plus all the P. R. that accompanies an action of this type.

In 1980 (!), the Briton Christopher Walker wrote in his book *Armenia - The Survival of a Nation* the following passage concerning the raid on the Ottoman Bank, "Those Dashnaks who escaped were the lucky ones. They were put on board the French steamer *Gironde* and set sail for France. Their fellow Armenians were left behind to expiate-many times over-the 'crime' of terrorising a terrorist society."

The Armenians' Last Chance - Blown by the Dashnaks



The Koran school "with the two minarets" is a symbol of Erzurum. "Ars er Rum - Land of the Romans" - was the name given to the town by the Arab geographer Ibn Battuta. It was first attacked by the Seljuks in 1049.

In the year 632, the Byzantines held a synod here, in the course of which the defeated Armenian principalities were ordered to accept Greek Orthodoxy. Under the name "Karen", Erzurum belonged to the Bagratid Empire, which was tributary to the Caliphs. The Turks established

themselves in Erzurum following their victory at Mantzikert (1071).

In 1914, a Dashnaksutiun Party Congress was held here. The Dashnaks regarded Erzurum as the capital of a future "Greater Armenia".

The outbreak of the First World War represents a decisive turning point in the history of the Armenian people. It was on the eve of the Ottoman Empire's entry into the war on the side of the Central Powers (which did not come until the beginning of November) that the revolutionary Dashnaksutiun held its congress in Erzurum. There are widely differing accounts of the events of the congress, especially concerning the attitude of the delegates towards the Ottoman State.

Hovhannes Kachaznuni, who was later to become prime minister of the independent Armenian Republic, did, however, present a statement concerning this matter to the Bucharest Congress of the Dashnaksutiun in July, 1923: "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 (i. e., in Czarist Russia, editor's note), with great enthusiasm and, especially, with much uproar. Contrary to the decision taken during their general meeting at Erzurum only a few weeks before, the A. R. F. (Armenian Revolutionary Federation - Dash-naksutiun) had active participation in the formation of the bands and their future military action against Turkey . . ." After commenting briefly on the (for Hovhannes Kachaznuni) distressing fact that the A. R. F. of Transcaucasia had never stuck to its decisions, the former prime minister of the Republic of Armenia continued:

"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 . . .

If the formation of bands was wrong, the root of that error must be sought much further and more deeply . . .

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 Dash-naght-zoutiun. 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."

No one from the inner ranks ever told the truth to the Armenians in such a dry, matter-of-fact, uncompromising fashion as their own prime minister of the Armenian Republic, Hovhannes Kachaznuni. When he says, "We had implanted our own desires into the minds of others," he knows what he is talking about.

As they have almost always done with their politics, the Russians let the whole truth be known in 1914 concerning their intentions towards the Armenians (in the same way as Lenin openly pronounced his intentions towards the "capitalist world"; it is just that hardly anyone in the West has ever believed him). It was enough just to read the appeal issued by the Czar, and even that did not have to be read very closely, considering how blatantly it destroyed all Armenian illusions: - "Armenians!

From East to West, all the peoples of Greater Russia have answered my call respectfully. - Armenians!

The hour has come to free yourselves from the tyranny that has ruled over you for five hundred years - this tyranny that has massacred, and continues to massacre, so many of you. The Russians gladly remember their glorious Armenian compatriots. The Lazaroffs and the Melikoffs and others have fought on the side of their Slavic brothers for the glory of the Fatherland. Their loyalty is our guarantee of your loyalty as well. We are certain that you will all fulfill your duty and contribute everything to the victory of our forces and of our just cause.

Armenians! You will be united with your brothers under the regime of the Czars and finally experience the blessings of freedom and justice!"

What did this appeal contain, aside from the assertion that the Armenians would be united under the regime of the Czars (assuming a Russian victory)?

No trace of a promise of independence. Not even a hint at autonomy or autonomous self-government.

Nevertheless: The Armenians delivered themselves up to the Russian slaughter. They willingly let themselves be sacrificed on the chessboard of Russian superpower poli-



A Seljuk double eagle on the *medrese* in Erzurum. The old Seljuk cities of Sivas, Erzurum, and Konya, with their rich symbolism, became centers of Turkish resistance to the partitioning of Anatolia.



This picture appeared in the Armenian-American journal "Azk" on March 2, 1915. That means it was taken at least three months before the Ottoman government's relocation order, which was issued in the wake of constant armed uprisings behind the front. The photo shows Hunchaks who fought against the Ottomans on the Caucasian front. For the most part, these were deserters who stood out for their cruelty against the civilian population.



Armenian uprising behind the Ottoman front, February-March, 1915. Among the faces in this photo is that of Papkene (standing, far left), who had already helped organize the raid on the Ottoman Bank, in 1896.

May 17, 1915

The Armenians conquer Van and set fire to the Moslem part of town

It was a tragic but telling coincidence that April 24 was the day the Ottoman Minister of the Interior gave the order to arrest the party functionaries, known revolutionaries, and agitators in Istanbul. (There was not yet any talk about a relocation order.) On that very same day, the governor of Van sent the following telegram:

UNTIL NOW APPROXIMATELY 4000 INSURGENT ARMENIANS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO THE REGION FROM THE VICINITY. THE REBELS ARE ENGAGED IN HIGHWAY ROBBERY, ATTACK THE NEIGHBORING VILLAGES AND BURN THEM. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREVENT THIS. NOW MANY WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE LEFT HOMELESS. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE NOR SUITABLE TO RELOCATE THEM IN TRIBAL VILLAGES IN THE VICINITY. WOULD IT BE CONVENIENT TO BEGIN SENDING THEM TO THE WESTERN PROVINCES?

Truly an absurd telegram. The governor of Van wanted to move the Moslem women and children to the safety of the West. No one was yet thinking of relocating Armenians, only Moslems.

On May 8, the Armenian rebels began a general assault in the vicinity of Van. All the surrounding Moslem villages went up in flames. The Ottoman governor, Cevdet Pasha, now ordered a withdrawal. On May 17, the Ottoman troops abandoned Van. On the same day, the incoming Armenians set fire to the Moslem part of town and established total Armenian control.

A few days later, the Russian vanguard arrived in Van. It was made up of Armenian units. Several days after that regular Russian troops followed. The new Armenian ruler of Van, Aram, presented the Russian commander, General Nikolayev, with the keys to the city.

Two days later, Nikolayev confirmed the Armenian provisional government in office, with Aram as governor. The point of this Russian show of generosity was clear. It was intended to give the Armenians an appetite for similar self-government in the wake of similar rebellions.

The specter lasted only six weeks; then the Ottomans advanced and reconquered Van. They moved into an empty town. The Moslems had been killed, and the entire Armenian population, along with the American missionaries, had fled north with the Russians to the safety of Transcaucasia.

Appeal issued by the Hunchaks at the beginning of the First World War

The Hunchak Social Democrat Committee . . . , 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 Hunchak 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 Azerbaijan . . .

Well then, forward Comrades . . . Forward to work.

Let us crush down the death, death which threatens Armenia, so that it lives and it lives forever . . .

Paris, 1914

Head offices of the Social
Democrat Hunchak
Committee.

Front page of the Armenian newspaper "Hunchak" with the Hunchak appeal to take up arms against the Ottoman Empire, summer 1914.



Spring, 1915. Armenian irregulars, provided with artillery by the Russians, open a second front behind Ottoman lines in order to facilitate the Russian conquest of Van.



The 2nd company of the volunteer regiment of the Hunchaks (from "La Jeune Armenie", July 20, 1915).



These troops were said to have been organized by the Armenian committees in America and Europe, although that may have just been propaganda invented for fund-raising purposes.



A group from the 8th company of an Armenian Hunchak regiment, which fought alongside the Russians against the Ottomans on the Caucasian front.



The order issued by the Ottoman minister of the interior resulted in the arrests of Armenian separatist leaders and the confiscation of incriminating material on April 24. It also had some unexpected results: the discovery of hundreds of arms caches, weapons and munitions depots which even included canon and heavy mines.

What had happened in Van - the taking of a provincial capital by Armenian rebels behind Ottoman lines - could just as easily have happened in Adana, Maraş, Ankara or Adapazari. This would certainly have represented a deadly threat for the Ottomans as the war progressed.



The Relocation Decision: Its Causes and Consequences

Armenians the world over remember April 24 as the day on which "the genocide of the Armenians began". This memory should be reconsidered for a number of reasons. The day of remembrance, April 24, intentionally confuses cause and effect.

The Ottoman minister of the interior, Talaat Pasha, did indeed send a telegram on the 24th of April, 1915 ordering the arrest of the insurgents. There was still no talk, however, of a relocation, since it was still not seen as necessary.

The coded telegram went to the governors of the provinces effected by Armenian subversion and read as follows: "Once again, especially at a time when the state is engaged in war, the most recent rebellions which have occurred in Zeitun, Bitlis, Sivas and Van have demonstrated the continuing attempts of the Armenian committees to obtain, through their revolutionary and political organizations, an independent administration for themselves in Ottoman territory. These rebellions and the decision of the Dashnak Committee, after the outbreak of war, immediately to incite the Armenians in Russia against us, and to have the Armenians in the Ottoman state rebel with all their force when the Ottoman army was at its weakest, are



The former Armenian deputy of Erzurum, Karekin Pastirmadjian. As a revolutionary, he went by the nom de guerre "Armen Garo No. 1". He is seen here with the group leaders Tero and Hecho. They are participating in one of the frequent "benedictions", after which another group of innocent young idealists would be sent into the line of fire.

The "Armenskaya Isvestiya" shows us children of distinguished Armenian families who were being sent into battle for a lost cause. "We were forgetting that our Cause was an incidental and trivial phase for the Russians . . ." That is what the man who was to become Armenian prime minister would later say in looking back on this period.

all acts of treason which would affect the life and future of the country.

It has been demonstrated once again that the activities of these committees, whose headquarters are in foreign countries, and who maintain, even in their names, their revolutionary attributes, are determined to gain autonomy by using every possible pretext and means against the Government. This has been established by the bombs which were found in Kayseri, Sivas and other regions, also by the actions of the Armenian committee leaders who have participated in the Russian attack on the country, by forming volunteer regiments comprised of Ottoman Armenians in the Russian army, and through their publications and operations aimed at threatening the Ottoman army from the rear.

Naturally, as the Ottoman Government will never condone the continuation of such operations and attempts, which constitute a matter of life and death for itself, nor will it legalize the existence of these committees which are the source of malice, it has felt the necessity to promptly close down all such political organizations.

You are therefore ordered to close down immediately all branches, within your province, of the Hinchak, Dashnak, and similar committees; to confiscate the files and documents found in their branch headquarters, and ensure that they are neither lost nor destroyed; to immediately arrest all the leaders and prominent members of the committees, together with such other Armenians as are known by the Government to be dangerous; further, to gather up those Armenians whose presence in one area is considered to be inappropriate, and to transfer them to other parts of the province or sanjak, so as not to give them the opportunity to engage in harmful acts; to begin the process of searching for hidden weapons; and to maintain all contacts with the (military) commanders in order to be prepared to meet any possible counter-actions. As it has been determined in a meeting with the Acting Commander-in-Chief that all individuals arrested on the basis of files and documents which come into our possession in the course of the proper execution of these orders are to be turned over to the military courts, the above-mentioned steps are to be implemented immediately. We are to be informed subsequently as to the number of people arrested, and with regard to the implementation of these orders.

For Bitlis, Erzurum, Sivas, Adana, Maraş and Aleppo: as this operation is only intended to affect the operation of the committees, you are strongly ordered not to implement it in such a manner as will cause mutual killings on the part of the Muslim and Armenian elements of the population. 11. April 1331 (24. April 1915).

Minister of the Interior."



The opening of a second front in Van, behind Ottoman lines, gave a decisive advantage to the Russians. The "struggle for Van" thus became a favorite theme for the Allies, who supported the Armenian rebellion as much as possible. In the hinterland, this support was provided through the missionaries, who put their good services at the disposal of the Armenians. On a broader scale, arms shipments and money were provided.

The ambitious Armenian uprising in the Vilayet of Van led to the capture of the provincial capital by the insurgents. At the same time, the Allies were threatening the capital of the Ottoman Empire with massive attacks on the Dardanelles. The instructions to move the Armenians out of the endangered areas were not given until after the Armenian uprising in Van.



On April 7, 1918, Van was back once again in Ottoman hands. The Turkish part of town lay in ruins. At the foot of the mighty castle-rock of Van, there was nothing left but a pile of rubble - an enduring reminder of the horror of violence and terrorism.

The arrests ordered on April 24 began the following day in Istanbul. In the provinces they began somewhat later in some cases. These arrests only affected the ringleaders of the Dashnaksutiun and the Hunchaks, along with a few well-known agitators. The order had absolutely nothing to do with a general relocation.

The government's order to move the Armenians as a group out of the endangered areas (Istanbul and Izmir were not affected since they were considered "safe" and "under control") did not come until months later. It was brought on by the horrifying assault of Armenian terrorists and irregulars on the city of Van. This event represented a shocking climax of Armenian terrorism. The rebels conquered Van, declared an "Armenian Republic of Van", and completely destroyed the Moslem part of the city. Some 30,000 Moslems lost their lives in the violence.

Once again, the idea of moving the Armenian *population* (and not just the terrorist ringleaders) out of the endangered areas did not arise until *after* the catastrophe of Van. The government troops were forced by the rebels to leave Van on May 17, 1915. At this time, Van was behind Russian lines, which were moving deeper and deeper into eastern Anatolia. The spearhead of the Russian-Czarist assault troops was made up of Armenian volunteers, who distinguished themselves with their particularly brutal treatment of the Moslem population of eastern Anatolia. In the meantime, the true dimensions of the catastrophe of Van became known in Istanbul. It was at this point that the idea arose of relocating the Armenian population of Anatolia as a whole. Until this time, there had only been arrests of ringleaders and known terrorists on a local level - nothing more.

The concept of a relocation came up when the acting commander of the army, who had learned his lesson from the horrid outcome of the Van revolt, suggested responding to steps taken by the Russians (which appear to have been discussed with the Armenians!) with similar measures from the Ottoman side. This suggestion was made in a secret communique of the Minister of the Interior (No. 2049):

The Armenians around the periphery of Lake Van, and in other regions which are known to the Governor of Van, are engaged in continuous preparations for revolution and rebellion. I am of the opinion that this population should be removed from this area, and that this nest of rebellion be broken up.

According to information provided by the Commander of the Third Army, the Russians, on April the 7th (April the 20th), began expelling their Muslim population, by pushing them, without their belongings, across our borders. It is necessary, in response to this (Russian) action, and in order to reach the goals that I have outlined above, either to expel the Armenians in question to Russia, or to relocate them and their families in other regions of Anatolia. I request that the most suitable of these alternatives be chosen and implemented. If there is no objection, I would prefer to expel the creators of these centres of rebellion and



their families outside our borders, and to replace them with the Muslim refugees pushed across our borders.

19. April 1331 (2. May 1915).

The importance of this document lies in the fact that it clearly states what the Supreme Military Commander's motive was. The Russians had sent the entire Moslem population of the Caucasus region to eastern Anatolia, leaving them with nothing but the shirts on their backs. At the same time, the Armenians in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire (particularly in Van) had siezed total power, killed the Moslems, and proclaimed their "Armenian Republic of Van". Under these circumstances, the decision to relocate the Armenians of Anatolia - those living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire - is understandable. They were to be moved "to areas considered safer", areas not so exposed to the grasp of the Russians and the Allied powers of Europe.

The mighty rock of Van with its fortress, which dates back to Urartian times. Beneath the citadelle are the ruins of the former Islamic part of Van, which was totally leveled during the Armenian uprising. 30,000 Moslems died here in a period of just a few days.

A "Hiroshima" of terrorism: Only the foundation walls of the Islamic district of Van survived - and a few remains of once proud, mighty mosques. The Armenian uprising of Van began in February, 1915 and reached its first climax in April. The rebels set fire to the old Islamic city on May 17, the same day on which the small Ottoman garrison was forced to withdraw from the town. It was not until July 22, 1915 that the Ottomans were able to retake Van. In the meantime, the entire Islamic population of Van, which had not been able to escape in time, was liquidated by the Armenian terrorists.



A Turkish memorial to the Islamic victims of the Armenian uprising of the spring of 1915. The bodies of 5000 Moslems lie beneath the monument in a gully that opens into Lake Van. The Moslems were rounded up on this spot and massacred.



One of the countless Islamic buildings of Van destroyed during the Armenian uprising. Whereas demands for the restoration of Armenian buildings in eastern Anatolia are made again and again (and rightly so), the world public has thus far shown no concern whatsoever for the equally endangered Islamic monuments of the region, such as this Ottoman mosque. This lack of concern for Moslem buildings is not unlike the prevalent attitude towards the Moslem victims of the Armenian uprisings - a subject which has yet to be raised outside of Turkey, even though the loss of life on the Islamic side was tremendous.

A few weeks later, on May 19, 1331 (June 1, 1915), the Ottoman government published the following decree in the *Takvimi Vakaya* (the Ottoman official gazette): *Article 1*. In time of war, the Army, Army Corps, and Divisional Commanders, their Deputies, and the Independent Commanders, are authorized and compelled to crush in the most severe way, and to eradicate all signs of aggression and resistance by military force, should they encounter any opposition, armed resistance and aggression by the population, to operations and measures relating to orders issued by the Government for the defence of the country and the maintenance of order. *Article 2*. The Army, Army Corps, and Divisional Commanders are authorized to transfer and relocate the populations of villages and towns, either individually or collectively, in response to military needs, or in response to any signs of treachery or betrayal.

Article 3. This provisional law will come into effect when it is published.

It is undoubtedly true that many innocent people lost their property, their health, and even their lives in the relocation of 1915 - many Armenians and even more Moslems. To try to place blame for a wartime tragedy such as this is truly senseless, but in light of the almost universal assumption that everything was the fault of the "Terrible Turks", something must be said about the passive behavior of the overwhelming majority of Ottoman Armenians at the time. Above all else, they just wanted *peace*, and they remained silent because they did not want a confrontation with the terrorists. For decades, they tolerated the presence of a small number of fanatics among them who held absurd, impracticable, and completely unjust ambitions for independence (unjust because the Armenians did not have a majority anywhere in the Ottoman Empire). The extremists became more and more powerful; they terrorized Moslems and Armenians; and eventually, after the beginning of the First World War, they were openly waging civil war.

In the turmoil of the war, with the Ottoman Empire forced to fight for its very existence, there remained no other choice but to carry out the relocation. The events that followed the end of the war - when the Allies penetrated into Anatolia and the Greeks advanced almost as far as Ankara - prove just how wisely those responsible for the relocation had acted.

If the "silent majority" of Ottoman Armenians had objected to the insane plans of the extremists and the "romantic" visions of the missionaries, many Armenians and even more Moslems would have been spared tremendous suffering. As it was, however, many had to pay for the offenses of a minority.

Often - far too often - it is the success of the rational, level-headed majority in prevailing over the irrational minority of agitators, fanatics, and romantics which determines whether or not disaster will befall a nation. No nation that has let itself be seduced or silenced by a minority has ever been spared. The National Socialists in

Professor Justin McCarthy of the University of Louisville on the results of his research:

"There has been quite a bit of misinformation that has been told about Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Specifically about the number of Armenians who lived in the Ottoman Empire and what happened to the Armenians. On this map here, we have an area that is historically called Armenia - whether or not there were very many Armenians living there or whether Armenians ruled it at any one time. In this area, which stretches from the Russian border all the way down to the Mediterranean, there were - at the time of the end of the Ottoman Empire around the year 1912 or 1915 - six provinces, called vilayets. In these provinces, there were many Armenians, but in none of these provinces was more than a third of the population Armenian, and in most cases it was quite a bit less than a third.

In fact, if at the beginning of the First World War you took the entire Armenian population of the world and you put it all in this area that has been called Armenia, the Muslim population would still have outnumbered the Armenians. Of course they were not there, and that meant that the Muslims outnumbered the Armenians by approximately 6:1.

Now at the beginning of the First World War, the Ottomans decided that they would move a number of Armenians who they believed to be a threat from the areas in which they lived to other areas in the South.

Many more Armenians than were ever moved in any forced migration, however, fled with the Russian armies to the north, and in the World War you have a period of tremendous death. There was cholera, typhus . . . in fact, there were three years in which no crops were on the ground. And so the people who lived in the area simply starved to death - if they did not die of disease and if they did not die of outright murder. By outright murder, I mean the murder that came when the Russian army invaded this territory. They came right down to the city of Van, which was being held by the Armenian revolutionaries against their own government. When the Russian armies came in, many groups of Russians and large numbers of Armenian irregulars massacred large numbers of Muslims.

There was back and forth fighting that went on for the next three years and quite a bit of killing of Armenians by Muslims and Muslims by Armenians.

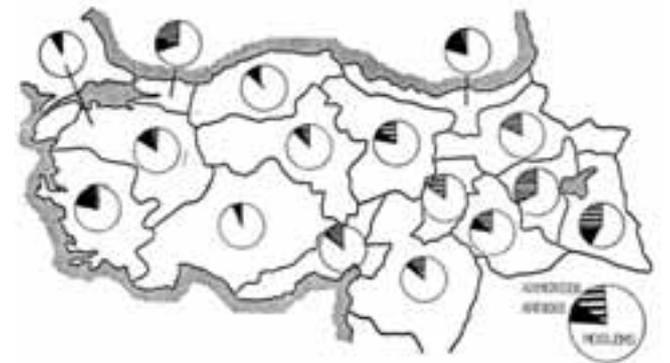
When each of the armies retreated, their own people, the people who identified with them and were tied to them, left with them. So when the Russians retreated, the Armenians retreated with them. When the Muslim, Ottoman armies retreated, the Muslims - Turks especially - left with them.

Through the whole of Anatolia, in the whole region which extends from the Aegean and the Mediterranean all the way up to the Black Sea and the Caucasus, you had approximately 600,000 dead Armenians. In the same region, you had 2.5 million dead Muslims, most of them Turks.

Professor Justin McCarthy has devoted a great deal of his work to studying the population statistics of the Ottoman Empire. He is the author of the book *Muslims and Minorities - The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire*, in which he proves scientifically that the Armenian minority in the Ottoman Empire did not have a majority in *any* vilayet - not even in the city of Van itself, where they were most strongly represented. *Muslims and Minorities* was published by New York University Press in 1983.



Even in just this area (Armenia), you had more than a million dead Muslims - Turks - well, some were other peoples, but the majority were Turks, which meant that in this area called Armenia there were hundreds of thousands more dead Muslims than there were Armenians. Now, this area has been portrayed as an area in which Armenians were slaughtered. To a certain extent that is true, but to be historically accurate, we also have to call it an area where Muslims were slaughtered - in fact, many more Muslims. And we have to view this time period around World War I, before and a little bit after World War I, as a period of great inhumanity - of massacres, of deaths that touched all people - not simply Armenians, not simply Turks. Unless it is viewed as a human problem instead of a sectarian problem - instead of a problem of just the Armenians - we will never understand what really went on at the time."



Graphic representation of the Anatolian provinces showing the population breakdown in 1912. From: *Muslims and Minorities - The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire*. New York University Press, 1983.



In 1915, when the great resettlement of the Armenians began, the railroad lines from central Anatolia ended in Pozanti, in the middle of the Taurus Mountains. From there, one had to continue by road to Syria. It was not until 1916 that the Germans were able to complete the railroad to Aleppo.

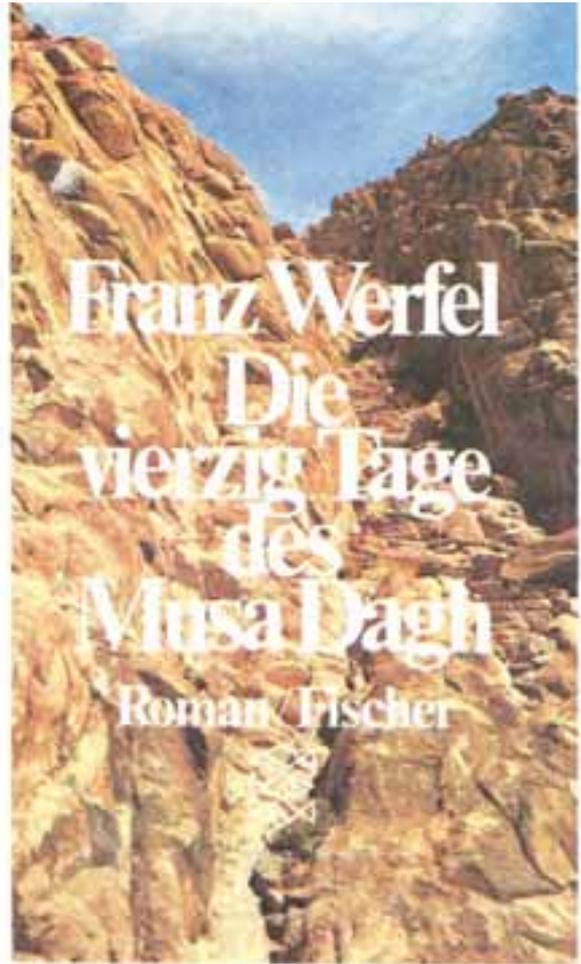
From Pozanti on, all travellers had to walk or use wagons. The transportation of military supplies was also accomplished with the simplest of means. (The photo shows troops on their way across the Taurus Mountains to Syria.)

Germany were also a minority, but they forced the majority of peace-loving Germans into a world war. In the end, all Germans had to pay for that war - with their property, their homes, their lives - whether they had been National Socialists or not.

It would seem that the horrible thing about the history of the Armenians is that the overwhelming majority of hard-working, intelligent, highly educated Armenians have let themselves be manipulated, blackmailed, misled, and oppressed by a handful of fanatics waging an irrational campaign of revenge. This majority silently ignores the acts of terror of the "task forces" or "freedom fighters" or whatever else the terrorists choose to call themselves. They fear for their property, their safety, their lives. They give money to the terrorist groups without saying anything, and they act as if nothing has happened when another bomb goes off, killing more innocent, respectable citizens. It was no different before the First World War. Today, the myth of the genocide has been added. This will have to suffice as a rationalization, even if the truth is totally different.

Franz Werfel's world-famous novel, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, is supposed to be a "modern saga of a persecuted minority, determined to fight back". It is supposed to "snatch from the Hades of all that was, this incomprehensible destiny of the Armenian nation".

The American edition of the novel was the basis for Werfel's worldwide fame. According to the blurb on a German edition, the novel was seen not only by the Armenians, but also by the Jews as "a simile for the suffering of their people". But the central, the fundamental message of Franz Werfel's novel - that those in charge within the Ottoman government issued an extermination order - is false.



In Werfel's version, the macabre scene between the Ottoman Minister of War, Enver Pasha, and the Minister of the Interior, Talaat Pasha (who are portrayed as being responsible for a genocide) reads as follows: "A secretary brought in a sheaf of dispatches, which Talaat began to sign without sitting down again. He did not look up as he was speaking: 'These Germans are only afraid of the odium of being made partly responsible. But they may have to come begging to us for more important things than Armenians.'

This might have ended that day's discussion of the banishment, had Enver's inquisitive eyes not rested on the dispatches in casual scrutiny. Talaat Bey noticed his glance and made the papers rustle as he waved them. 'The precise directions for Aleppo. Meanwhile, I suppose, the roads will be clearer again. In the next few weeks Aleppo, Alexandretta, Antioch, and the whole coast can begin to move out.'



Cover of the adulterated English edition of the "Forty Days", which has been robbed of its sensitive historical passages. The reader is the victim of a fraud, since he is never made aware that he is buying an edition from which the *most significant passages* have been cut.

This is, however, confirmation of the fact that those behind this censorship of Franz Werfel know full well that he was taken in by the Armenian falsification of history.

'Antioch and the coast?' Enver repeated interrogatively, as though he might have something to say on the point. He did not speak another syllable but stared enthralled at Talaat's fat fingers, which, irresistible as a storming-party, kept scribbling signatures under texts. These same forthright and stumpy fingers had composed that order, sent out to all walis and mutessarifs: 'The goal of these deportations is annihilation.' The short pen-strokes showed all the impetus of complete, implacable conviction; they had no scruples.

The "Mountain of Moses" - Musa Dagh, scene of the drama in which the Allies pushed the Armenians into a civil war.



A Dervish from Konia: According to Franz Werfel's information, the Sunni religious order was known for particularly fanatical nationalism. Nothing could be further from the truth.



Jemal Pasha fares surprisingly well in Johannes Lepsius' book *Deutschland und Armenien* (which Franz Werfel used extensively in writing his "Forty Days"). This is reflected in an indirect statement from Werfel concerning Jemal Pasha. At one point in his novel, the following is said disparagingly about a zealous young Turk: "One of the younger Mudirs went so far as to claim that Jemal Pasha, in spite of his well-known role in the government, was not entirely reliable as concerns the Armenians and even made a deal with them in Adana." Just how seriously the Armenian extremists take such statements is illustrated by the fact that in the current American edition of the "Forty Days" (published by Carroll & Graf Publishers, New York, by arrangement with Viking Penguin, Inc.), this passage has simply been dropped. A very meticulous proofreader (or more accurately, censor) crossed out all the paragraphs in Werfel's novel that approach objectivity. In the case of Jemal Pasha, it was apparently a matter of justifying the murder of a man who did everything humanly possible for the Armenians.

The Armenian forces interested in the fight against Turkey know the weak points in Franz Werfel's novel all too well. One such point occurs where the author strays into the realm of historical facts. He meant well, but he was terribly careless in gathering his data and thus had the uprising of Van breaking out *after* the issuing of the relocation order.

Franz Werfel told it like this:

"The *raison d'etat* has never depended on making a graceful *volt* between cause and effect. The bad, but lazy conscience of the world, the press of the respective groups in power, and the minds of the readers, which the press has cut to size, have always twisted and understood the issue as was required at that particular time."

It is as if the censor who eliminated this passage from the English translation must have meant to strike the next one, which is also missing:

"On the subject of Van, one could in certain circles

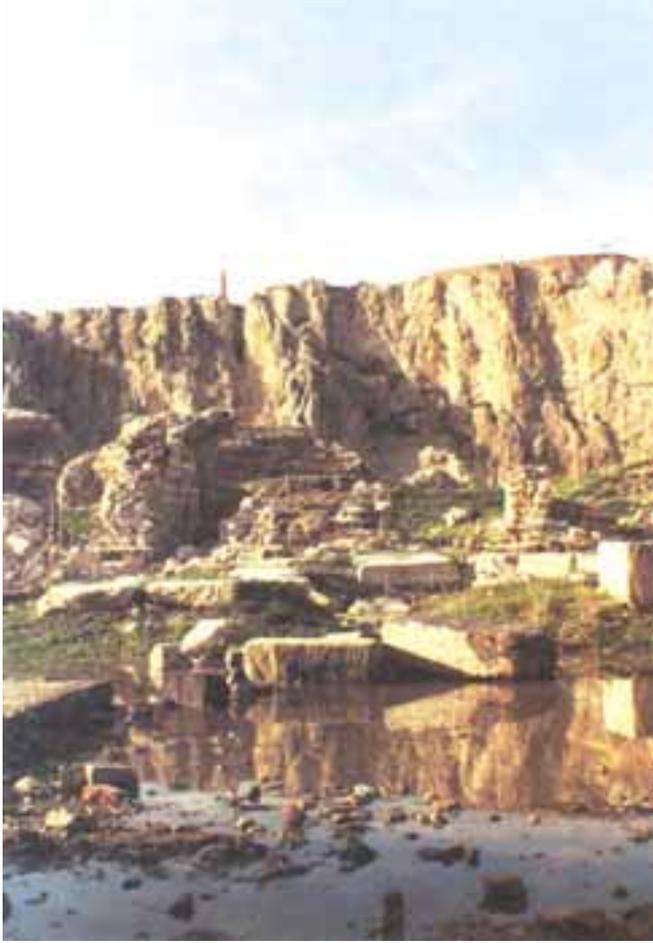
write with indignation and read with even more indignation: 'The Armenians have taken up arms against the Ottoman Nation, which is involved in a burdensome war, and they have gone over to the Russian side. The vilayets inhabited by Armenians must therefore be freed from these people through deportation.'

Similar things could be read in the Turkish bulletins, but not the reverse, which was the truth: 'The Armenians of Van and Urfa, in despair over the deportations, which had been proceeding for a long time, defended themselves against the Turkish military forces until they were relieved by the arrival of the Russians.'"

It is certainly true that Franz Werfel, who relied entirely on Armenian sources and a certain Johannes Lepsius in writing *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, was convinced of the truth of what he wrote - that the uprising of Van was a *reaction* to a relocation order, a sort of desperate attempt at self-defense.

The truth is just the opposite: the uprising was the prelude to a civil war in the eastern province of Van and began in February of 1915 - almost two months *before* the relocation order, which was a *consequence* of the uprising of Van. In no way was the uprising of Van a "defensive reaction" to the relocation order - that is really the truth turned on its head!

The Armenian circles that shorten and mutilate Werfel's novel in the English edition know exactly why they must take these passages - in this particular case a whole page - out of the book. (There is, by the way, not one word to indicate that the novel has been altered in this fashion.) Today, there are a few scattered historical works in which anyone who is interested can find out about the true events and the sequence in which they occurred. In some libraries, one can even still find publications in which the Armenians boast of their war with the Ottomans, although these publications have now disappeared from nearly all libraries, and it has become truly difficult to find a magazine like *Der Orient*, put out by Johannes Lepsius.



The uprising of Van was the cause and not the result of the Armenian tragedy. The same is true of Musa Dagh. First came the uprising and civil war and then the relocation order.

The impregnable rock walls of Van, seen from the ruins of the old Moslem part of town, which was totally destroyed in the civil war of 1915.

The Minister raised up his bent torso. 'That's done. In the autumn I shall be able to say with perfect candour to all these people: >La question armenienne n'existe pas.<'" With this choice of words, Franz Werfel anticipates almost prophetically the "Wannsee Conference", where the leaders of the Third Reich - diabolical figures like Himmler and Kaltenbrunner - agreed upon the extermination of the Jewish people. The key scene in *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* - the scene in which Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha decide on the extermination of the Armenians - is for many people a sufficient rationalization for blind terror and savage acts of vengeance. They ignore the fact that Franz Werfel's argumentation rests entirely on the forged "documents" of Aram Andonian. Werfel's novel is based on his personal knowledge, which he acquired from Armenian contacts - undoubtedly in good faith. When he realized that he had been taken in by forgeries, fear of Armenian reprisals kept him from acknowledging the truth. (We will come later to the statement made on this subject by a Jewish friend of Franz Werfel.)



Armenian refugees from Musa Dagh. After their flight from the mountain fortress, they were picked up by Allied ships. These refugees were being brought to Egypt and Marseilles aboard a -trench cruiser.

The Forgeries of Aram Andonian

In the First World War, the Ottoman Empire fought on the side of the Central Powers - Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria - against the Entente powers - England, France and their allies. At least since that time, the Ottomans have been accused of a conscious policy of extermination towards their Armenian minority.

During the war, such accusations belonged to the standard repertoire of war propaganda, as used by all nations in all times. In the case of the Ottomans and their Turkish heirs, however, events took a more dramatic course than usual.

The virulent attacks on Turkey did not let up. On the contrary, the Ottomans were soon being accused of *massacre*, and after the Second World War the word became *genocide*. The intention here was obviously to draw a parallel between the fate of the Armenians in the turmoil of the First World War and Hitler's extermination policies towards the Jewish people.

The basis for the accusations against the Ottomans (and later against the Turks) was a book written by Aram Andonian in 1920, *The Memoirs of Nairn Bey: Turkish Official Documents Relating to the Deportations and Massacres of Armenians* — in French, *Documents Officiels concernant les massacres arméniens*. He published his book simultaneously in Paris, London, and Boston - in English, French, and Armenian. Ever since then, these "Documents" have formed the backbone and the basis of all Armenian accusations against the Ottomans and their Turkish heirs.

Aram Andonian claims to have met an Ottoman official by the name of Nairn Bey in Aleppo, after the entry of the British. This official supposedly passed the papers with the death orders to Andonian. Without going any further into the serious differences between the French and English editions of these "Documents Officiels", it must be said that after having studied both editions it is no longer clear whether these are supposed to be the memoirs of Nairn Bey or of Aram Andonian.

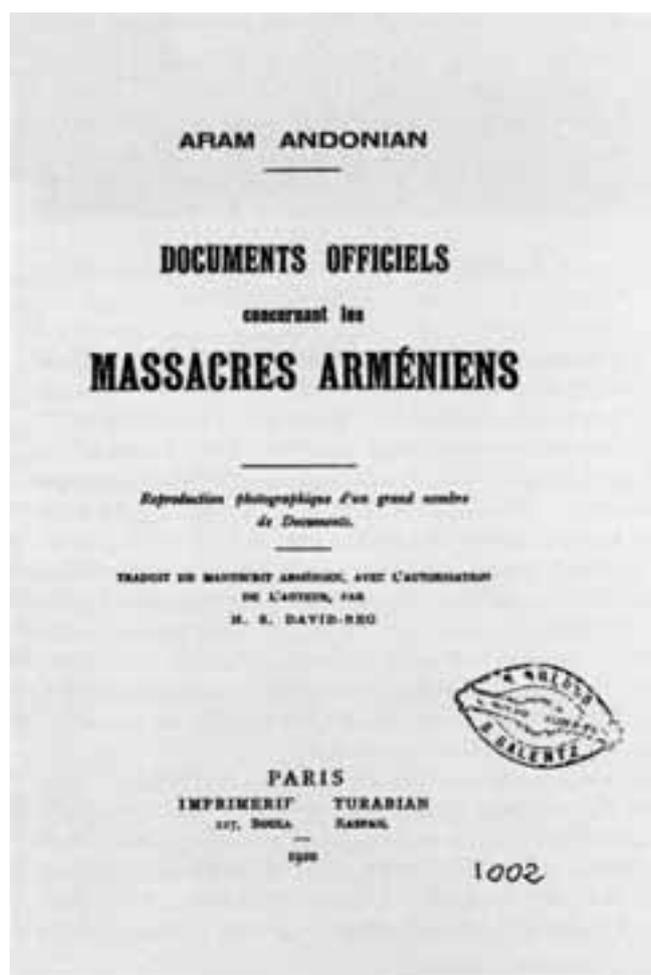
In the text of the English edition, there are altogether forty-eight "official Ottoman documents" scattered through the book. These are attributed to the following persons and institutions:

Person/Organization	Number of documents
Minister of the Interior Talaat Pasha	30
Director of the Settlement Commission of Aleppo, Abdülhad Nuri Bey	8
Governor of Aleppo, Abdülhalik Bey	3
Committee of Union and Progress (the government party at the time, to which Enver and Talaat also belonged)	2
Minister of War Enver Pasha	1
Ministry of the Interior	1

Governor of the region Deir es Zor,	1
Zeki Bey Governor of the region Antep,	1
Ahmed Bey Unknown	1

Not all of these "documents" are complete. Sometimes the date is missing, sometimes the serial number, occasionally both. All in all, exactly half are lacking in some way.

The originals of the papers copied by Andonian were never seen. Photographs of fourteen "documents" appear in his books. When asked for the originals, he claimed they were lost. Not a single one of the documents reproduced by Andonian can be found today. They were probably destroyed to make it more difficult to prove that they were forgeries. Andonian made so many mistakes in preparing the papers, however, that it is possible to prove with absolute certainty that they were forgeries, even without the originals.



Wrong dates.

The simplest, absolutely irrefutable proof of the forgery involves Andonian's incorrect use of calendar information. To give just one example, Andonian has the governor of Aleppo signing documents at a time when he had not yet been named to the post and was still living in Istanbul.

Naturally, for his forgeries Andonian used the Rumi calendar, which was in use in the Ottoman Empire at the time. The Rumi (Roman) calendar of the Ottomans was a special variation on the common Islamic calendar, which takes the Hegira (Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina in 622 A. D.) as a starting point. Because it used lunar years, it was only necessary to subtract 584 years to convert from the Gregorian to the Rumi year. 1987 A. D., for example, would be 1403 on the Rumi calendar. There is another trick, however. In addition to the 584 years, one also has to figure in a difference of thirteen days. Moreover, the Rumi calendar began on March 1. That meant that the last two months of the Rumi calendar (January and February) were already the first months of the Christian calendar.

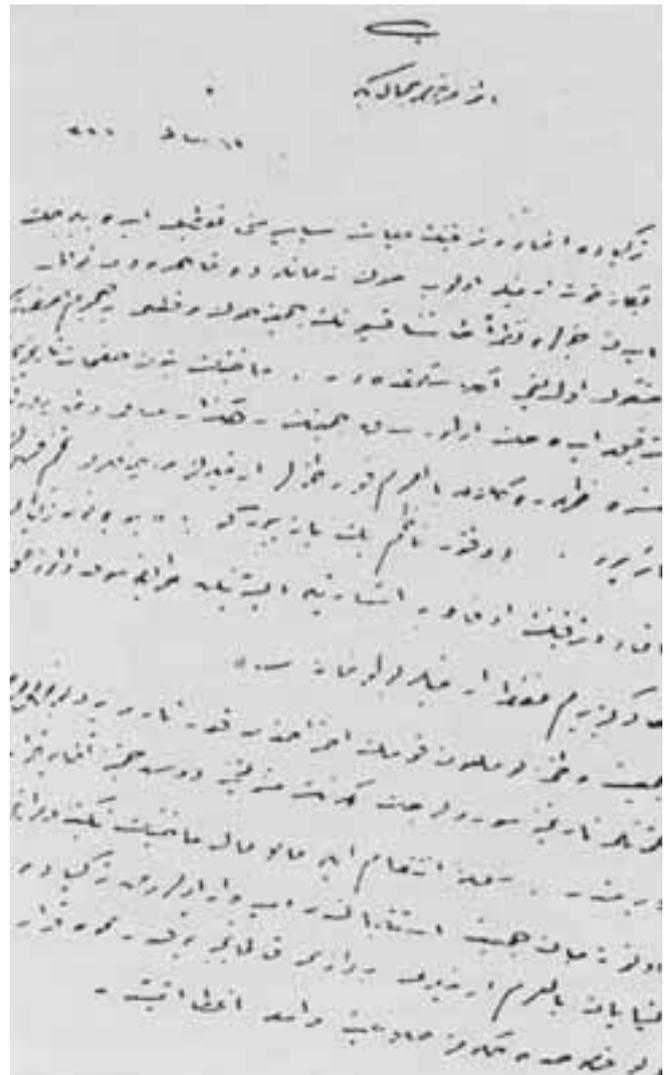
The correct date - according to the Christian calendar - for these last two months of the Rumi calendar is obtained by adding 584 plus one year. An example: January 5 of the year 1331 (Rumi) corresponds to January 18, 1916 (1331+584+1 and 13 days).

That, however, is still not all the tricks. As mentioned above, the Ottoman year always began on March 1. In February 1917, the difference of thirteen days between the Rumi and Gregorian calendars was eliminated in order to facilitate conversion. The difference of 584 years remained unchanged, however. Thus, February 16, 1332 (February 1917) suddenly became March 1, 1333 (March 1, 1917 A. D.). At the same time, the year 1333 (1917) was made into a year with only ten months, running from March 1 to December 31.

January 1, 1334 thus became January 1, 1918 A. D. (Note: the Turkish Republic adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1925, so that the Rumi year 1341 became 1925 A. D.) These calendar technicalities may seem very complicated and uninteresting. They are, however, of tremendous importance in connection with *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* and the forgeries of Aram Andonian, which at first fooled Franz Werfel.

In considering the dating (and the sequential numbering) of the "Andonian papers" and the authentic documents, one must also keep in mind that the numbering of the incoming and outgoing documents always began with March 1 (1333 Rumi = 1917 A. D.) and continued sequentially through February 28 (the last day of the Rumi year). It was then "New Year's" once again on March 1.

In forging the most important of his "documents", which he called Number 1, Aram Andonian already committed a serious error. Here is the text of the most important part of this "document":



A letter forged by Aram Andonian with the date, February 18, 1331 (March 2, 1916). The letter opens with a "bismillah" (blessing), which would never have been written by a Moslem. The forger, Andonian, made his most fatal mistake with the date, however. He was obviously not well enough versed in the tricks of converting to the Rumi year of the Ottomans, where a difference of thirteen days between the Rumi and Gregorian calendars must be taken into account. The date he put on the letter was off by a full year. Instead of 1330 (1915), he wrote 1331 (1916). The contents of the letter are supposed to be evidence of the long advance planning of the resettlement operation of 1915.

Document No. 1

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, To the delegate at Adana, Jemal Bey.

February 18, 1331 (March 2, 1916). (Note: This is the date which appears on Andonian's original Turkish 'document'. See below for discrepancies in the French and English editions.)

The only force in Turkey that is able to frustrate the political life of the Ittihad and Terakki (Committee of Union and Progress) is the Armenians. From news which has frequently been received lately from Cairo, we learn that the Dashnaksutium is preparing a decisive attack against the Jemiet."

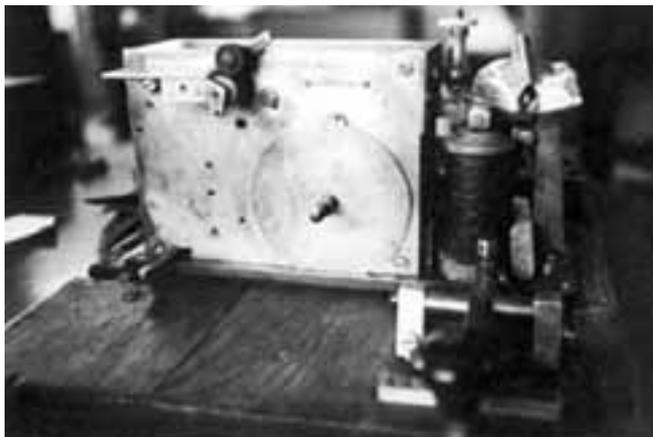
After a short transition, the alleged "Document No. 1" comes to the following conclusion:

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

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

After some further details, the "document" ends with an unreadable signature.

For the sake of completeness, it should also be mentioned that this key letter in Andonian's collection of documents is dated February 18, 1331 (February 18, 1915) in the original French version of his book, but bears the date February 8, 1331 (March 25, 1915) in the English version. The original Turkish text, however, clearly bears the date February 18, 1331. Let us recall: according to the rules of calendar conversion, February 18, 1331 corresponds to March 2, 1916. (1916 was a leap year, so February had 29



A murder weapon in the hands of the forger, Andonian: a Morse telegraph of that period.

days). It does *not* correspond to February 18, 1915, as in the French translation, nor to March 25, 1915, as in the English translation. In other words, Aram Andonian should have written 1330 instead of 1331 if he wanted to forge the correct date. A letter written on March 2, 1916 can hardly have brought about events that are supposed to have occurred nine months earlier!

Anyone who thinks that this might have just been an accident, a mistake on the official's part, will be set straight by "Document No. 2" in Andonian's collection. The second letter in his collection should naturally have been dated March 25, 1332 (April 7, 1916), but in fact bears the date March 25, 1331. It is quite clear that the forger simply knew too little about the Ottoman calendar and overlooked these tricky details in converting.

The Turkish historians Sinasi Orel and Sürreya Yuca published an extensive scientific work in 1983 concerning the forgeries of Aram Andonian. They follow up on all the details (there are hundreds) of the unsuccessful forgeries. These range from dates and counterfeit signatures to transmogrified greetings such as "Bismillahs", which no Moslem would ever have dared to write.

A particularly insidious section of the forged Andonian papers deals with the "broadening of the massacre" - in particular to include children. This section is brilliantly done from a psychological standpoint. One "document" of this type reads as follows:

Document No. 4

Deciphered copy of a ciphered telegram of the Ministry of the Interior.

No. 502, September 3, 1331 (September 16, 1915).

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

The Minister of the Interior,
Talaat

Note:

To Abdülhalad Nuri Bey. September 5. Have you met with the commandant of the gendarmerie?

The governor,
Mustafa Abdülhalik"

Aside from the fact that the governor's signature is clearly (and crudely) forged, Andonian was sloppy and let another blunder slip through in composing this telegram. No "Governor Mustafa Abdülhalik" could possibly have had anything to do with an administrative act in Aleppo on September 3 or September 5. The governor of Aleppo at that time was Bekir Sami Bey. Mustafa Abdulhalik was still in Istanbul at the beginning of September. He took office in Aleppo on October 10, 1915.

There is indeed a telegram from September 3, 1331 in the Ottoman archives addressed to the governor of Aleppo, Bekir Sami Bey. At any rate, it bears the serial number 78 and not Andonian's fantasy number 502.

It appears that Franz Werfel, in writing *The Forty Days of*

Musa Dagh, was especially moved by Andonian's chapter on "The Broadening of the Massacre". It was no longer just the men who were to be killed (according to Andonian's forgeries). Now, the women and children were to be put to death as well. Twelve of Andonian's "documents" deal with this issue. Five of them are supposed to be from Talaat Pasha himself. Fortunately, these telegrams were especially easy to expose as crude forgeries, based on several criteria (date, signature, names, serial number).

Franz Werfel was at first completely convinced by the forgeries of Aram Andonian. He undoubtedly also believed the stories of his circle in Vienna, who supplied him with reports of "the crimes of the Turks". It is thus understandable that he passes judgement on the Mevlevi monks without having any clear idea of Islamic mysticism or the objectives of the dervish order of the Mevlevi.

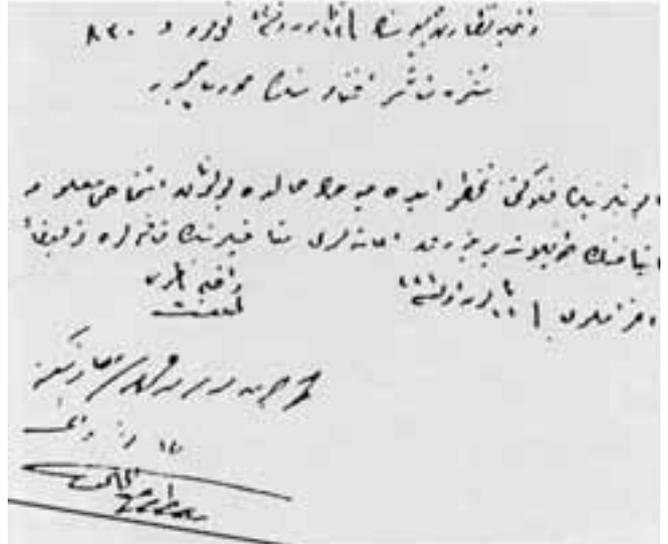
Occasionally Franz Werfel's comments are clearly intended (by his informants) to appeal to certain instincts. One example is when he is speaking of Ottoman Minister of War Enver Pasha and calls him a "vain playboy of the Ottoman Empire". Another example follows a description of the meditation exercises of the Mevlevi monks, where Werfel writes, "The love-celebration here below him did not come out of the mind, the spirit, but out of these wild contortions of the body," - as if the harmonious movements of the dancing Mevlevi disciples had anything whatsoever to do with "wild contortions"! But in light of the monumental task that Franz Werfel had set for himself, all this might well be overlooked.

**Franz Werfel knew
that he had been taken in by forgeries**

Abraham Sou Sever is a Sephardic Jew, born in Izmir, Turkey, before World War I. He later emigrated to the United States and now lives in California. Abraham Sou Sever has filed a written Deposition and Testimonial in which he tells the truth about the Armenians' "genocide" claims and their propaganda methods from his own personal life experiences and knowledge. Particularly significant is his testimony on Franz Werfel. Mr. Sever's notarized deposition has been transmitted to research institutions in the United States as part of a written and oral history collection on the Armenian claims for a genocide.

Here is what Mr. Sever has to say about Franz Werfel and the events which took place on Musa Dagh:

"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



The forged signature of Governor Mustafa Halik, who had not even been named to his post yet at the time Andonian had him "signing".

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 Ar-

menians 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."

And the Moslem Victims?

In the entire, very extensive literature published by the Armenian and pro-Armenian side concerning the tragic events of World War I, one searches in vain for a single word of sorrow for the many innocent Moslems who lost their lives during and after the Armenian uprisings.

According to the reliable research findings of Professor Justin McCarthy, approximately 600,000 Armenians lost their lives as a result of uprisings, war, epidemics, relocation, flight, and starvation. At the same time, the same factors caused the deaths of two and a half million people on the Moslem side - in the same regions. Most of these people were Turks.

It has only been recently, since the appalling assassinations of Turkish diplomats around the world, that the Turkish government has begun to pay more attention to the records of the atrocities perpetrated by Armenian fanatics. The truth can occasionally be found by reading between the lines, as in Christopher Walker's book *Armenia - The Survival of a Nation*. On page 247, he writes of the bitter fighting between Turks and Armenians and its horrible consequences for the civilian population: "Atrocity and counter-atrocity by Turk and Armenian alike had brought the situation to flashpoint, particularly at Erzindjan. Wherever the truth about the atrocity stories lay (and it seems probable that the Armenians, seeking to avenge the genocide, were killing Turks without compunction) . . ."

As always in these cases, Armenians, or authors who sympathize with the Armenians, overlook the fact that the tragedy was largely brought on by the ruthless fanaticism of Armenian agitators who saw their people as "de facto belligerents". That is how the leader of the "Armenian Delegation", Boghos Nubar, expressed it in his letter of December 3, 1918 to the French foreign minister, Stephen Pichon.

To put this Armenian "war of liberation" into perspective, we can imagine what would have happened if the Albanians, as the descendants of the Illyrians, had tried to regain control of the entire Balkan region and central Europe. They could have engaged in uprisings, bombings,



The murderous frenzy of the terrorists reached its peak after the Russian withdrawal from eastern Anatolia, in the spring of 1918, just before Ottoman units moved in to replace the Russians. Erzurum and Erzindjan, along with the surrounding villages, were the hardest hit. In some ways, the last wounds are only now healing. That is why the former American Consulate in Erzurum, which had been turned into a "law enforcement office" by the terrorists and was a source of terror and fear for the population, is only now being restored.



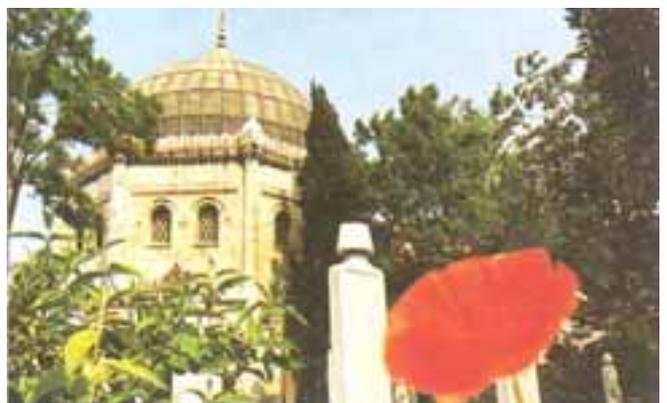
murders, and assassinations, as well as the formation of volunteer units to fight in the war, all based on the "historical foundation" that the Illyrians had ruled over all of central and southeastern Europe before the invasion of the Celts.

Armenian terrorism reached a new climax after the war. Its purpose was no longer merely the re-creation of "Greater Armenia" on the "historical territory of Greater Armenia", a kingdom that existed for a few decades two thousand years ago on lands that never in their history contained a majority of Armenians. The new purpose also included revenge - on the Turks in general and on the leaders of the Turkish people in particular. After World War I the Armenian agitators kept pestering the allies and furnishing them with denunciations until the British finally decided to transport more than 140 Ottoman dignitaries - high officials, officers, cabinet members - to Malta. There they wanted to have a Malta Trial - almost like an attempted anticipation of the Nuremberg Trials. With fine British humor, the prisoners were lined up for a group photograph in the splendid Ottoman cemetery of Malta, as if the British wanted to foreshadow the certain death sentence. Were these men who had been shipped off to Malta not mass murderers, armchair villains, and madmen? Were there not masses of concrete documents and testimony?

The Ottoman prisoners were held on Malta for more than two years. For more than two years, the winners of the war -especially the British - searched feverishly for evidence. Neither in Paris nor in Istanbul nor in Anatolia could any evidence be found to support the charge that the Ottomans had planned a mass slaughter of the Armenians. Now it was up to the Americans. In America there were already powerful Armenian lobbies. In America, certain Protestant circles had been carrying on an anti-Turkish smear campaign for decades. Surely in America there would be something to unearth, evidence to be found. The answer from Washington read: "I regret to inform Your Lordship . . ." His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington had to inform His Lordship that the Americans could not produce any evidence against the prisoners in Malta either. Shortly thereafter, the Ottoman dignitaries were released.

On October 25, 1921, after more than two years of imprisonment, the accused Ottomans left the British colony of Malta as free men.

Outwardly, the British acted as if nothing had happened. The departure of the former prisoners was not mentioned anywhere. In the local press, there was nothing but a note in the "Sailed" column announcing that the H.M.S. Chrysanthemum and Montreal had left the harbor of Valetta bound for Istanbul. The Chrysanthemum was the yacht of the Maltese governor, and aboard were the freed Ottoman dignitaries - as the governor's honored guests - on their way home.



When Sultan Mehmed V Reshad died in the summer of 1918 (!), it was once again an Armenian architect who built the *türbe* (mausoleum). He was the last Sultan and Caliph to be buried on Ottoman soil.



The Ottoman Cemetary of Malta. With fine British humor the winners of the war had their prisoners pose for their group photograph beneath the cemetary gate. The death sentence was thought to be as certain as the advance verdict of "guilty".



The local Maltese press mentioned nothing about the departure of the Ottoman prisoners. Only the "SAILED" column announced that H. M. S. Chysanthemum and Montreal had left La Valetta . . . but the Chysanthemum was the official yacht of the governor of Malta and there and on board the Montreal were the freed and absolutely innocent Ottoman dignitaries . . . as His Majesty's (the governor's) honored guests. His Majesty's government, could not possibly have done more to vindicate the Ottoman officers! A late BRAVO for that.



The prison in Valetta (Malta) where Ottoman dignitaries were held on the basis of false accusations.



After the Acquittal of Malta the Armenian Terrorists Took Justice into Their Own Hands and Murdered the Ottoman Ruling Elite

The end of the First World War and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire gave the green light to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (better known as the "Dashnaks") to form a special terrorist unit, which adopted the fitting name "Nemesis". Its only objective was to "execute" its chosen symbols, without regard for the law, due process, or the right to a defense.

The first victim was Talaat Bey, minister of the interior, later minister of war. He was shot down on the street in Berlin on March 15, 1921. His murderer, Soghomon Tehlirian, was indeed put on trial, but a spontaneously formed "Soghomon Tehlirian Defense Fund" provided massive assistance. Contributions in unheard-of sums were collected from all over the world, particularly from the United States. Tehlirian was set free after a very superficial two-day trial. The only point in favor of the constitu-



ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY. So reads the inscription beneath the symbolic statue of state authority, holding the fasces. In the Archives of the United States of America, in Washington, a painstaking search was conducted for evidence to support the murder charges against the Ottoman leaders. None of them was guilty, so none was convicted.



tional state was that the "Andonian documents", which were presented by the defense as alleged proof of Talaat's central role in the events of 1915, were not even then accepted as evidence . . .

Nine months later, the Armenians struck again. This time the victim was the former grand vezir and Ottoman foreign minister, Prince Said Halim Pasha. He was murdered in Rome by the Dashnak, Arshavir Shirakian, even though he too had been found not guilty by the British on Malta. Arshavir Shirakian could not stop "executing". Just two months later, he and an accomplice named Aram Yerganian murdered two members of the Young Turk Com-

mittee, Bahaeddin Şehir and Jemal Azmi. They shot them down in Berlin on April 17, 1922.

A few months after that, the terrorists murdered a man



who had always stood up for the Armenians, even according to the testimony of a notorious Turkophobe like Dr. Lepsius.

Jemal Pasha, along with his young adjutant (Yaver) Süreyya Bey, was murdered in Tiflis on July 25, 1922. The Armenians took revenge on Jemal Pasha even though he had always helped them in every way possible while he was serving as military commander of Syria. Dr. Johannes Lepsius, the ardent Turk-hater and uncritical friend of the Armenians, writes in his book *Deutschland und Armenien*: "Jemal Pasha, the supreme commander of the Fourth Army in Syria . . . adopted a special stance towards those in power in Constantinople. He prevented serious rioting in his district and took some steps to feed those who had been deported and provide necessary services." At another point in the book, there is a citation from a document of the foreign office in Berlin:

"Imperial German Consulate

Aleppo

Telegram

Sent from Marash, April 1, 1915

Received in Pera, April 1, 1915

To the German Embassy, Constantinople
Jemal Pasha gave the order on Wednesday that no one is to interfere in religious affairs. Any Mohammedan who attacks an Armenian will be court-martialed.

Rößler"



Enver Pasha was of course also on the Armenian hit list. When he died fighting the Bolsheviks in far-off Dushanbe, Tadzhikistan in 1922, the Armenians claimed for a long time that *they* had murdered him.

It is a fact that the men who had been in charge of the Ottoman government at the time of World War I were murdered - "executed" - by Armenians. If that was supposed to have been justice, then why does the killing go on today, generations later?

From World War I to a New Chapter in Turkish-Armenian Relations: The Main Events Leading Up to the Armistices of Gümri-Alexandropol and Lausanne and the Consequences of Those Treaties

The years 1917 and 1918 were marked by a whole chain of collapses, all of which led to unjust and tremendously exaggerated "peace" dictates. The weakest links in this unhappy chain were the first and the last. It all began for the Russians at Brest-Litovsk and ended with the dictate against the Ottomans at Sèvres.

It is significant that precisely these two dictates, the first and the last of the series, never took effect. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was rendered invalid even before its implementation by the dictate of Versailles, and the Turks never recognized the dictate of Sevres, which was eventually replaced by the Peace Treaty of Lausanne.

A chronological run-down brings out the drama of those years, which have to a large extent determined our fate right up to the present day. The special case, "Ottoman Empire-Turkey" will be dealt with in more detail in connection with the Armenian question.

From the Pyrrhic Victories of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest to the Catastrophe of the Dictates in the Paris Suburbs

On November 8, 1917, the second All-Russian Congress of Soviets agreed to a "decree about peace". It contained the demand for a peace "without annexations or contributions". At the same time, the secret treaties between the Czarist regime and the Western powers were annulled. Shortly thereafter, these secret treaties were published, thus exposing the objectives of the Allied powers.

In particular, the treaties exposed the attitude of the Allies towards the Armenians, who had been in a "de facto state of war" with the Ottomans on all fronts since the beginning of the war.

There were grand plans showing how everything was to be divided up and where the zones of influence were to be. These promised southern Turkey to the French, the West to the Italians, and the Straits and eastern Anatolia to the Russians. The word "Armenia" or "Armenian" did not appear anywhere. It was fine for the Armenians to stage uprisings and to risk their necks on the front lines . . . but that was the end of it.

It was not until *after* Russia's (the Soviets') exit from the

World War I stage that someone came up with the idea of establishing a future "Armenia" on the territory that had been set aside for Czarist Russia. The idea was then quickly dropped when the Turks moved to block it at Lausanne . . .

On December 15, 1917, an armistice was signed in Bucharest between Romania and the Central Powers, which at that time were still winning the war. In addition, from December 22, 1917 to March 3, 1918, peace negotiations between the new Soviet regime and the Central Powers were held in Brest-Litovsk.

The peace of Brest-Litovsk cost the Soviets the Baltic states and the Ukraine. The Central Powers were somewhat hasty in calling it the "bread peace". It actually brought no bread, only new problems. It also had drastic significance for the Ottoman Empire.

Brest-Litovsk: The Ottomans Recover Eastern Anatolia

On November 15, 1917, the Bolsheviks had declared that all peoples living inside Russia had equal rights and could therefore split with Russia and form autonomous governments.

The proclamation of a "Republic of Armenia", based on the Russian declaration, came soon thereafter. The following years would reveal, however, to what extent one could take the promises of the communists at face value.

On November 26, after Estonia and Finland declared their independence, the Russians asked for a truce.

The negotiations between the Imperial Ottoman Government and the Soviets began *before* the first round of talks in Brest-Litovsk. They were held in the hotly contested city of Erzurum, which the Armenians had had earmarked

for a long time as the future capital of a Greater Armenia. The choice of this city for the negotiations between Russians and Turks was enough to make it clear that these Armenian plans were out of the question.

A Russian-Ottoman agreement was signed on December 18, 1918. Its contents merely confirmed the status quo ante: both armies would maintain their positions until a clarification of the new borders could be worked out.

That was a good introduction to the peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk, where an Ottoman delegation was also present, participating on the side of the Central Powers. This delegation was at first led by the Imperial Ottoman foreign minister, Nesimi Bey, and then by the grand vezir, Talaat Pasha.

On January 13, 1918, *Pravda* printed a "Decree No. 13", signed by Lenin and Stalin, which spoke of the formation of a provisional Armenian government under the supervision of the "Commissioner for Caucasian Affairs, Chomian". The gist of the decree was that the Russians would set about arming the Armenians before pulling out of the old Ottoman cities of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum. (This pull-out had been provided for in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.) The final laying down of the borders was to be left to "the states of the region."

The most important points of the Soviet-Ottoman agreement (annex to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk) provide for:

1.) Russian withdrawal from eastern Anatolia;

5.) Disarmament of the "Armenian irregular units";

and - most important of all for the Ottomans - in Article III, the restoration of the pre-1878 borders. That was the year of the unfortunate Russian-Turkish war which also became the prelude to the Armenian tragedy.

On February 10, 1918, a "United Socialist Republic of Transcaucasia" was formed, based on the Soviet declaration of November, 1917. It included the Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Daghestanians, and Armenians. A provisional government was formed under the leadership of a Georgian Menshevik by the name of Y. Ketetchgani.

The most important consequence of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the subsequent Soviet-led reorganization in eastern Anatolia was that Ottoman troops retook possession of the historical regions:



The Russian Orthodox church in Kars. The Russians were only interested in extending their power during their occupation of eastern Anatolia, not in helping the Armenians.

Erzindjan became Ottoman again on February 13; Trabzon on February 24; Erzurum on March 12; and Van on April 7.

On April 14, Ottoman troops marched into Batum.

On April 25, 1918, Ottoman forces reconquered Kars, which, along with a part of eastern Anatolia, had been under Russian occupation since 1879, in lieu of "war debts".



A number of mass graves have been discovered recently near Erzurum. The Turkish government has erected a simple memorial on the site of one particularly large grave. The memorial was inaugurated in the presence of the Turkish president, Kenan Evren.

Scenes of the exhumation of Islamic victims of the Armenian uprisings. In Igdır and elsewhere there are a few scattered survivors of the massacres perpetrated by the Armenians. In countless Turkish towns and villages, these survivors are putting their memories on record.





Ghastly pictures of victims of the senseless, murderous "de facto war", as the Armenian politician Boghos Nubar called it. There are hundreds upon hundreds of pictures like these in the Turkish archives. They show Islamic victims of Armenian terrorism and Armenian rebellions. The Armenians can show equally shocking pictures of their dead compatriots - victims of murder and manslaughter and hunger and exhaustion. All the comparisons of casualty figures and human suffering are senseless. The only question worth asking is *how* such tragic situations develop. Knowing the causes can help us build a better, more peaceful future.

Map showing the percentage of the Moslem population, mainly Turkish, lost to the de facto war between the Ottoman Empire and its Armenian minority.

Percentage of Muslims who lost their lives, 1912-1922:



Unfortunately, the days of the "interregnum" (between the withdrawal of the Russian troops and the arrival of the Ottoman army) were used by Armenian terrorists as a last chance to "get even" with the Islamic population. Entire districts were wiped out. The terrorists apparently thought there was still something to "salvage" for the cause of "Greater Armenia".

The terrorists in Erzurum and Erzindjan were the worst: ". . . it seems probable that the Armenians, seeking to avenge the genocide, were killing Turks without compunction . . ." writes Christopher Walker on this subject. The Armenian national convention in Gümrü-Alexandro-pol (today called Leninakan) was also held in April and was heavily influenced by these dramatic events. The convention rejected the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and resolved at the same time to "carry on the war" single-handedly.

Only when their military position became untenable did the Armenians bow to the necessity of the hour. It was then that the "Seim" (Assembly) of the Transcaucasian Republic decided to negotiate with the Ottomans in Trabzon and recognize the decisions of Brest-Litovsk. That was no longer enough for the Ottomans, however. The parties finally came together at the conference of Batum, on May 11, 1918, where Halil Pasha insisted that Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalak, and Gümrü be surrendered. The hostilities threatened to break out anew as Armenian units pillaged Moslem villages in the vicinity of Karakilisa. On May 26, amidst general turmoil and mutual dissatisfaction, the United Transcaucasian Republic disbanded. On the same day, Georgia declared its total independence. Azerbaijan followed suit.

Late in the night, between the 28th and 29th of May, 1918, the Armenian National Council declared Armenia an independent republic.

On June 4, 1918, peace appeared to be coming to this war-weary region. The Ottomans signed in Baku an agreement with Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. They were joined four days later by Daghestan. Nakhichevan remained Ottoman. After all the rioting and unrest which had reigned in the Caucasian and eastern Anatolian regions since the arrival of the Russians, after all the wars between the little nations, which only served the interests of the big nations, it appeared as if *finally* peace and understanding might come to the area.

In connection with the unfolding situation in the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia, there is one significant episode which should not be overlooked. It arose in the wake of the conference of Batum (May 11, 1918) and the founding of the Republic of Armenia, which had been made possible by the conference. The Ottoman delegates in Batum had promised that they would intervene to obtain a peace settlement between the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria) and the new countries of the Caucasus region. That would mean recognition for Armenia as well. In the course of preparing for such a truce, a delegation of representatives from these lands came to

Istanbul. The spokesmen for the Armenians were Messrs. Aharonian and Hadissian. They were received by Sultan Mehmed IV Vahdeddin after the Firday prayer (Selamlik) on September 6, 1918.

On September 9, Mr. Aharonian sent the following telegram to Prime Minister Kachaznuni in Armenia:

On September 6th, after we were in the "Selâmlik" we had an audience. We presented our congratulations on his accession to the throne. We submitted our best wishes for the development of the Empire and its well-being. We stated that the Armenian nation would never forget that it was the Ottoman Government which first conceived the idea of founding an independent Armenia, and recognized it, that the Armenian Government would do everything possible to protect friendly relations between the two countries and to strengthen them. His Majesty thanked us. He stated that he was very happy at seeing the envoys of independent and free Armenia, that he wished not only her development, but that she be strong in order to retain her independence. His Majesty is entirely convinced that friendly relations will always exist between the two neighbouring countries, Turkey and Armenia, in order that both of them may develop. He concluded his remarks by stating that he was very happy to see that Armenia had the strength to found an independent state which was able to send envoys to Istanbul, and repeated his best wishes for our country.

Aharonian continued his report, saying: "Talaat Pasha has travelled to Berlin to discuss the problems that arise from the situation in the Caucasus . . ." That situation was confusing enough because Germany also wanted to gain a foothold in that geopolitically sensitive area and was wrestling bitterly with the Ottomans for influence. In the meantime, however, World War I took a dramatic turn.

The forces of the Central Powers, who were being pushed far beyond their limits, grew weary. On October 8, 1918, Talaat Pasha's cabinet resigned so that the Ottoman Empire could better fulfill President Wilson's general conditions for peace (even though Constantinople was *not* at war with the United States). On October 30, 1918, the Ottomans and the Allied representatives signed an armistice agreement aboard the H. M. S. AGAMEMNON in the harbor of Mudros, on the island of Lemnos, almost within sight of the Dardanelles.

In contrast to the Sunni religious orders of the Islamic community of faith, which have never known racism, the self-image of the national church of the Armenians rests on the awareness of being a "chosen people". It is absurd to charge the Ottomans or Islam with "racism". The Ottoman Empire was built on the twin foundation pillars of religious tolerance, practiced in particular by the followers of Mevlana, and absolute equal rights for all ethnic groups . . . otherwise the Empire could never have produced 600 glorious years of art and cultural harmony.



Sultan and Kalif Mechmed VI. Vaheddin (1918-1923).



The Collapse of the Central Powers and the Continuing Resistance of the Ottoman Empire

The armistice-agreement ball was opened on the Balkans. On October 2, 1918, the Bulgarian western front collapsed under the weight of the far superior Allied forces, and Sofia had to capitulate at Thessalonica. Almost simultaneously, the British and the French made a breach in the Ottoman Palestine front with strong support from Armenian combat troops.

The Armistice of Mudros between the Ottomans and the Allies came on October 30. Immediately thereafter, British and French ships passed through the Dardanelles, where they had suffered a humiliating defeat in 1915. A mighty fleet of fifty-five warships now cast anchor beneath the walls of the Caliph's city. Admiral Calthorpe, who had signed the Armistice of Mudros for the British side, became Allied high commissioner in Istanbul, and was thus the most powerful man in the Ottoman Empire. Austria-Hungary surrendered in Padua on November 3. The representatives of Germany signed the capitulation at Compiègne on November 11.

The signing of the peace dictates of Versailles and St. Ger-

main followed fairly soon thereafter, and on June 28 the defeated Germans accepted the dictated peace which would become a major factor leading to the outbreak of World War II just twenty-one years later. Austria's representatives signed on September 10, 1919. Bulgaria signed at Neuilly on November 27, 1919 (thus losing its access to the Aegean - i.e., the territory which it had taken from the Ottomans in the Balkan War). Finally, on June 4, 1920, the Kingdom of Hungary - or what was left of it - had to give in at Trianon.

The culmination of the victors' "triumphs" appeared to have been reached at Sevres. The new rulers of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary had already submitted helplessly and without resistance to the conditions of the dictated peace. Now, the same conduct was naturally expected of the representatives of the Ottoman Empire. They did not disappoint.

The dictate of Sèvres was nothing to be ashamed of. At the very worst, it might be compared to what Austria had been forced to accept at St. Germain. The territory of the Ottoman Empire shrunk to about one tenth of what it had been in 1912. Armenia, which had only been "discovered" by the Western powers after the collapse of the Czarist empire, was to take over roughly the area which had been set aside for Russia in the secret treaties between the Allied powers.



It is quite remarkable - and undoubtedly painful - that the Ottoman delegation signed this absurd dictate. There is one excuse: The capital of the Ottoman Empire was occupied by the Allies, and the Sultan was entirely at the mercy of the victors. Nevertheless, the Ottoman delegation should never have put their signature to *this* dictate. A refusal could not possibly have worsened the Sultan's predicament. In the eyes of the imperial people (the Turks) and the faithful (meaning *all* the Moslems of the world - the Sultan was, after all, still the Caliph!), it could *only improve*. *Losing* was worse than nothing.

At any rate, the dictate of Sevres, like the earlier one signed at Brest-Litovsk, never took effect. Independently of the Ottoman government in Istanbul, which in its state of de facto imprisonment could no longer speak for the people, a new Turkish leadership had been formed in central Anatolia under Mustafa Kemal, who would later be given the honorary title "Father of the Turks" -Atatürk.

The Struggles for Survival of Turkey
and Armenia:
Both Nations Salvage Their Existence -
The Turks in the
Form of Traditional Independence; the
Armenians in the Equally Customary
Form of Limited Sovereignty

Following the peace dictates of Versailles, St. Germain, Neuilly, and Trianon, a struggle for survival began. It was the struggle of a drained, impoverished populace, but for the states of the defeated Central Powers this struggle could at least be carried on within new, "safe" borders. For the Turks, on the other hand, it was not just a struggle for the bare survival of each individual, it was also a struggle for a piece of land somewhere where they *could* survive. According to the plans of the Allies, not much more than the region around Ankara was to be left to the Turks . . . Everything else was reduced to colonies and occupied territories of the Allies.

Two zones of power promptly appeared on the territory of the time-honored Imperial Ottoman commonwealth. First, there was Istanbul with the Sultan and his government. They had been condemned to impotence by the victorious Allies, whose forces occupied Istanbul. There was still, however, the Turkish heartland - Anatolia. It was here that the resistance formed . . . "thanks" not least of all to the invasion of Greek troops, who were hoping to inherit the defeated Ottoman Empire. On May 15, 1919, more than half a year after the Armistice of Mudros, a mighty Greek expedition corps landed in Izmir, with the approval of the Allies. Their objective was to



An Ottoman delegation appointed by the Sultan and led by Damad Ferid Pasha left Istanbul on June 6, 1920 aboard the French warship "Démocratique". They were on their way to Sèvres, where on August 10 they would obediently accept the "peace" dictated by the Allies in much the same way as the Austrians and Germans had done in Versailles and St. Germain. The dictate never went into effect, however, because the Turkish National Assembly refused to accept it.

"finally" realize the *megali idea*, the "grand idea of a Great Greek Empire". Who was to defend Anatolia against this new, unexpected enemy?

On May 19, 1919, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, disembarked in Samsun. He was determined to organize and lead the national resistance. On September 11, 1919 a congress was held in Sivas. The delegates made it their objective to maintain the integrity of "the parts of the Ottoman Empire within the borders as they stood at the conclusion of the Armistice of Mudros, October 30, 1918":

"1. The Ottoman Empire which is within the borders of October 30, 1334 (1918), the date when the truce between the Great Ottoman State and the Allied States was signed, and every part of which has an overwhelming majority of Muslims, constitutes a whole, which will not be divided for any reason . . ."



The full strength and historical impact of this first clause of the declaration of Sivas have never been fully appreciated by many people. The principles agreed to by the free congress in Sivas met with the unanimous approval of the last Ottoman parliament, which endorsed the entire contents of the proclamation of Sivas on January 20, 1920. This resolution is known today in Turkey as the "National Pact".

With the spirit of resistance surging up everywhere, the British occupied Istanbul, still the capital of the Ottoman Empire, on March 16, 1920. The Ottoman parliament was forcibly dissolved. Ottoman dignitaries were arrested by order of the British, based on the names provided by Ottoman-Armenian informers. These high officials were suspected of improper conduct towards the Armenians during the war, and they were all shipped off to Malta.

The Ottoman National Assembly, which had meanwhile moved to Ankara in central Anatolia, responded by electing Mustafa Kemal president on April 23, 1920.

From that day on, Ankara was the nerve center of the Turkish national resistance, which was just getting into full swing. Up until that time, the Turks had always

Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, Ankara became the center of the Turkish struggle for national survival. View of the old city of Ankara from the citadelle.

thought in *supranational* terms, as the people of an empire, not as the people of a Turkish national state. Circumstances finally forced the Turkish people, as the *last* national group in their multi-national state, to think in *national* terms as well. It was necessary for survival in a thoroughly nationalistic environment.

Large parts of Anatolia were already under foreign occupation. In order to defend it, the army was quickly reorganized to fight a war on three fronts, forced upon them by the occupational forces. In the West, the Greeks had invaded and were already approaching the gates of Ankara. The Armenians, who were allied with the French, were advancing in the South and had already brought large parts of Cilicia under their control. In the East, the Armenians, seeing that the Ottoman Empire had been defeated and expecting its imminent collapse, had already begun realizing their Greater Armenian dream.

The Turmoil of a War That Would Not End

Turks and Armenians between the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (December, 1918) and the Treaties of Gümrü, Moscow, and Kars (October, 1921)

Between 1917 and 1918, the collapse of the Russian Czar-dom robbed the Western powers of their great Eastern ally, thus giving the Central Powers a little breathing-space. Armenian irregulars continued fighting on the eastern Anatolian and Egyptian-Arabian fronts and attacking the Turks, Austrians, and Germans with rhetoric. During this period, the Armenians became a factor to be reckoned with in the battle against the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Germany, who were all putting up a tough defense.

Now, negotiations were finally held that had a certain real foundation. The concessions made to Czarist Russia in the Sykes-Picot Agreement had served the Czar's interests, not those of the ever-hopeful Armenian extremists (extremist not only in their political methods, but also in their exaggerated expectations).

Communist-Bolshevist Russia would long remain an unknown entity. (No one could have guessed that its politics would differ in absolutely no way from those of the Czars; the Armenians suspected this least of all!) So after the collapse of the Czardom, everything that had been promised to the Czars in the Sykes-Picot Agreement was now promised to the Armenians. It was thus reasonable to expect them to distinguish themselves a little bit more in the fight against the Ottoman Empire!

Lloyd George, in his well-known flowery style, described Armenia as a land "soaked with the blood of innocents". Little did he know that he was telling the truth but that the blood was mostly that of Moslems, who in fact had many more dead to mourn than the "Christian" Armenians. Lloyd George was just as much a hypocrite as Wilson and Clemenceau. They had all picked out a "romantic" victim and then dropped her by the wayside as soon as she ceased to be useful.

When the "peace conference" - which was actually nothing but a dictate-preparation conference - began meeting in Paris in January of 1919, it appeared as if the Armenian extremists' hour had arrived. The Armenians sent *two* delegations to the "peace conference". One was led by the professional emigrant Boghos Nubar, who had been working towards the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire for many years. The other was from the Republic of Armenia (the existence of which had only been made possible by the Turks after the Treaty of Baku on May 28, 1918).

The two delegations immediately began "auctioning" - outbidding each other in demands for territory and underbidding each other in rational arguments. They were apparently confusing politics with a carpet bazaar, where

the important criteria are the pattern, the number of square meters, and the age of the desired item. Their demands became so excessive that even such inveterate carpet-lovers as the Allied rulers lost interest in making a real offer. After all, it did not *have* to be an Armenian carpet. Those of the Turks were much older, more valuable, and more reliable.

After the Armenian delegation led by Boghos Nubar started things off by demanding an Armenia in eastern Anatolia, the joint delegation (the group led by Avetis Aharonian from the Republic of Armenia had in the meantime merged with Nubar) worked its way up to territorial claims stretching from the Black Sea, with Trabzon as a harbor, all the way to Cilicia.

The Armenian population of this "Greater Armenia" would not even have accounted for a *fifth* of the total population of the region - and that is based on the figures from 1914! Moreover, even if back then in 1914 *the entire Armenian population of the world had gathered in eastern Anatolia, there still would not have been an Armenian majority in the region.*

But so what? In the nineteenth century, the various Armenian churches had wrestled over who was the "most Armenian". Later, the Dashnaks and Hunchaks both wanted to carry off the palm in the fight to be the best terrorists. And now, the delegation from the Republic of



Only the foundation walls remain of this village church above Lake Van in Bakracli Koyü, on the way to Yedikilisse-Warak-wank.

The authorities are well aware of the lamentable condition of many historical Armenian buildings. There is, however, a far greater number of Seljuk and Ottoman buildings in even worse condition. (In many cases as a result of the devastation of the civil war of 1915.) These are naturally given priority in any preservation or restoration project.

Armenia and the one from the Armenian diaspora were outbidding each other in the same way. As mentioned above, their "common memorandum" claimed not only the "six vilayets" of Van, Bitlis, Diyarbekir, Karput, Sivas, and Erzurum (in which the Armenians had never in history had a majority), it also laid claim to Trabzon, Kara-bagh (where virtually no Armenians had ever lived), San-segur, and large parts of Georgia, as well as Cilicia.

At the same time, the reputation of the Armenians as a nation of peace-loving victims who had been defenselessly and helplessly murdered (or rather *exterminated*) by the bloodthirsty Ottomans was shaken. The reason: The young, autonomous Armenian Republic could not think of anything better to do than start a whole series of wars of conquest.

The routes between Anatolia and central Asia (the cradle of the Turkic people) are 15,000 years old. If any nation can claim "squatter's rights" to Eastern Anatolia, then it is the Turks.



The president of the "Armenian National Delegation" sums up, in a letter to French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon, why the Ottomans, who were fighting on five fronts at the same time and were also confronted with internal Armenian rebellions, had to defend themselves by moving the Armenian population out of the endangered areas:

Monsieur le Ministre,

I have the honor, in the name of the Armenian National Delegation, of submitting to Your Excellency the following declaration, at the same time reminding him:

That the Armenians have been, since the beginning of the war, *de facto* belligerents, as you yourself have acknowledged, since they have fought alongside the Allies on all fronts, enduring heavy sacrifices and great suffering for the sake of their unshakeable attachment to the cause of the Entente:

In France, through their volunteers, who started joining the Foreign Legion in the first days and covered themselves with glory under the French flag; In Palestine and Syria, where the Armenian volunteers, recruited by the National Delegation at the request of the government of the Republic itself, made up more than half of the French contingent and played a large role in the victory of General Allenby, as he himself and his French chiefs have officially declared;

In the Caucasus, where, without mentioning the 150,000 Armenians in the Imperial Russian Army, more than 40,000 of their volunteers contributed to the liberation of a portion of the Armenian vilayets, and where, under the command of their leaders, Antranik and Nazerbekoff, they, alone among the peoples of the Caucasus, offered resistance to the Turkish armies, from the beginning of the Bolshevik withdrawal right up to the signing of an armistice."

(The letter bears the date on which it was received in the French Foreign Office - December 3, 1918). In this manner, Boghos Nubar explained that the Armenians had waged constant war with the Ottoman Empire from November 1, 1914 right up to the signing of the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918 and had thus been, in his eyes, "*de facto* belligerents".

Reproduction of the letter from Boghos Nubar to the French foreign minister. (The first page is shown in its entirety; from the second page, only the salutation and Boghos Nubar's signature are shown.)

Eastern Anatolian landscape above Lake Van (Yedikilisse-Warak-wank).

Délégation Nationale
Arménienne

14, Square de l'Assemblée

Paris, le 30 Novembre 1918

30 Novembre

à Monsieur le Ministre
des Affaires Étrangères

30 Novembre

Paris

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SOUS-DIRIGÉ
3 - DEC 1918

Monsieur le Ministre,
J'ai l'honneur, au nom de la Délégation Nationale Arménienne, de soumettre à Votre Excellence la déclaration ci-dessous en lui rappelant:

Que les arméniens, dès le début de la guerre, ont été des belligérants de facto, comme vous avez bien voulu le reconnaître vous-même, puisqu'au prix des sacrifices les plus lourds et des souffrances endurées pour leur attachement inébranlable à la cause de l'Entente, ils ont combattu aux côtés des Alliés sur tous les fronts;

En France, par leurs Volontaires enrôlés dès les premiers jours dans la légion étrangère, où ils se sont couverts de gloire sous le drapeau français;

En Palestine et en Syrie, où les Volontaires arméniens, recrutés par la Délégation Nationale à la demande même du Gouvernement de la République, ont formé plus de la moitié du contingent français et ont pris une grande part à la victoire du Général Allenby, ainsi que ce dernier et leurs Chefs français l'ont officiellement déclaré;

Au Caucase où, sans parler des 150,000 Arméniens dans l'Armée Impériale Russe, plus de 40,000 de leurs Volontaires ont contribué à la libération d'une partie des vilayets arméniens et où, sous le commandement de leurs Chefs Antranik et Nazarbekoff, ils ont sauvé de tous les peuples du

Son Excellence
Monsieur S. Pichon
Ministre des Affaires Étrangères

PARIS.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, la nouvelle assurance de ma plus haute considération.

Le Président.

Arzaks Kuban.

The Wars of the Republic of Armenia

The Georgians became the young Armenian Republic's first victim. The origins of the Georgian-Armenian conflict go all the way back to the beginning of the Armenian immigration in the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. Wars and feuds between Georgians and Armenians had broken out again and again.

A preliminary climax was reached in 1920 when the Armenians pushed beyond Alaverdi and advanced all the way to the northern Iori region. If the Georgians had given in to the Armenian demands, it would have meant the end of Georgia . . . the Georgian capital would have been completely surrounded by "Armenian" territory. The claims to the Iori region were as extravagant as the claims to Kars, Erzurum, and Adana, but they were even more disturbing because they affected a weak neighbor who was already struggling with a thousand problems as a newly independent state.

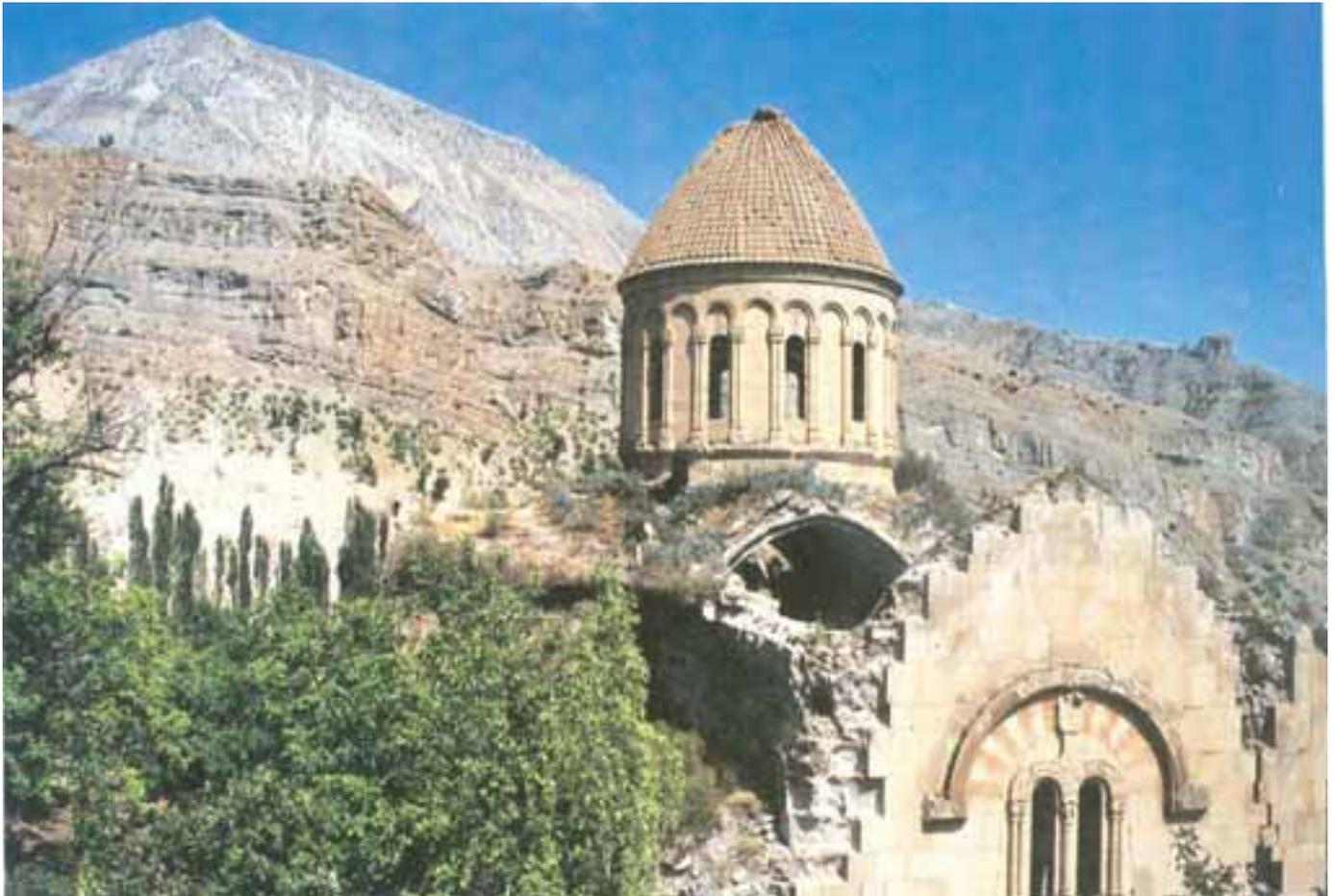
For certain regions along the Iori, the ruling Dashnaks had at least a small excuse - there were indeed a few Armenians north of Tiflis. But just like everywhere else

where Moslems had once ruled, the Armenians here were a minority among majorities. No legitimate claims could grow out of such a situation.

The Armenian army under General Dor did not, however, even restrict itself to "incorporating" Armenian farms and villages. It pushed its way directly into areas in which there were no longer any Armenians at all. Armenian units advanced right into the precincts of Tiflis. It was not until this critical stage of the war that the Georgians finally managed to rouse themselves to determined resistance and repel the Armenian invasion.

At any rate, the Armenian advance on Tiflis had opened the eyes of the now astonished world public. For the first time, people realized that the neighbors of the Armenians were not dealing with a "persecuted, innocent, unarmed, pacifist, Christian" nation, but rather with an unfortunate people in the hands of a terrorist organization. This organization, the Dashnaks, fought indefatigably for power and land, without regard for the boundaries of the areas in which Armenians actually lived. It was undoubtedly this same excessiveness which eventually destroyed all the Greater Armenian dreams - first in eastern then in southern Anatolia, and finally in the Caucasus.





The next victim of the aggression of the young Armenian Republic was its neighbor to the east, Azerbaijan. The British pulled their troops out of the Caucasus region in August, 1919, but not without leaving their Armenian proteges with large quantities of the most modern weapons. The only place in the Caucasus where Allied forces were still located was Batum. From this base, the British were still participating heavily on the side of the Armenians.

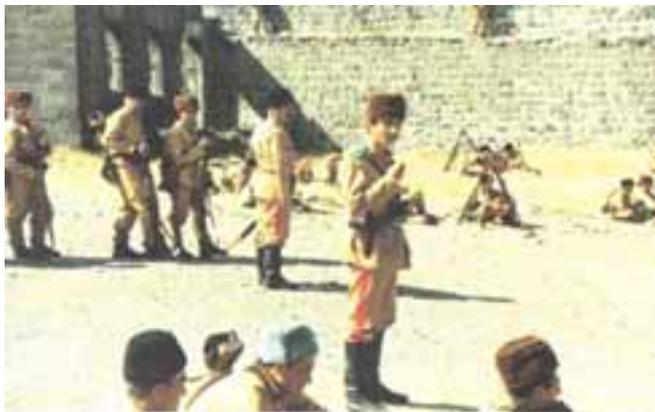
The withdrawal of Allied forces from the Caucasus led immediately to open hostilities between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The lands claimed by the Armenians included not only Turkish territory and areas settled by Moslems (Turks, Kurds, Circassians), but also pieces of Azerbaijani land, mainly residential areas and pasture lands of the Tatars. Nakhichevan and the mountains and valleys of Karabagh soon became the sites of determined Tatar resistance to the Armenian occupation. The uprisings of the Moslem population soon struck the district of Erivan itself. (We must not forget that the Moslems were originally in the majority throughout the region, including of course the area of the later "Republic of Armenia".) Norashen was conquered by the rebellious Tatars, and - according to the Armenian accounts - "the defenseless Armenian village population" was massacred by the Ta-

The Armenian offensive against its Christian neighbor, the Republic of Georgia, had the same sort of expansionist objectives as the Armenian war against Azerbaijan. Such aggressive actions destroyed not only Armenia's image as a "peace-loving martyr nation", but also countless churches and monasteries in the contested regions.





After its Christian neighbor, Georgia, the next victim of the Armenian Republic's expansionist appetite was Islamic Azerbaijan. The Armenians wanted to occupy the exclusively Islamic provinces of Nakhichevan and Karabagh, which were inhabited by Turks, Tatars, and Azerbaijanis.



tars. There is no mention of the first act of this drama, in which Armenia had occupied Karabagh and Nakhichevan . . . The worst display of Armenian ferocity came in Zangezur, where forty (!) Moslem villages were razed to the ground and the population was wiped out in the course of a "punitive expedition". The bloody, cruel fighting lasted until the end of the winter of 1920 and drastically weakened Armenia as well as Azerbaijan. The dawning of the Bolshevist age in the Caucasus was now approaching, and the countries of the region had had little chance to enjoy their short-lived independence - which had only been made possible by the Ottomans.

Azerbaijan, greatly weakened by the war with Armenia, fell to the Soviets in April of 1920. With Soviet help and arbitration, Zangezur and Karabagh became Azerbaijani, thus ensuring the survival of the local Moslem populations.

Then came the Armenian campaign against the Turks. Shortly before the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918, the Republic of Armenia had been created under Ottoman protectorate. As soon as the Armistice was signed, the Armenians began pushing their way back into eastern Anatolia.

The remarkable interregnum which (chronologically as well as geographically) encompassed the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia, appeared to deal all the trumps to the Armenians. The local Islamic units, some of which were under Tatar command, had very limited financial and material means. They could not withstand the combined strength of the British and Armenian forces.

In April of 1919, the Armenians made it as far as Kars with British help. While Oltu and Ardahan came under British administration (at least outwardly), the new colonial masters left Kars entirely to the Armenians. At the same time, the Armenians occupied Islamic Nakhichevan. It was then, in April of 1919, that the young Armenian Republic found itself at the preliminary height of its power. The final objective could only be to use Kars as a bridgehead for the occupation of Trabzon in the North (thus obtaining access to the Black Sea) and then to try to join up with the French-Armenian invasion troops moving north from Adana. This would result in a "Greater Armenia" stretching from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean (as was loudly demanded at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919).

The war of aggression which "Christian" Armenia waged against Christian Georgia in 1920 had territorial expansion as its aim. We can only hope that that was the last time an army will set out under the sign of the cross to subjugate a Christian neighbor.

That the Armenians, even back in the days when their number had been at its greatest, only made up a *sixth* of the population of the region; that even in their strongest vilayet, in Van itself, they only accounted for a third of the population . . . So what?

Kars was *the* starting point for expansion - to Erzurum and Sivas in the West, to Trabzon in the North, and to Adana in the South. It was the cautious cleverness of Mustafa Kemal and the military genius of Kazim Karabekir that combined to thwart these Armenian plans.



In the spring of 1919, the Armenians launched an expansionist campaign into Anatolia. Their first attack was directed against Oltu.

A Georgian eagle. It was only with the help of international intervention that the Georgians were able to withstand the Armenian war of aggression of 1920.



The Reconquest of Kars and the End of Armenian Expansion

In the last days of August and the first days of September, 1920, a "Congress of the Peoples of the East" was held in Baku on the invitation of the International. At this congress appeared a united front of all the peoples of the Caucasus and the Turkic peoples living in and around the Caucasus.

All the tribes and ethnic groups represented - great or small - seemed to have a common motive: fear of Armenian rule. In the case of the Soviets, there was also of course the intent to bring the Republic of Armenia under Soviet-Russian control, just as Russian Armenia had been totally under the control of the White Czars.

For the Armenians, nothing really changed in the end. After having shed a tremendous amount of Islamic and Armenian blood, the Armenians landed right back where they had almost always been - dependent on another state. The only difference was that now they would be under the Russian Bolsheviks instead of under the Czars.

Meanwhile on the international front, the young Armenian Republic had lost all credibility. The incessant wars

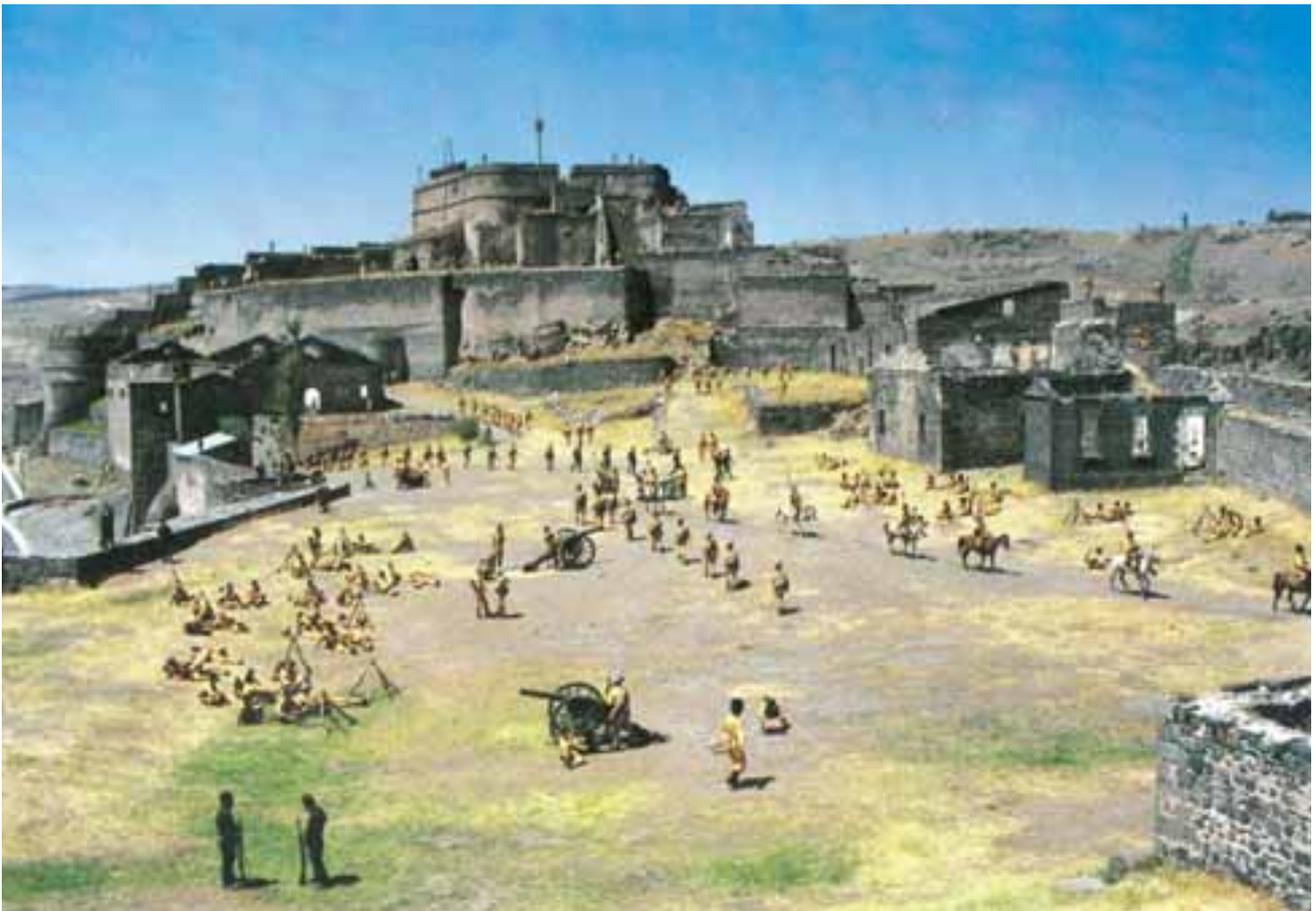
with their Georgian and Azerbaijani neighbors had destroyed the illusion of the "unarmed, peaceful martyr-nation". In constructing this illusion, the Armenian extremists had shown great skill in making the world forget their decades of terrorist activity. The same Dashnaks who had once led terrorist groups were now in charge of an entire (though admittedly small) state machinery.

On June 27, 1920, Armenian troops attacked Tuzla, not far from Oltu. When they were beaten and had to retreat, they launched an artillery attack on Oltu (June 30, 1920).

On July 8, they advanced to Dügün Tepe, and a few days later they were in Cambar. Immediately thereafter, they set their sights on the border regions of Nakhichevan and Kagizman and advanced as far as Kulp.

After a careful and conscientious period of preparation, Kazim Karabekir launched a counter-offensive in September of 1920. The Turks had only very old-fashioned,

In April of 1919, the Armenians occupied Kars with British help. They made it their key position for the assault on Anatolia. Their objective was to win access to *two* seas: in the north at Trabzon and in the south at Adana. This would mean a "Greater Armenia" stretching from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The Armenians had always been a small minority in this region.



second-hand weapons and no air force whatsoever. The Armenians possessed a small squadron.

On September 29, the Turks retook Sarakamish, and on October 1 they reached Kaghizman, just eighty kilometers south-east of the key fortress of Kars. The assault on Kars began on October 27, and three days later the fortress, complete with a tremendous booty, was in Turkish hands. Among the prisoners taken were a cabinet minister, three generals, six colonels, and twelve provincial governors . . . The captured Armenian minister of war, Aratov, finally realized that the drive to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean was now nothing more than a dream . . . luckily not a bloody one. A few days later, the Turks reached Gümrü-Alexandropol, and on November 6 the Armenians asked for a truce.

Unfortunately, the fighting flared up again a short time later, but then in the night between the 2nd and 3rd of December, 1920, there was finally peace: the agreement of Gümrü was signed.

Three months later, the agreement of Gümrü (Alexandropol; today "Leninakan") was signed once again in Moscow. By this time, the Soviet Russians were already the only ones who had any say in the matter. The countries named in the "Treaty of Moscow", Armenia and Georgia, were neither invited nor even asked for their opinion. They were once again Russian subjects. It is also interesting to note that the agreement of Gümrü was signed not only in Moscow, but also in Kars on September 22, 1921, after approval by the Grand National Assembly. On September 26, 1921, general peace talks among the Caucasus countries opened in Kars. Along with the Russian delegation, there were representatives from Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia. Turkey was represented by Kazim Karabekir.

The negotiations ran until October 13, and then there was yet another treaty-signing. On that day, peace finally came to the war-weary eastern Anatolia-Caucasus region. Except for some minor Armenian terrorist attacks, that peace has survived all the vicissitudes of history, including the dangerous situation during World War II. After that war, it looked as if the Soviet Union, like the Czarist regime before it, wanted to try once again to snatch Kars and eastern Anatolia. Luckily, the people of that area, who still had such vivid memories of the tragic events of 1915 and everything that followed, were spared a new war.

The Treaty of Kars, dated "October 13, 1921, 1-2 p. m.", is filled with details concerning the validity of borders (which all remained unchanged) and the nullification of any other agreements applying to this treaty. (Even the dictate of Sevres and the Peace Treaty of Lausanne did not affect the Treaty of Kars.) The treaty also contains a clause, legally signed - *even by Armenia* - which reads as follows:

"15. The governments signatory to the agreement (Russian S. S. R., Armenian S. S. R., Azerbaijan S. S. R., Georgian S. S. R. and Turkey) are engaged in de-



Kazim Karabekir Pasha.

daring a general amnesty restricted to the citizens of the other side 'pour tous les meurtres et delits commis en temps de guerre' (for all the murders and offenses committed in time of war) . . ." And the Armenians were indeed "de facto belligerents" from August of 1914 on, that has been established based on the information provided by the Armenians themselves. In truth, they had been "de facto belligerents" since 1878 when the Armenian "leaders of the people" thought they could neutralize the Ottoman Empire with Russian help.



An Equally Tragic Sequel on the Southern Front

The murderous Armenian uprisings of Mush and Van in 1915 had amounted to the opening of another front against the Ottomans within the borders of the Empire. Under these circumstances, the Ottoman government had seen it necessary to protect the threatened part of Anatolia by moving the Armenians elsewhere. Several hundred thousand Armenians ended up in Syria.

Almost as soon as the Armistice of Mudros was concluded, these people started streaming back to their original homes. Their intention now was to found a new Cilician-Armenian state, but in the region where they wanted to have this state they were just as much a minority now, after the war, as they had been before it.

Since it is not possible to go into the events of this secondary theater of war in more detail, a description of a single episode will have to suffice. This episode illustrates the dimensions of a campaign that was supposed to "recall the tradition of the Crusades" (and unfortunately did so): After the French-Armenian invaders had been thrown back by the Turks, Marsin and Taurus were once again in the hands of their inhabitants, who were not about to have French-Armenian rule forced upon them. A gang of Armenian fanatics, however, decided to declare the region between the Sehun and Jehun rivers "self-governing".

The ringleader of this ridiculous operation was Mihran Damadjian, a terrorist who had grown old disgracefully. He had won his first bloody laurels inciting rebellions in Sasun.

When the French tried to put him in his place, he declared an "independent Armenian state of Cilicia" on August 5, 1920. With a handful of blindly loyal followers, he occupied the 'Palais des Gouverneurs' of Adana in terrorist fashion.

As representative of the "Armenian National Delegation" (whatever that might have been in Cilicia), he declared himself "Armenian governor under French protectorate". This unfortunate farce ended an hour later, when the French commanding officer asked him and his "government" in no uncertain fashion to end "cette comedie ridicule" as soon as possible.

The French ended their Cilician adventure shortly thereafter.

On December 11, 1918, a French battalion made up of four hundred Armenians had occupied Dordyol, the notorious region of Armenian rebellion surrounding Musa Dag and Zeitun.

On January 20, 1920, the French began pulling out of Ma-rash. (On February 6 the patriarch in Istanbul sent a telegram to Paris saying that two thousand Armenians had been "massacred" by the Turks; on February 25, Reuters sent a telegram around the world saying that the

Turks had slaughtered 70,000 [seventy thousand!] Armenians in Marash . . .) It is true that the fighting on Turkey's southern flank was taking on a genuine warlike character, even if the situation did not resemble the rumors that Reuters was peddling, apparently still in the tradition of wartime slander.

The fighting was in fact taking place between the best-equipped Armenian units and recently resurrected Turkish troops led by their efficient government in Ankara. They made up for their lack of equipment and means of transport with love for their country.

On October 20, 1921, an agreement was signed between the Turkish government and M. Franklin-Bouillon, representing France.

It called for the unconditional withdrawal of French troops.

The overwhelming majority of the Armenian population, which had just moved back to Cilicia in 1918, joined the French in their withdrawal. This happened in spite of the fact that the Armenians in the South of Turkey were a valuable part of the Turkish community and would have been just as welcome as the Armenians were everywhere else in Anatolia.

All the facts indicate that the emigration en masse of the Armenians from Cilicia was planned and programmed with a single goal in mind. Someone wanted to prove to the "dumb, incompetent Turks" that things "simply would not work" without the Armenian element. Trade - especially international trade - would surely fall apart permanently.

But what happened was just the opposite. The tremendously capable Armenians settled by the hundreds of thousands in all the nations that were founded out of the old Ottoman Empire. (They had not been moved *out* in 1915; they had just been moved *around*.) None of these other nations, however, could possibly stand comparison with the progress made in Turkey. Only Turkey has managed to build the road to a safe, peaceful present, with a virtually certain option on an even better, peaceful future. The other states, Syria and Lebanon in particular, have meanwhile sunk into a sea of blood and terror (of which no small part is contributed by Armenian terrorists).

Speaking of Lebanon:

The French supreme commander in Cilicia, General Duffieux, was a notorious Turk-hater. Right up to the last moment, he avoided making contact with even a single Turk. He left Adana on November 24, 1921. Just before his departure, he visited the French war cemetery, and as he laid down the obligatory wreath he said sadly: "To the French soldiers who sacrificed their blood in vain."

He could almost have been saying those words vicariously for all the French people who wish to remember the victims of terror in Lebanon and the victims of the Lebanese disaster. The incomprehensible waves of terrorism from Lebanon have in the meantime reached France and Paris, claiming countless innocent victims. They are

in fact *all* exclusively victims of a French policy that held that France could win power and influence in the Ottoman Empire (and thus in Syria and Lebanon as well) by tolerating and even supporting Armenian terrorism. Meanwhile, countless Armenian bombs have gone off in Paris, killing many innocent French citizens. For the most part, these bombs came from Lebanon, a country which was once propped up artificially by France in order to gain influence in the Ottoman Empire.

A hub of Anatolian-Middle Eastern civilization. The water blocked by the Keban Dam near Elazig comes from the sources of the Euphrates, while the source of the Tigris is located right on the south-east edge of Lake Keban. Archeologists have found evidence of an early neolithic culture in the area, proving beyond a doubt that the culture of the Hurrians, which came from Asia and is closely related to Urartian culture, developed first in Anatolia and spread out from there to the Caucasus and Iran.

The Armenian immigration to Anatolia, which occurred between the sixth and the fourth centuries B. C., was a relatively minor episode in the tremendously rich history of this land - the land on which the Turkish Republic was built after the collapse of the multi-national Ottoman Empire. The Turkish and proto-Turkish settlement of Anatolia dates back to time immemorial, and semi-nomadic Turks are still a valuable element of the population of eastern, central and southern Anatolia.





The gate of the dtadelle of Van. The treaties of Gümrü, Kars, and Moscow (1920 and 1921) assure Turkish sovereignty over eastern Anatolia.

The Armenian terrorists and their Shiite accomplices regard this slaughter of the French people of today, who had absolutely nothing to do with the tragedy of Lebanon, as their "legitimate" contribution to a belated campaign of vengeance. The *Turks* of today, however, had even less to do with the events for which they must "pay". They are much less guilty than the French for the present situation in the Middle East. The French did, after all, at one time help the Russians and the British and the American missionaries drive the unfortunate Armenians into the inferno of rebellion and civil war . . .

On Wednesday, December 1, 1921, Turkish troops advanced to the coast, and the solemn transfer of authority from the French to the Turks took place in Adana. This meant that the unfortunate civil war on the southern front, which had flared up again so cruelly after the French intervention, was finally over. There was still the Turkish western front, however. Since the beginning of their invasion on May 15, 1919, the Greeks had managed to capture half of western Anatolia and were now preparing for the conquest of Ankara.

The Peace of Gümrü (Alexandropol; Today Leninakan) of December 2, 1920

The severe fighting between the troops of Kazim Karabekir and the Republic of Armenia brought heavy losses. The fighting first ended with the truce of November 6, which the Armenians had requested after the Turks had taken Kars and advanced to Gümrü.

After some tough preliminary negotiations and renewed Armenian attacks, the most modernly-equipped Armenian army was defeated near Shahtahti on November 15. The Armenians now appealed once again for a truce. The peace negotiations of Gümrü began ten days later. On December 2, 1920, these negotiations produced a peace treaty between Turkey and the Republic of Armenia which is still valid and binding today. (Shortly thereafter, on March 16, 1921, the Turks signed the Treaty of Moscow, since Armenia was, as it had almost always been in its history, not a sovereign state itself, but rather under Russian sovereignty. Armenia had already made an agreement on October 11, 1920 with the Soviet-Russian representative Legrand, saying that "Armenia accepts the mediation of Russia in solving its territorial problems." In other words, Armenia had signed away its sovereignty in foreign policy matters to Moscow.)

The Treaty of Alexandropol-Gümrü establishes the borders between Turkey and its Armenian neighbor quite clearly, including of course the border north-east of Mount Ararat. Ararat is the highest peak in Turkey. Nevertheless, the Soviet Republic of Armenia still includes Ararat in its coat of arms. This is nearly as absurd as it would be for the British to include Kilimanjaro in their coat of arms, simply because they once held sovereignty there.



The eastern border of Turkey is one of the most stable in the world. Mighty fortifications were built on the Empire's border with Persia under Sultan Selim I. Later, tribal princes from eastern Anatolia defended the Ottoman Empire. (Photo: Güzelsu, south-east of Van.)

The End of the Armenian-Greek Invasion and the Peace Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

When the devastating Armenian uprisings in eastern Anatolia (especially in Van) forced the Ottoman government to order the relocation of the Anatolian Armenians to the safe southern provinces, the Armenian populations of Istanbul and Izmir were explicitly excluded, because there did not appear to be any danger in those areas.

In the spring of 1919, it became clear how much better it would have been for everyone concerned if the Armenians of Izmir had also been moved sooner, since they did everything they could to harm their Turkish compatriots in the course of the Greek invasion. Certain Armenians truly distinguished themselves in the first days of the Greek occupation of Izmir with acts of violence against the Turks.

When the terror in Izmir got totally out of hand, the Greeks were finally forced to take action against their own supporters in order to stop the murdering and looting. Two Armenian agitators were among those condemned to death.

The report of the Bristol Commission, which can be found in the Library of Congress in Washington, contains an assessment of the situation by an Allied officer. He speaks explicitly of Armenian gangs pillaging the Turkish villages in the area between Izmir and Istanbul, particularly around Yalova and Gemlik. These gangs also "cleaned" the area of Turks, since it was to be ruled only by Greeks and Armenians in the future.

Later, the leader of the Turkish delegation brought up these incidents expressly at the Lausanne Peace Conference - and no one contradicted him. The surprise Greek attack against the Turks began on May

The Greek invasion of Anatolia ended in disaster for the aggressors. They landed in Izmir on May 15, 1919, and on September 9, 1922 the Turks recaptured their most important harbor. Immediately before the entry of the Turks, a huge fire broke out in the Armenian part of town. It destroyed 25,000 buildings and left the Turks with only half a city.



15, 1919 with the ambitious invasion of western Anatolia. At last, the "Great Greek Empire" would rise again - after two thousand years! - on the soil of Anatolia, which had long since become Turkish. The Allies had given their advance "blessing" to the adventurous Greek operation. That did not mean, however, that they would stand by the victims of this megalomania when it foundered. This was soon made vividly clear by the fate of the Greek and Armenian refugees.

The Greek aggression was carried out using the most modern weapons and tremendous capital outlay, with the result being that the expeditionary forces soon reached Haymana - i.e., the city limits of Ankara, the new capital. At this point, the aggression became life-threatening for Turkish Anatolia. The sound of canon on the battlefield could be heard constantly in Ankara. The government did not consider surrendering, but rather moving - or fleeing - to Sivas. The Greeks had, however, overstretched their expansionist capacity. Starting from the gates of Ankara, the Turks gradually won back territory. After eleven days of fighting (from August 21 to September 2, 1921), they broke the spearhead of the Greek attack outside Ankara. The defenders drove the aggressors back to the west. They may have been barefoot and miserably equipped, but they were victorious nonetheless.

France realized very quickly that the tide was turning and hurried to establish good relations with Ankara. Foreign Minister Henri Franklin-Bouillon rushed to Anatolia, thus letting it be known that his future negotiating partner was in Ankara - not in Istanbul where a powerless Ottoman government was still feigning sovereignty.

France thus accepted the new Turkish "National Pact" and at the same time made it clear that they considered the dictate of Sevres null and void. This was the *same* France that had once been the most stubborn and brazen of all the powers in goading the Armenians on to terrorism and war. But back then the goal had been to weaken the Ottoman Empire. The French quickly changed their tune when it became apparent that they could not get the better of the Turks in this fashion. The "cause of the Armenians" fell into oblivion overnight, just like the "Great Greek Empire", which also self-destructed by overstretching its opportunities.

In August, 1922, after careful preparation, the Turks began their assault on the Greek invaders. The Greeks, in the meantime, had formed a hedgehog defense in Anatolia and were putting all their chips on "victory". King Constantine himself even visited the Anatolian theater of war on June 13, 1921. In a gesture that was truly pregnant with symbolic meaning, he set foot on land in the same spot where the Crusaders had come ashore centuries earlier (also in vain).

On September 2, 1922, Turkish troops liberated Eskishehir. A week later they were in Manisa, which the Greeks burned before their departure. They did the same a short while later to Izmir. The Turks were to be left with nothing but "scorched earth". Just before Kemal's victorious

forces marched into Izmir, a devastating fire broke out in the Armenian quarter of the city. 25,000 buildings, which amounted to half of the entire city, were reduced to ashes. Fire brigades ran around helplessly, searching in vain for water supplies.

The cisterns were empty, the fire hoses cut, and the water supplies cut off. This "holókauston" was the greatest "burnt-offering" ever made in the lands of the ancient world. It may well have been the work of the Dashnaks. If so, it is second only to the annihilation of Van (spring, 1915) on the list of most appalling Dashnak terrorist acts ever to plague the world.

The arsonists naturally spread the rumor throughout the world that the Turks had laid waste to the second largest, second richest, and second most beautiful city in Anatolia - on the day of their triumphant entry!

The horrific end of the Greek war of aggression with the Turks: A flood of refugees flee the burning city of Izmir. Many people lost their adopted homes, both in Greece and in Anatolia, in the wake of these events. The calculations of the Greek aggressors were just as far off the mark as those of the Armenian terrorists.



The world public swallowed this nonsense, just as they had swallowed the earlier atrocity reports with great satisfaction. The tale of the "Terrible Turk" was a sure-fire hit. On October 11, 1922, the victorious Turks and the defeated Greeks signed the Armistice of Mudanya. (Mudanya is a town near Yalova where the Armenian irregulars had wreaked havoc during the Greek occupation.)

This armistice brought the "Istikal Harbi", the Turkish war of independence, to a triumphant close. The government of His Majesty the Sultan - still prisoner of the Allies in Istanbul - sent its regards.

The peace negotiations in Lausanne began on November 22, 1922.

Ismet Pasha, the victorious general at Inonu, was leader of the Turkish delegation. He now emerged as a talented diplomat after already having proved himself on the battlefields of Anatolia. He succeeded in presenting the Turkish delegates as negotiating equals. He made it clear that



Istanbul: Topkapi-Palace. For hundreds of years the residence of the Ottoman Sultan-Caliphs.

they were not just there to receive dictates, as they had at Sevres, although the victorious powers seemed to have trouble grasping this fact.

There were no more territorial problems in eastern Turkey. The treaties of Gümrü, Moscow, and Kars had long since settled all questions of territory that might arise between the Soviet Union (as the new ruler of the Armenians) and Turkey. The Turks refused to waste any time discussing their eastern border at Lausanne.

The Turks emerged victorious from the peace negotiations at Lausanne. They had demonstrated their ability to defend their national borders - those they had had forced upon them - with skill and determination. The whole issue of "nationality" and "ethnic group" had actually been forced upon the Ottomans. The Ottoman dynasty, like all indigenous monarchies, was not familiar with the discriminatory label known as "nationality". A dynasty only cares about loyalty within a commonwealth. The ethnic group or tribe to which one belongs plays no role whatsoever. Although Turkey had now been forced, against its will, in the direction of becoming a modern "nation state", the Turkish delegates in Lausanne refused to let their newly won "national integrity" be jeopardized by additional

nationalisms. Consequently, the word "Armenian" is not even hinted at in the Treaty of Lausanne.

When Lord Curzon finally brought up the subject of the Armenians (apparently because he felt it was his obligation - they certainly did not interest him anymore, having served their purpose as useful pawns for the Allies), Ismet İnönü cut him short:

"As regards the internal political factor, that is to say, the natural desire of minorities to free themselves, there is occasion to observe that the Ottoman Empire, reduced to essentially Turkish provinces, no longer contains any minority which can form within it an independent State. Until the principle of nationalities receives an equal application everywhere, separatist movements, designed to liberate parts of the Ottoman Empire containing a considerable number of non Turkish inhabitants, could perhaps be justified. The situation is entirely different today. Just as the Greeks established at Marseilles could not reasonably think of creating there an independent Greek State or of annexing it to their Mother-Country: in the same way the Greeks or Armenians in Turkey could not legitimately desire the same thing in Turkey."

The Greek Prime Minister Venizelos also thought he had to touch upon the Armenian issue in his speech. This was the same man who was responsible for all the bloodshed caused by the Greek invasion of Anatolia and the subsequent debacle of that war of aggression. (It was he who bore responsibility for the entire refugee tragedy!) Ismet İnönü broke him off:

". . . Without any doubt, M. Venizelos pretends not to see that the occupation of Asia Minor has been a source of new miseries for the Armenians. This poor community was forced to enlist and to join the ranks of the Greek army . . . The Armenians were sent to the front and were forced to shoot at the Turks. After the defeat many pillages occurred. Moreover, the Greek authorities engaged in propaganda to attribute these offences to the Armenians. Later, when the Greeks left Asia, they dragged the Armenians along. It is necessary to accept that the last government in the world which can have the audacity to pity the Armenians in front of everybody is the Greek Government which has directly created these misfortunes for the Armenians."

When Lord Curzon began blathering about "three million Armenians who once lived in Asia Minor", İnönü answered him by saying that in the entire course of world history there had never been a population of three million Armenians in Anatolia. (1.5 million was the actual figure before the outbreak of World War I.) İnönü remarked bitterly that the Armenians own revolutionary committees had recently *forced* the Armenians of Cilicia to leave their homeland and follow the retreating French forces to Syria. The ulterior motive behind such forced emigration was the belief that the Turkish economy would completely collapse without the Armenian infrastructure and the Armenians' experience in international trade. This belief was quickly refuted by reality.

When on January 6, 1923, the subject of the Armenians came up again, İnönü declared: "It is entirely the Allies who bear the responsibility towards the Armenians. It is the Allies who turned the Armenians against Turkey and used them as a political tool . . . *It is the Allies* who delivered the Armenians up to hunger, epidemics, and finally emigration. *We* are not to blame for this, but rather the powers of the Entente. If the Armenians deserve compensation for everything they have endured, you give it to them!"

After this dramatic day, the issue of the unfortunate Armenians, who had let themselves be seduced by the promises of the Allies, was not brought up again at the conference. The Russians had created a diabolical pretext by inserting an Armenian clause at San Stefano and at Berlin (1878). Since the words "Armenia" and "Armenian" do not appear in the text of the Treaty of Lausanne, that pretext was finally destroyed. This was to the benefit of those Armenians who remained in Turkey and now live there as citizens like all other people in the Turkish community, with the same rights and responsibilities as everyone else.

On July 24, 1923, the powers signed the Treaty of Lausanne. The Armenian delegation had already left Lausanne on February 2 when they recognized the futility of their efforts and the helplessness of their "allies".

For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that the Soviet Russians, who had total control over Russian Armenia again since the founding of the "Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic" on November 29, 1920, were - through their foreign minister, Chicherin - talking of a "national foyer for the Armenians" on the Volga or in Siberia. In the thirties, Stalin turned this cynicism into horrifying reality when he started a large-scale relocation of the Armenians to - of all places - the Altai region, the original homeland of the Turks.

There is one thing that is usually overlooked in connection with the Armenian tragedy - Article 31 of the Treaty of Lausanne. It contains the stipulation that *every* former citizen of the Ottoman Empire who had acquired a new nationality through the establishment of the new independent states *could come to Turkey as a Turkish citizen* any-time within two years. Article 31 naturally applied to all the Ottoman-Armenian citizens who had been relocated during the war, or who - for whatever reason - did not happen to be on Turkish soil after the war. Article 31 was tailor-made for the Armenians who had been relocated and now wanted to move back to Turkey.

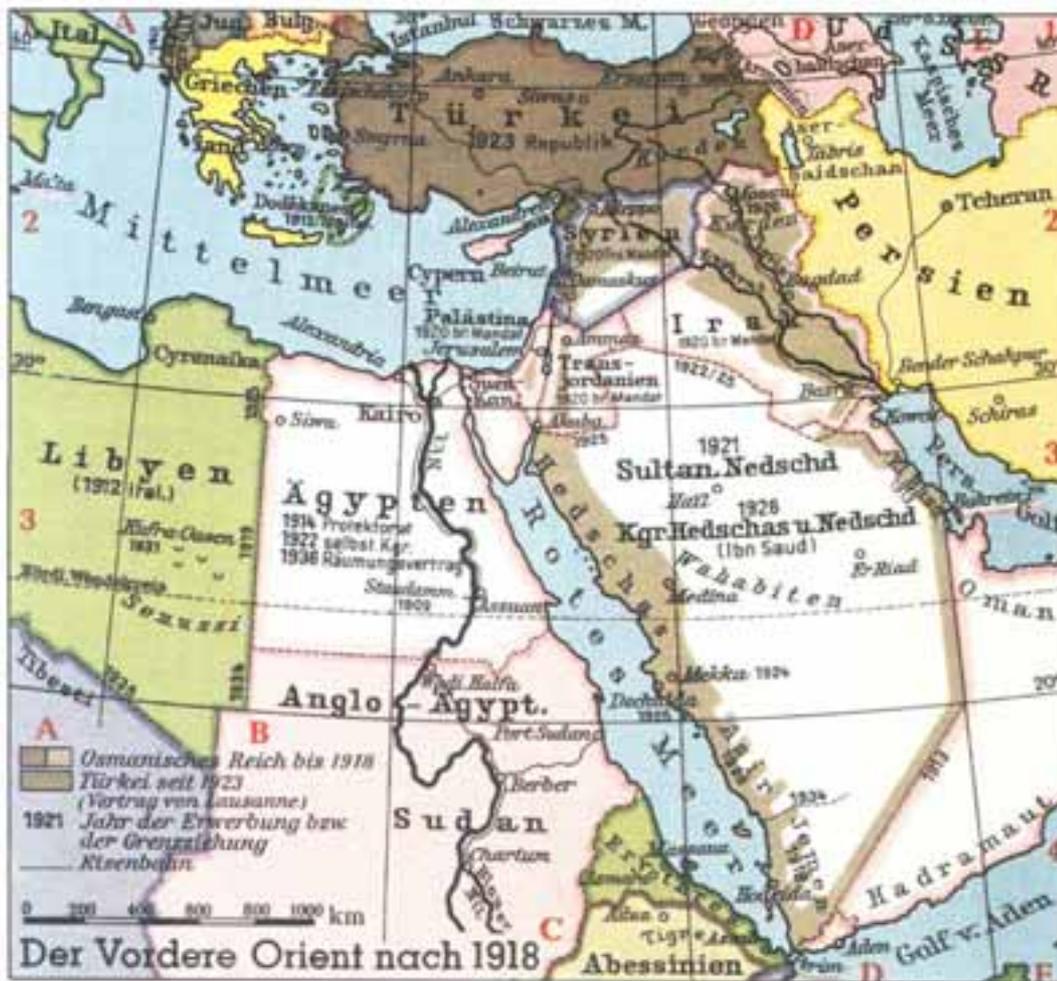
In accordance with this clause, *every* Armenian who had once been an Ottoman citizen had until July 24, 1925 to come to Turkey as a *Turkish* citizen with the same rights as every other Turkish citizen.

All talk of "expulsion" is thus unfounded, especially in light of the fact that the Armenians had never even been moved *out* of the Ottoman Empire after the uprisings in eastern Anatolia; they had simply been moved to less threatened provinces *within* the Empire.

After the close of the Lausanne Peace Conference on July 24, 1923, the Allied delegates and those from Turkey are seen here leaving the scene of the negotiations - the University of Lausanne. The head of the Turkish delegation, Ismet Inonu, had been completely successful.



Turkey shrinks to one-tenth of its former size after World War I. (From: *Chronik der Menschheit*. Chronik-Verlag, Dortmund, West Germany.)



With the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the world lost one of the greatest, most noble multi-nation states that had ever existed. The wave of deadly poison known as "nationalism" was late in reaching the Ottoman Empire, but it made up for its tardiness by wreaking even more havoc than it had elsewhere. In spite of all the mistakes and blunders of the Ottomans, the historical significance of their empire becomes clearer and clearer all the time. Sunnis, Shiites, Sabians, Jews, and Christians of many persuasions enjoyed a golden age under Ottoman rule.

Terrorism as Bloody Real Fantasy-War

Terrorism is the manner of fighting used in fantasy-war. Terrorism and fantasy-war are phenomena that induce some people to behave as if there really were a "war", with all the license to kill that comes with it. The "enemy" on the other hand (usually a country), almost always tends to deny what is happening, to suppress it, to act as if the fantasy declaration of war did not exist.

If the authorities should ever happen to catch anyone from the terrorist enemy, they usually try to get rid of the demon, to set him free as quickly as possible in order to avoid burdensome extortion. France can be cited as one shocking example of this type of behavior, especially towards the Armenian terrorists.

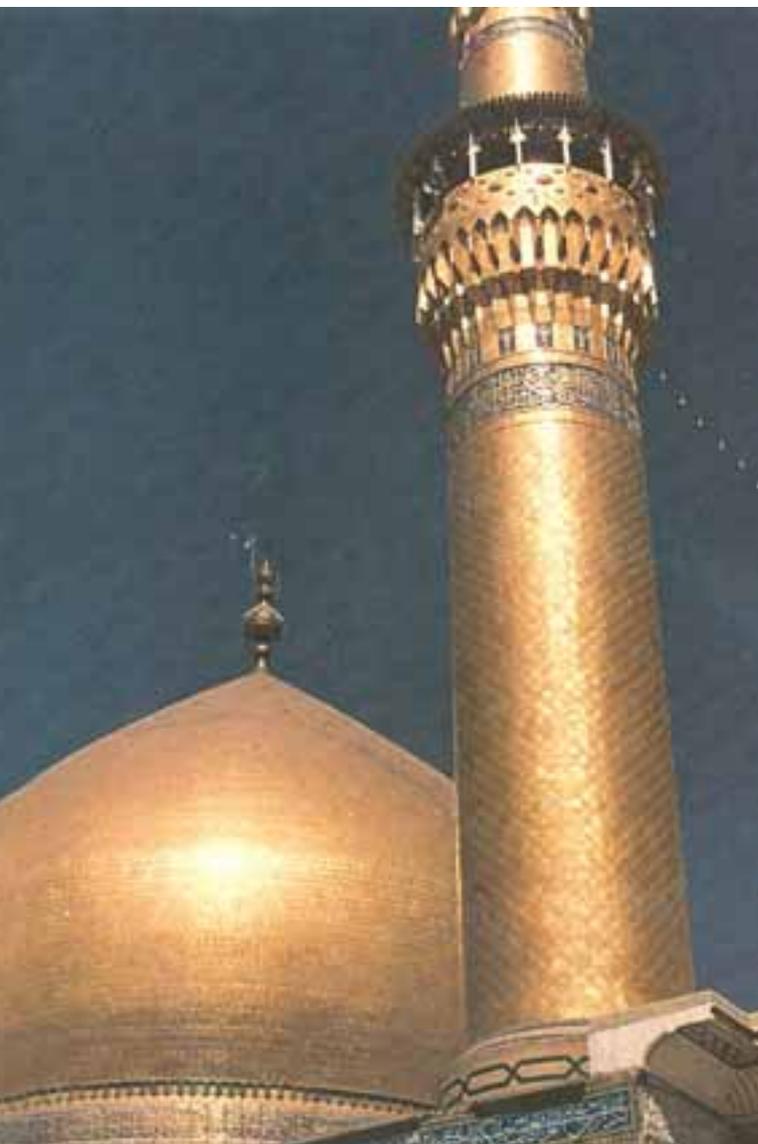
This kind of fantasy-war requires at least two opposing, organized groups. (It is apparently for this reason that some countries try to give the impression that they *do not want* to act in an organized manner). The state involved in a fantasy-war usually finds itself exposed to the attacks of a more or less extensive organization which arrogates certain attributes of an official government (full authority to enforce its "verdicts" - which means control over life, freedom, and death - extortionary collection of taxes, influence or even control over the media).

Terrorist groups perpetrate the most heinous crimes in the name of their "sovereignty" and their own standards of lawfulness, which they raise to the common norm and would like to see recognized as such.

The fantasy-wars of the terrorists may lead to open, "real" war, ending in the defeat of one side - all too often the downfall of a state - or they may drag on, with the atrocities continuing for decades, or in the case of Armenian terrorism, for more than a century. Organizations such as the Armenian terrorist squads can be characterized by their special (albeit perverted) "love-relationship" to a certain "love-object". The Armenian terrorists want a grand Armenian state, even though such a thing only existed for a very short time two thousand years ago and was located on land where there has never in all of history been an Armenian majority. Aside from that, they want revenge for a specific historical event which never took place, at least not in the form which they espouse. We are thus dealing here with a doubly irrational motive, and that obviously doubles the danger compared to other terrorist groups with at least a trace of realism and historical equipment.

Terrorists - especially Armenian terrorists - live among us and build their own subculture with its own system of values. They are always looking for new converts, seeking people who prefer their terrorist anti-church to an Orthodox Armenian church or some other, peaceful Armenian organization.

The Armenians are a people of above-average intelligence, and through their hard work and ability they have





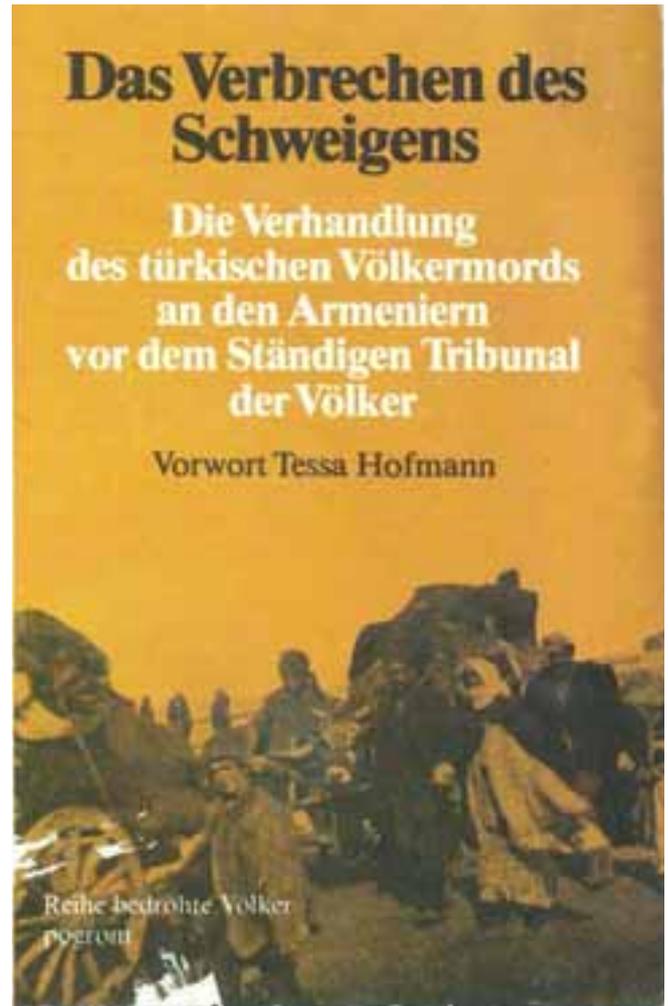
Contemporary Armenian postcards with the "heroes" of terrorism. In the middle of the top row is one of the ringleaders of the raid on the Ottoman Bank, Papkenian.

also achieved above-average incomes and above-average levels of education. For these reasons, the cadres who are won over by the Armenian terrorist leaders distinguish themselves through their outstanding efficiency. They do their job so well that journalists, historians, filmmakers, and television executives timidly avoid doing anything to try to stop the criminals, even though they would have the influence and knowledge to expose Armenian terrorism and the false premises upon which it is based. That is one of the main reasons, if not *the* main reason, why there is a standard line tacked onto the end of every report of a new bomb or machine-gun attack carried out by Armenian terrorists. It is like a solidly ingrained ritual: "The terrorist organization claiming responsibility for the attack cited the 1915 genocide as justification for the assault." This is a case where an ordinary public relations spot is purchased with blood instead of money!

Simply dropping this inane, inexcusable sentence would already destroy the essential motive of the terrorist assassins: to have an event cited repeatedly in the media, although it never took place at all in this form.

As long as it is so easy to "get the message across" however, we can be sure that terrorist attacks from these quarters will continue.

In the "normal case" of human existence, the biologically based survival instinct plays an all-important role. It does a masterful job of suppressing the thought of death and a permanent "end". It uses a thousand mechanisms to fool us, with the final result being that humans live their lives from year to year as if there were no permanent "end", even though it could in fact come at any second. In some cases the idea of immortality helps, the hope (or certainty) that death is just a stepping-stone from this worldly, temporal life into the eternal one. In almost every human existence, death is seen as something awesome, some-



Certain Armenian circles, particularly in the United States, maintain the "hero" cult surrounding contemporary terrorists as well as their spiritual fathers from the nineteenth century. The title of this book, *Das Verbrechen des Schweigens*, means "The Crime of Silence". The true crime of silence has to do not so much with the misfortune of the Armenian people - which has received a tremendous amount of publicity - but rather with the authors and historians who know the historical context but choose not to tell the truth because they fear Armenian terrorist reprisals.

thing to be put off as long as possible. Doctors occasionally do inhuman things in the name of this "putting-off", while priests pray and administer the sacraments for longer life and eternal life. Terrorists on the other hand have, in many cases, a nonchalant attitude toward life whether it be their own or someone else's. The people they kill are merely the rubble they must leave by the wayside as they pursue their goal, and their own death is a tribute which they would be honored to pay to their ideal, whether that be an "Armenian Utopia" or simple vengeance, even if there is nothing real to avenge.

There is, at any rate, an exceptional situation in human society where death occurs on such a large scale that men appear to lose all fear of it, as well as all sense of propor-

tion. In this exceptional situation, death is sometimes actually *sought* with great enthusiasm. Friends and relatives greet the death of a loved-one with rejoicing, pride, and approval - especially if the deceased managed to kill as many as possible of the "enemy" before his own death - if, for instance, he caused an airplane to crash or a passenger ship to sink or a city to be swallowed in flames. Such people are honored and highly decorated. Their superiors even lay diplomas and distinctions on their graves. It is *war* that publicly sanctions this primacy of death over life. It is war that makes it appear desirable for one society to wipe out another, for one highly advanced civilization to grind another into oblivion.

Every single soldier in a war has the right to kill as many fellow human beings as he likes, the more the better as long as they are on the "other" side. The state of war

Although no trace of Armenian settlement has been found on the fortress hills, either in Van or in Çavuştepe, there are numerous Urartian inscription stones which have either been adorned with crosses or turned into Armenian gravestones. Such monuments have been found in the village at the foot of Çavuştepe, which lies on the same spot as the ancient Urartian village. Unfortunately for all concerned, the extreme nationalism of the Armenian leaders prevented their people from continuing to live together with the other peoples and tribes of eastern Anatolia.



Vicious propaganda comes in various forms. One of the most sinister is the hidden falsification. This pamphlet, "Der Völkermord an den Armeniern vor Gericht" (The Armenian Genocide on Trial - the title is already a lie in itself), is adorned with a montage made up of a portrait of the accused, Talaat Pasha, and a horrid mountain of skulls.

Casual observers - and they are the ones who matter, for they are the majority - will inevitably make a connection between Talaat and the crania on the cover. They may even assume that Talaat is the villain responsible for this specter. The truth is quite different: The heap of skulls is taken from a painting by the Russian artist Vassili Vereshchagin (1842-1904), "The Apotheosis of War" (1871; Prussia-France). It was painted at a time when the "Armenian problem" did not yet exist - i. e., before the Russian dictate of San Stefano (1878).

makes it possible for highly decorated prisoners of war, who wear the proof of their killing capacity, so to speak, proudly on their chests, to be honored and respected even by the victorious enemy.

A captured terrorist, a killer from the terrorist front who gets nabbed, also typically demands to be treated as a "prisoner of war" by those who nabbed him. This is not only because of the better prison conditions, but also because of the difficulty of obtaining a conviction and the high probability of an early release.

Every terrorist is indeed (subjectively) at war, although it

is his own personal fantasy-war. To carry on a real war, there must be at least two clearly distinguishable sides that have at least a limited degree of sovereignty. In addition, at least one of the parties must recognize an "enemy". (In the case of the Turks and the Armenians, this last point is problematic, since the Turks still respect the Armenians very much and have a high opinion of them. Anyone who travels to Turkey can easily see this for himself.) There must also be a *casus belli*, a reason for war. This almost always forces even the most peaceable opponent to adopt a hostile stance similar to that of the enemy, if he wants to survive. The inferences to be drawn for the terrorist scene are clear: regardless of the pretexts under which they operate, the terrorists have in fact declared war on human society.

In studying the development of Armenian terrorism, one is struck by the attitude adopted by some Armenian communities toward the terrorist scene. This is especially true in the United States and France, where the Armenians constitute an important, financially powerful, highly intellectual element of public life. Armenian clubs and associations in these countries are in some cases remarkably conciliatory, if not openly supportive, towards terrorism. It has even been known to happen on more than one occasion that a moment of silence has been observed in a public worship service for terrorists who had been killed or arrested.

Similar expressions of sympathy and remembrance can be observed in the secular world. The frame of mind at work here cannot be entirely attributed to the fact that many Armenians are the victims of terrorist blackmail at the hands of their own terror organizations. Much more important is the exaggerated, largely false understanding of history, which is mainly propagated by certain newspapers and periodicals of the Armenian diaspora. The fact that one can often find gems like "ONE million dead in 1915" and then perhaps in the same publication "two or two and a half million victims" does not seem to bother the editors very much.

Some Armenian intellectuals also show a remarkable intolerance towards scholars whose view of history differs from their own. Professor Justin McCarthy is the author of the tremendously important, scientifically irrefutable work *Muslims and Minorities*, in which the true population figures for Anatolia appear for the first time. He can only hold his lectures with massive police protection. The version of historical events presented in Stanford J. Shaw's *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* did not match the picture presented by certain Armenians. His house was bombed in an attempt to intimidate him and keep him from publishing further.

This intimidation has reached the point where it is doubtful whether an Armenian publisher could be found today for a book like Louise Nalbandian's "The Armenian Revolutionary Movement". The book is thoroughly pro-Armenian, but it is also somewhat objective and contains a few critical words.

The Armenian Terrorist Organizations

The Armenian terrorists use the names of several different front organizations in carrying out their attacks. In spite of the seemingly bewildering multitude of acronyms and pretentious titles, however, everything can in fact be traced back to just *two* organizations.

The oldest Armenian terrorist organization grew out of the Dashnak Party, which had been under the spell of the Russian anarchists and ultras from the beginning and reached maturity in Russian Armenia. The party was a response of the extremists to their own unsuccessful efforts to give the Armenian minority within the Ottoman Empire a state of its own. These efforts were actually doomed to failure from the beginning, given the small percentage of Armenians in the eastern Anatolian population.

These first Armenian terrorists bear an uncanny resemblance to the Shiite suicide squads. (Extensive accounts can be found elsewhere in this book of Armenian terrorism in the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.) Their main heirs from an historical viewpoint, however, are the JCAG (Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide).

The terrorist actions of the JCAG are regarded - as funny as this may sound - as being carried out by "conservatives". Their specialty appears to be the assassination of Turkish diplomats and their families. ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) is, by contrast, generally considered to be a Marxist terrorist organization, closely controlled by the Soviet Union. They see the existence of an "Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic" as the ideal and work for the "unification" of eastern Anatolia with the ASSR.

It is only with some reservations that the Soviets can condone this objective, since they worry that a larger Armenia could easily become rebellious. They support the activities of the ASALA anyway, however, since they are directed against Turkey (which is also an important partner in the NATO alliance).

For many years, the ASALA also enjoyed the hospitality and support of the Shiite terrorist groups in Lebanon. There appears to be a special affinity between the Armenian terrorists and the Shiites. This can be seen in the willingness (or longing) to die and in the radical nature of the attacks, where there is never any indication whatsoever that the fate of innocent bystanders has been given any consideration.

In spite of this manifest spiritual closeness to the Shiite conception of the value of life (or lack thereof), the ASALA has proclaimed in their mouthpiece *ARMENIA*: "Our forces never strike against S. S. R. of Armenia, which is already liberated."

This corresponds entirely to the interests of the Soviet Russians. Just like their Czarist predecessors, they want access to the "warm waters", and that means using all available means to gain control over eastern Anatolia (as a

bridge to the Gulf and the Bosphorus (as a gateway to the Mediterranean).

In spite of the mass deportations of Armenians to Inner Asia under Stalin, the Armenian intellectuals have for the most part managed quite well under the Soviet system. The careers of such men as Anastas Mikoyan and Yuri Andropov, who rose to become Soviet head of state, are striking proof of this.

The countless other terrorist groups which appear in the lists of crimes committed are nothing more than alternate acronyms for the "big two", which take on new names at will. They do this partly to fool the public about their true size and partly to satisfy the vanity of members who want to lead a "new" terrorist group.

The public should not let itself be fooled by occasional quarrels and jealousies (when, for example, JCAG and ASALA have to fight it out to determine who killed whom when and where). In this bizarre world of shadows and mirrors, unfair competition is just part of the whole unfair bloody trade. In the end there is only *one* goal: terror for terror's sake.

The Political Background of the Armenian Terrorist Organization ASALA

An unprecedented terrorist "summit" was held in Teheran in February, 1986, on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution. "Islamic revolutionaries" - of the Iranian persuasion - met with leaders of the Lebanese Hezbollah movement, Hussein Moussavi's men of the Jihad organization, the Saudi Arabian Mujahedeen, the Shiite Amal grouping from Bahrain, delegates from the Moro gangs in the Philippines and Libyan intelligence officers.

What especially concerned Western observers about this Teheran terrorists' conference was that the Armenians were also represented.

Roughly 200,000 Armenians live in Iran. They have so far remained remarkably undisturbed by the fanatical Shiites of the Ayatollah. These Armenians are used extensively against Turkey. Iran officially maintains good relations with Turkey and depends heavily on goods transported through Anatolia. Since the improvement of Turkish relations with Iraq however, Iran has taken an anti-Turkish turn. The Armenians are once again serving as useful pawns for the rulers of a country which is only looking after its own interests.

The ASALA was in the past kept under some restraint in Iran, but now they have official Iranian support to strengthen their cooperation with terrorist groups such as that of Abu Nidal. Observers point out again and again the astonishing parallels between Armenian and Shiite terrorist attacks. (The airport attacks in Vienna, Rome, and Paris are good examples.) The Armenian newspaper "GAMK", which is published in Paris, recently printed a major article promoting "armed struggle". GAMK asked the rhetorical question, "Is the effort to weaken the West related to the Armenian question?" The response said in part:

"There are American and NATO bases in Turkish Armenia. Therefore, the United States will oppose and fight any force that tries to upset the stability of that region and to change the status quo. In other words, to liberate the Armenian lands we will have to deal not only with the Turkish government but also the Atlantic Alliance and the United States . . . When the Armenian liberation struggle intensifies, the U. S. government will impose tighter restrictions on the 'freedom' of Armenians inside and outside the United States and will employ every possible means to crush the Armenian liberation struggle. Either we give up the dream of liberating the Armenian lands and appease Turkey and the United States, or we fight to liberate the Armenian lands and upset Turkey, NATO and the United States . . . A weakened NATO and a weakened United States would make it easier to liberate the Armenian lands . . . (and) would help free the Third World from the yoke of American imperialism."



They defend their murderers and assassins . . . at first they force a 20 year-old lad into a capital offense. Then they pretend to 'defend' the poor youth who sacrificed his life for a lifeless bloody myth!

The strongest Armenian terrorist group, the ASALA, has always relied entirely on the Soviet Union. Lately however, they have also found very strong support from Iran. Two strongly Marxist-oriented splinter groups have recently broken off from the ASALA: the DF-PMLA (Democratic Front of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Armenia) and the ARA (Armenian Revolutionary Army), until recently called the "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide" (JCAG). The ASALA enjoys widespread support in France, where the Armenians make up a very wealthy, influential group numbering more than 400,000. Some 5000 Armenians took part in a protest march organized by the ASALA in France, many of them sporting badges and flags of the terrorist organization. Many ASALA supporters are also associated with the Armenian National Movement led by Ara Toranian. A number of captured Armenian terrorists have acknowledged the support that the ASALA receives from George Habash's PFLP. The PFLP also supports Kurdish separatist movements in the Near East.

Both the ASALA and the ARA have repeatedly demonstrated that they can operate worldwide, in cooperation with Palestinian as well as Kurdish extremist groups. Their stated goal of weakening the United States and its NATO allies, above all Turkey, strengthens the suspicion that it is ultimately the Soviets who are behind all the Armenian terrorist activities.

(Source: "Confidential Early Warning", Vol. IV, No. 1, February, 1986. The validity of the arguments presented here was proven by the ghastly series of attacks of September, 1986. The ASALA was behind these attacks. "Early Warning" is convinced that there is plenty of evidence available pointing to the Soviet Union as the "ultimate sponsor" of the Armenian terrorists.)

An unparalleled glorification of terrorists can be found in the book, *The First Genocide of the 20th Century* by James Frazer (New York: T&T Publishing, Inc.) The assassins Arshavir Shiragian, Soghomon Tehlirian, Aram Yerganian, and Missak Torlakian are celebrated as "Armenian national heroes" - as if political murder, "execution" without trial or proof of guilt, ever did a nation any good.



Varujan Garabedian, the leader of the gang that committed mass murder at Orly Airport on July 15, 1983. Eight people were killed in that bomb explosion and sixty others were wounded. Many of the wounded will remain cripples for the rest of their lives. Garabedian was sentenced to life imprisonment. Some observers believe that Garabedian, operating under the alias Hagop Hagopian, could even be the head of the ASALA. The authorities have never been able to establish Hagopian's true name and identity.

Armenian Terrorism - A Chronological Run-down



January 27, 1973 Santa Barbara, California

The vicious circle of modern Armenian terrorism begins: The Armenian Georgeu Yanikian, a U. S. Citizen, invites the Turkish consul general, Mehmet Baydar, and the consul, Bahadır Demir, to his home for "tea". The unsuspecting diplomats accept the friendly invitation. Georgeu Yanikian murders his two guests and is sentenced to life imprisonment. He is released, however, because of illness.

April 4, 1973 Paris

Bombings at the Turkish Consulate and the offices of THY (Türk Hava Yollari), the Turkish airline. Extensive damage.

October 26, 1973 New York

Attempted bombing of the Turkish Information Office. The bomb is discovered in time and defused. A group calling itself the "Yanikian Commandos" claims responsibility. They want the release of the double murderer of Santa Barbara, Georgeu Yanikian, who insidiously murdered two Turkish diplomats.

February 7, 1975 Beirut

Attempted bombing of the Turkish Information and Tourism Bureau. The bomb explodes while being defused. A Lebanese policeman is injured. The "Prisoner Georgeu Yanikian Group" claims responsibility.

February 20, 1975 Beirut

The "Yanikian" group demanding the release of the double murderer of Santa Barbara strikes again. Extensive damage is caused by a bomb explosion at the THY offices. AS ALA (Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) also claims responsibility for the bombing.

October 22, 1975 Vienna

The Turkish ambassador, Danis Tunaligil, is assassinated in his study by three Armenian terrorists. ASALA claims "responsibility".

October 24, 1975 Paris

Ambassador Ismail Erez and his driver, Talip Yener are murdered. The AS ALA and the JCAG ("Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide") dispute "responsibility".

October 28, 1975 Beirut

Grenade attack on the Turkish Embassy. The ASALA claims responsibility.

February 16, 1976 Beirut

The first secretary of the Turkish Embassy, Oktar Cirit, is assassinated in a restaurant on Hamra Street. The ASALA claims responsibility.

May 17, 1976 Frankfurt, Essen, Cologne

Consulates in Frankfurt, Essen, and Cologne are the targets of simultaneous bomb attacks.

May 28, 1976 Zurich

Bomb attacks at the offices of the Turkish labor attache and the "Garanti Bankasi". Extensive damage. A bomb in the Turkish Tourism Bureau is defused in time. Responsibility is claimed by the JCAG.

May 2, 1977 Beirut

The cars of the military attache, Nahit Karakay, and the administrative attache, Ilhan Özbabacan, are destroyed. The two diplomats are uninjured. Credit is claimed by the ASALA.

May 14, 1977 Paris

Bomb attack at the Turkish Tourism Bureau. Extensive damage. The "New Armenian Resistance Group" claims responsibility.

June 6, 1977 Zurich

Bomb attack at the store of a Turkish citizen, Hüseyin Bülbül.

June 9, 1977 Rome

Assassination of the Turkish ambassador to the Holy See, Taha Carim. He dies soon after the attack. The JCAG claims responsibility.

October 4, 1977 Los Angeles

A bomb explodes in front of the house of the American-Jewish university professor, Stanford Shaw, who teaches Ottoman history in Los Angeles and has also published a two-volume *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. The aim is apparently to intimidate the historian. Responsibility is claimed by an "Armenian Group of 28".

January 2, 1978 Brussels

Bomb attack at a building containing Turkish banking services. The "New Armenian Resistance" claims credit.

- June 2, 1978** Madrid
Terrorist attack on the automobile of the Turkish ambassador, Zeki Kuneralp. His wife, Necla Kuneralp, and retired Turkish Ambassador Besir Balcioglu die immediately in the rain of gunfire. The Spanish chauffeur, Antonio Torres, dies of his injuries in the hospital. ASALA and JCAG fight over responsibility.
- December 6, 1978** Geneva
A bomb explodes in front of the Turkish Consulate. Extensive damage. The "New Armenian Resistance Group" claims responsibility.
- December 17, 1978** Geneva
A bomb explodes at the THY Bureau. "Responsibility" is claimed by ASALA.
- July 8, 1979** Paris
The French capital is shaken by four bomb attacks in a single day. The first is at the THY offices; the next at the offices of the Turkish labor attache; the third in the Turkish Tourist Bureau. A fourth explosive, intended for the Turkish permanent representative to the O. E. C. D., is defused before it explodes. The JCAG claims responsibility.
- August 22, 1979** Geneva
A bomb is thrown at the car of the Turkish consul, Niyazi Adali. The diplomat escapes unhurt. Two Swiss passers-by are injured. Two cars are destroyed.
- August 27, 1979** Frankfurt
The offices of THY are totally destroyed by an explosion. A pedestrian is injured. The ASALA claims responsibility.
- October 4, 1979** Copenhagen
Two Danes are injured when a bomb explodes near the offices of THY. ASALA claims credit.
- October 12, 1979** The Hague
Ahmed Benler, the son of Turkish Ambassador Özdemir Benler, is assassinated on the street by Armenian terrorists. Ten people must look on as the terrorists slaughter the 27-year-old medical student. The murderers escape. JCAG and ASALA claim responsibility.
- October 30, 1979** Milan
The offices of THY are destroyed by a bomb explosion. ASALA claims responsibility.
- November 8, 1979** Rome
The offices of the Turkish Embassy's tourism attache are destroyed by a bomb. ASALA claims responsibility.
- November 18, 1979** Paris
Bomb explosions destroy the offices of THY, KLM, and Lufthansa. Two French policemen are injured. Responsibility is claimed by ASALA.
- November 25, 1979** Madrid
Bomb explosions in front of the offices of Trans World Airlines and British Airways. ASALA, in claiming responsibility, states that the attacks are meant as a warning to the Pope to cancel his planned visit to Turkey.
- December 9, 1979** Rome
Two bombs explode in downtown Rome, damaging the offices of Pan American World Airways, British Airways, and the Phillipine Airways. Nine people are injured in the terrorist attack. A "New Armenian Resistance Movement" claims responsibility.
- December 17, 1979** London
Extensive damage is caused when a bomb explodes in front of the THY offices. A "Front for the Liberation of Armenia" claims responsibility.
- December 22, 1979** Paris
Yilmaz Colpan, the tourism attache at the Turkish Embassy, is assassinated while walking on the Champs Elysees. Several groups, including ASALA, JCAG, and the "Commandos of Armenian Militants Against Genocide" wrestle over responsibility.
- December 22, 1979** Amsterdam
Heavy damage results from a bomb explosion in front of the THY offices. ASALA claims credit.
- December 23, 1979** Rome
A bomb explodes in front of a World Council of Churches refugee center, being used as a transit point for Armenian refugees from Lebanon. ASALA claims credit for the attack and warns the Italian authorities to halt "the Armenian diaspora".
- December 23, 1979** Rome
Three bomb explosions occur in front of the offices of Air France and Trans World Airlines, injuring a dozen passers-by. ASALA claims responsibility, stating that the bomb was placed "in reprisal against the repressive measures of French authorities against Armenians in France" (i.e., questioning suspects, trying to solve crimes, etc.)
- January 10, 1980** Teheran
A bomb explodes in front of the THY offices causes extensive damage. ASALA claims responsibility.
- January 20, 1980** Madrid
A series of bomb attacks, resulting in numerous injuries, occurs in front of the offices of TWA, British Airways, Swissair, and Sabena. A group calling itself the "Commandos for Justice for the Genocide of the Armenians" claims credit for the attacks.
- February 2, 1980** Brussels
Two bombs explode within minutes of each other in front of the downtown offices of THY and Aeroflot. The "New Armenian Resistance Group" issues a communique in which they claim responsibility for both attacks.
- February 6, 1980** Bern
A terrorist opens fire on Turkish Ambassador Dogan Turkmen, who escapes with minor wounds. The would-be assassin, an Armenian named Max Klindjian, is subsequently arrested in Marseilles and returned to Switzerland for trial. The JCAG claims credit for the attack.

February 18, 1980 Rome

The offices of Lufthansa, El Al, and Swissair are damaged by two bomb attacks. Telephone messages give three reasons for the attacks: 1. The Swiss behave "repressively" toward the Armenians; 2. The Germans support "Turkish fascism"; 3. The Jews are Zionists. (ASALA)

March 10, 1980 Rome

Bomb attacks on the THY and Turkish Tourism Bureau offices on the Piazza Delia Republica. The blasts kill two Italians and injure fourteen. Credit for the attack is claimed by the "New Armenian Resistance of the Armenian Secret Army".

April 17, 1980 Rome

The Turkish ambassador to the Holy See, Vecdi Turel, is shot and seriously wounded. His chauffeur, Tashin Guvenc, is also slightly wounded in the assassination attempt. JCAG claims responsibility for the attack.

May 19, 1980 Marseilles

A rocket aimed at the Turkish Consulate in Marseilles is discovered and defused prior to exploding. ASALA and a group calling itself "Black April" claim credit for the attack.

July 31, 1980 Athens

Galip Ozmen, the administrative attache at the Turkish Embassy, and his family are attacked by Armenian terrorists while sitting in their car. Galip Ozmen and his fourteen-year-old daughter, Neslihan, are killed in the attack. His wife, Sevil, and his sixteen-year-old son, Kaan, are wounded. Credit for the double killing is claimed by ASALA.

August 5, 1980 Lyon

Two terrorists storm into the Turkish Consulate in Lyon and open fire, killing two and injuring several other bystanders. ASALA claims credit for the attack.

August 11, 1980 New York

An "Armenian group" hurls paint bombs at the Turkish House (across from the United Nations, home of the Turkish Consulate and the United Nations Delegation). The stated purpose of the attack is to "remind the imperialist Turkish government of the crimes they have committed against the Armenian people".

September 26, 1980 Paris

Selcuk Bakkalbasi, the press counselor at the Turkish Embassy is shot twice as he enters his home. Bakkalbasi survives but is permanently paralyzed as a result of his injuries. ASALA and a group calling itself the "Armenian Secret Army Organization" claim responsibility for the attack.

October 3, 1980 Geneva

Two Armenian terrorists are injured when a bomb they are preparing explodes in their Geneva hotel room. The two, Suzy Mahseredjian from Canoga Park, California, and Alexander Yenikomechian, are arrested. Their arrest leads to the formation of a new group called the "October 3 Organization", which subsequently strikes at Swiss targets.

October 3, 1980 Milan

Two Italians are injured when a bomb explodes in front of the THY offices. ASALA claims credit for the attack.

October 5, 1980 Madrid

The offices of Alitalia are rocked by a bomb explosion which injures twelve individuals. The "Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia" claims responsibility for the attack. **October 6, 1980** Los Angeles
Two molotov cocktails are thrown into the home of the Turkish consul, Kemal Arikian. He survives with injuries.

October 10, 1980 Beirut

Two bombs explode near Swiss offices in West Beirut. A group calling itself the "October 3 Organization" claims responsibility for these bombings as well as others on the same day against Swiss offices in England.

October 12, 1980 New York

A bomb planted in front of the Turkish House explodes. Four passers-by are injured. JCAG assumes responsibility.

October 12, 1980 Los Angeles

A travel agency in Hollywood, owned by a Turkish-American, is destroyed. JCAG claims responsibility.

October 12, 1980 London

The Turkish Tourism and Information Bureau's offices are damaged by a bomb explosion. ASALA claims credit.

October 12, 1980 London

A Swiss shopping complex in central London is damaged by a bomb blast. Callers claim the explosion was the work of the "October 3 Organization".

October 13, 1980 Paris

A Swiss tourist office is damaged by a bomb explosion. "October 3" again claims credit.

October 21, 1980 Interlaken, Switzerland

A bomb is found in a Swiss express train coming from Paris.

Luckily, it does not explode. "October 3" is believed to be behind the action, which could have caused a catastrophe.

November 4, 1980 Geneva

The Swiss Palace of Justice in Geneva is heavily damaged by a bomb explosion. Credit is claimed by "October 3".

November 9, 1980 Strasbourg

Heavy damage results from a bomb blast at the Turkish Consulate. The attack is claimed by ASALA operating in conjunction with a "Turkish-Kurdish Workers' Party".

November 10, 1980 Rome

Five people are injured in attacks on the Swissair and Swiss Tourist offices. ASALA, The "October 3 Organization", and the "Turkish-Kurdish Workers' Party" all try to claim credit.

- November 19, 1980** Rome
The offices of the Turkish Embassy's tourism representative and those of THY are damaged by a bomb explosion. ASALA claims responsibility.
- November 25, 1980** Geneva
The offices of the Union of Swiss Banks are hit by a bomb explosion. Responsibility is claimed by "October 3".
- December 5, 1980** Marseilles
A police expert defuses a time bomb left at the Swiss Consulate in Marseilles. "October 3".
- December 15, 1980** London
Two bombs placed in front of the French Tourism Office in London are defused by a Scotland Yard bomb squad. "October 3" claims the bombs are a warning to the French for assistance they have rendered the Swiss in fighting Armenian terrorism.
- December 17, 1980** Sydney
Two terrorists assassinate Sarik Ariyak, the Turkish consul general, and his bodyguard, Engin Sever. JCAG claims responsibility.
- December 25, 1980** Zurich
A bomb explosion destroys a radar monitor at Kloten Airport, and a second explosive planted on the main runway of the airport is defused. "October 3" claims credit for these attempted mass-murders.
- December 29, 1980** Madrid
A Spanish reporter is seriously injured in a telephone booth while calling in a story to his paper about the bomb attack on the Swissair offices. "October 3" claims responsibility.
- December 30, 1980** Beirut
Bomb attack on the Credit-Suisse offices. ASALA and "October 3" fight over who gets the credit.
- January 2, 1981** Beirut
In a press communique, ASALA threatens to "attack all Swiss diplomats throughout the world", in response to the alleged mistreatment of "Suzy and Alex" in Switzerland. On January 4, ASALA issues a statement giving the Swiss a few days to think things over.
- January 14, 1981** Paris
A bomb explodes in the car of Ahmed Erbeyli, the financial counselor of the Turkish Embassy. Erbeyli is not injured, though the explosion totally destroys his car. A group calling itself the "Alex Yenikomechian Commandos" of ASALA claim credit for the explosion.
- January 27, 1981** Milan
The Swissair and Swiss Tourist offices in Milan are damaged by bomb explosions. Two passers-by are injured. "October 3" claims credit for the bombings in a call to local media representatives.
- February 3, 1981** Los Angeles
Bomb-squad officials disarm a bomb left at the Swiss Consulate. The terrorists threaten in anonymous phone calls that such attacks will continue until "our friend" (Suzy Mahseredjian) is released.
- February 5, 1981** Paris
Bombs explode in the TWA and Air France Offices. One injured, heavy damage. The "October 3 Armenian Nationalist Movement" claims credit.
- March 4, 1981** Paris
Two terrorists open fire on Resat Morali (the labor attache at the Turkish Embassy), Tecelli Ari (a religious affairs official) and Ilkay Karakoc (the Paris representative of the "Anadolu Bank"). Morali and Karakoc try to flee the scene and make it safely to a cafe, but the owner throws them back out onto the street. Karakoc still manages to escape. Morali is murdered in front of the cafe. Tecelli Ari, who was the first one targeted, dies a short time later. Countless witnesses! - but no one can "remember" what the murderers looked like. The "Sha-han Natali Group" of ASALA claims responsibility.
- March 12, 1981** Teheran
A group of ASALA terrorists try to occupy the Turkish Embassy, killing two guards in the process. Two of the perpetrators are captured and later executed by the Iranians. ASALA claims credit.
- April 3, 1981** Copenhagen
Cavit Demir, the labor attache at the Turkish Embassy, is shot as he attempts to enter his apartment building late in the evening. After a series of operations, the seriously wounded Demir regains his health. Both ASALA and the JCAG claim the attack.
- June 3, 1981** Los Angeles
Bombs force the cancellation of performances by a Turkish folk-dance group. Threats of similar bombings force the group's performances in San Francisco to be cancelled as well.
- June 9, 1981** Geneva
Mehmet Savas Yerguz, a secretary in the Turkish Consulate, is assassinated by the Armenian terrorist Madi-ros Jamgotchian. The arrest of the ASALA terrorist leads to the formation of a new ASALA branch called the "Ninth of June Organization", which will be responsible for a new series of attacks.
- June 11, 1981** Paris
A group of Armenian terrorists, led by one Ara Toranian, occupies the THY offices. Initially ignored by the French authorities, the terrorists are only evicted from the premises after vehement protests from the Turkish Embassy.
- June 19, 1981** Teheran
A bomb explodes at the offices of Swissair. The "Ninth of June Organization" claims responsibility.
- June 26, 1981** Los Angeles
A bomb explodes in front of the Swiss Banking Corporation offices. Again the work of the "Ninth of June Organization".
- July 19, 1981** Bern
A bomb explodes at the Swiss Parliament Building. "Ninth of June".

- July 20, 1981** Zurich
"Ninth of June" strikes again. A bomb explodes in an automatic photo-booth at Zurich's international airport.
- July 21, 1981** Lausanne
Twenty women are injured as a bomb laid by Armenian terrorists explodes in a department store. "Ninth of June".
- July 22, 1981** Geneva
A bomb explodes in a locker at the train station. Authorities suspect "Ninth of June".
- July 22, 1981** Geneva
An hour later, a second bomb explodes in a locker at the station. Police cordoned off the area following the first explosion, thereby preventing injuries from the second.
- August 11, 1981** Copenhagen
Two bombs destroy the offices of Swissair. An American tourist is injured in the explosion. "Ninth of June" claims responsibility.
- August 20, 1981** Los Angeles
A bomb explodes outside the offices of Swiss Precision Instruments. The attack is claimed by "Ninth of June".
- August 20, 1981** Paris
Explosion at Alitalia Airlines. "October 3" is back in action.
- September 15, 1981** Copenhagen
Two people are injured as a bomb explodes in front of the THY offices. Police experts manage to defuse a second bomb. Credit is claimed by a "Sixth Armenian Liberation Army".
- September 17, 1981** Teheran
A bomb explosion damages a Swiss Embassy building. ASALA's "Ninth of June".
- September 24, 1981** Paris
Four Armenian terrorists occupy the Turkish Consulate. During their entry into the building, the consul, Kaya Inal, and a security guard, Cemal Özen, are seriously wounded. 56 hostages are taken by the terrorists, two of whom (the terrorists) are slightly wounded. The terrorists finally allow the wounded Inal and Özen to be taken to the hospital, but for Özen it is too late. He dies of his injuries in the hospital. When their demands for the release of Armenian terrorists are not met, they request "political prisoner status". All of the terrorists are from Lebanon and belong to the ASALA.
- October 3, 1981** Geneva
The main post office and the city courthouse are hit by bomb explosions. An ASALA member is scheduled to go on trial for murder in the courthouse. "Ninth of June" claims credit for the attacks, which leave one person injured.
- October 25, 1981** Rome
Exchange of gunfire between an Armenian terrorist and Gokberk Ergenekon, a second secretary at the Turkish Embassy. Ergenekon, though wounded in the arm, gets out of his car and returns the terrorist's fire. The terrorist manages to escape. ASALA claims credit in the name of the "September 24 Suicide Commandos".
- October 25, 1981** Paris
Fouquet's, the fashionable French restaurant, is the target of a bomb attack. A group calling itself "September-France" claims the attack.
- October 26, 1981** Paris
The same group is behind the explosion of a booby-trapped automobile in front of "Le Drugstore".
- October 27, 1981** Paris
"September-France" carries out a bomb attack at Roissy Airport.
- October 27, 1981** Paris
A second bomb explodes near a busy escalator at Roissy Airport. No one is injured. "September-France" claims responsibility.
- October 28, 1981** Paris
The same group is responsible for a bomb attack in a movie theater. Three people are injured.
- November 3, 1981** Madrid
A bomb explodes in front of the Swissair offices, injuring three persons. Considerable damage to nearby buildings. ASALA claims responsibility.
- November 5, 1981** Paris
A bomb explodes in the Gare de Lyon (train station), injuring one person. The attack is claimed by the Armenian "Orly Organization".
- November 12, 1981** Beirut
Simultaneous bomb explosions occur in front of three French offices: the French Cultural Center; the Air France offices; and the home of the French consul. The "Orly Organization" claims responsibility. This organization owes its name to the fact that the French police arrested an Armenian at Orly Airport in Paris because of forged papers. The idea now is to "bomb him free", as the terrorists have done in other cases.
- November 14, 1981** Paris
A bomb explosion damages an automobile near the Eiffel Tower. "Orly".
- November 14, 1981** Paris
"Orly" launches a grenade attack on a group of tourists disembarking from a sightseeing boat on the River Seine.
- November 15, 1981** Paris
"Orly" threatens to blow up an Air France airplane in flight.
- November 15, 1981** Beirut
Simultaneous bomb attacks are carried out against three French targets: the Union des Assurances de Paris; the Air France offices; and the Banque Libano-Francaise. "Orly".

- November 15, 1981** Paris
A McDonald's restaurant is destroyed by "September-France".
- November 16, 1981** Paris
A bomb injures two innocent bystanders at the Gare de l'Est (railroad station). "Orly" claims responsibility.
- November 18, 1981** Paris
"Orly" announces it has planted a bomb at the Gare du Nord (railroad station). No explosive is found.
- November 20, 1981** Los Angeles
The Turkish Consulate in Beverly Hills suffers extensive damage. The JCAG claims credit.
- January 13, 1982** Toronto
An AS ALA bomb causes extensive damage to the Turkish Consulate.
- January 17, 1982** Geneva
Two bombs destroy parked cars. The AS ALA "Ninth of June Organization" claims credit.
- January 17, 1982** Paris
A bomb explodes at the Union of Banks and a second is disarmed at the Crédit Lyonnais. The "Orly Organization" is back in action.
- January 19, 1982** Paris
A bomb explodes in the Air France offices in the Palais des Congres. "Orly".
- January 28, 1982** Los Angeles
Kemal Arikan, the Turkish consul general in Los Angeles, is assassinated by two terrorists while driving to work. A nineteen year old is arrested and sentenced to life in San Quentin prison. Nineteen-year-old Hampig Sassounian must be seen as a sad symbol for the Armenian terrorist scene. It is not the young murderer himself who is guilty, but rather the diabolical men behind the scenes. They push their young victims onto the terrorist stage even though they have lived long enough to know better. The youths become spiritual cripples and then eventually murderers.
- March 22, 1982** Cambridge, Massachusetts
Prelude to a grisly murder. A gift and import shop belonging to Orhan Gündüz, the honorary Turkish consul in Boston, is blown up. Gunduz receives an ultimatum: Either he gives up his honorary position or he will be "executed". He refuses. "Responsibility" - the word seems to cringe when used in such a context - is claimed by the JCAG.
- March 26, 1982** Beirut
Two dead, sixteen injured in an explosion at a movie theater (which frequently shows Turkish films). AS ALA claims credit for the attack.
- April 8, 1982** Ottawa
Kani Gungor, the commercial attache at the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, is seriously wounded in an attack by Armenian terrorists in the garage of his apartment house. AS ALA claims responsibility.
- April 24, 1982** Dortmund, West Germany
Several Turkish-owned businesses suffer extensive damage in bomb attacks. The "New Armenian Resistance Organization" claims responsibility.
- May 4, 1982** Cambridge, Massachusetts
Orhan Gündüz, the Turkish honorary consul in Boston, would not bow to the Armenian terrorist ultimatum that he give up his title of "honorary consul". Now he is attacked and murdered in cold blood. President Reagan orders an all-out manhunt - to no avail. An eye-witness who gave a description of the murderer is shot down. He survives . . . but falls silent. One of the most revolting "triumphs" in the senseless, mindless history of Armenian terrorism. Such a murder brings absolutely nothing - except an ego boost for the murderer within the Armenian terrorist underworld, which is already wallowing in self-satisfaction.
- May 10, 1982** Geneva
Bombs explode at two banks. The attacks are claimed by an Armenian "World Punishment Organization".
- May 18, 1982** Toronto
Four Armenians are arrested for trying to smuggle money out of the country. The money was extorted from Armenians, a common practice throughout the world. In the course of the investigation, it is discovered that the terrorists fire-bombed the house of an Armenian who refused to make his contribution to Armenian terrorism.
- May 18, 1982** Tampa, Florida
Nash Karahan, the honorary Turkish consul, defends his office with gun in hand. The Armenian terrorist flees.
- May 26, 1982** Los Angeles
A bomb damages the office of the Swiss Banking Corporation. The suspects: four Armenians accused of involvement in AS ALA.
- May 30, 1982** Los Angeles
Three members of AS ALA are arrested when planting a bomb in the Air Canada cargo-office.
- June 7, 1982** Lisbon
The administrative attache at the Turkish Embassy, Erkut Akbay, and his wife, Nadide Akbay, are assassinated in front of their home. JCAG claims responsibility.
- July 1, 1982** Rotterdam
Kemalettin Demirer, the Turkish consul general in Rotterdam, is shot down by four Armenian terrorists. An "Armenian Red Army" claims responsibility.
- July 21, 1982** Paris
Sixteen injured in a bomb explosion near a café in the Place Saint-Sevrin. Credit is claimed by the Orly Organization. "Orly" complains that the French do not treat the arrested Armenian terrorists as "political prisoners", but rather as normal criminals.
- July 26, 1982** Paris
"Orly" is responsible for injuring two women in an explosion in Paris' "Pub Saint-Germain".
- August 2, 1982** Paris
Pierre Gulumian, an Armenian terrorist, is killed when a bomb he is making explodes in his face.



Nahant Turkish consul assassinated

SOMERVILLE (UPI) — Police and FBI agents hunted today for a gunman posing as a jogger who pumped at least nine bullets into the car of the honorary Turkish consul general to New England, killing him instantly as he sat in heavy traffic.

An Armenian terror group seeking a homeland in Turkey and vengeance for the 1915 massacre of a reported 1.5 million Armenians claimed responsibility.

A team of FBI, local and state investigators worked late into the night interviewing witnesses who saw the gunman wearing sunglasses and a jogging suit fire away Tuesday evening at Orhan Gunduz, 34 Summer St. Nahant, a Turkish-American community leader.

The weapons — a .357-magnum

and 9 mm. handgun favored by terrorists — were found 20 feet from the scene of the slaying, the second assassination of a Turkish leader in the United States this year.

Gunduz, 60, whose gift shop in nearby Cambridge was the target of a terrorist bomb on March 22, was driving alone in his car with diplomatic plates to his Nahant home and was stopped in heavy traffic near a bridge detour at the time of the slaying.

Police believe the gunman was sitting on a rail by the side of the road waiting for Gunduz' car while an accomplice waited nearby in a getaway car.

"It was well-planned," said Somerville Police Sgt. Salvatore Pino. "I

See ASSASSINATION, Page 8

8 — DAILY EVENING ITEM, Lynn, Mass., Wednesday, May 5, 1982



Honorary Turkish Consul Orhan Gunduz

Armenian terrorists kill

When there are as many clues to a crime as there were in the case of the murder of the Turkish honorary consul, Orhan Gündüz (Boston, May 1982), the police really have quite a lot to go on. A 357 Magnum, a nine-millimeter handgun, and a jogging jacket used by the assailant were all left at the scene of the crime. The police were able to put together a composite picture based on information provided by an eye-witness. Television stations and newspapers joined in the manhunt. When the eye-witness was shot down and barely survived, however, all help from the public dried up. Result: Orhan Gündüz's murderer was never caught.

August 7, 1982 Ankara, Esenboga Airport

Two Armenian terrorists open fire in a crowded passenger waiting room. One of the terrorists takes more than twenty hostages while the second is apprehended by police. The unscrupulous killers, who have been perfectly indoctrinated in their "ideology", leave nine people dead and eighty-two injured - some seriously. The surviving terrorist, Levon Ekmekjian, realizes the horror of his crime before his execution. He issues a strong appeal to his young comrades to reject the program of murder, as it is based on deceptive teachings.

August 8, 1982 Paris

A bomb is defused in time. "Orly" regrets the discovery.

August 12, 1982 Paris

Terrorists open fire on a policeman assigned to protect the offices of the Turkish tourism attache. Luckily, he escapes without injury.

August 27, 1982 Ottawa

Colonel Atilla Altikat, the military attache at the Turkish Embassy, is assassinated in his car. JCAG claims responsibility.

September 9, 1982 Burgaz, Bulgaria

Bora Suelkan, the administrative attache at the Turkish Consulate in Burgaz, is assassinated in front of his home. The assassin leaves a message "We shot dead the Turkish diplomat: Combat Units of Justice Against the Armenian Genocide." An anonymous caller claims the assassination is the work of a branch of the ASALA headquarters in Beirut.

October 26, 1982 Los Angeles

Five Armenian terrorists are charged with conspiring to blow up the offices of the honorary Turkish consul in Philadelphia. All belong to the JCAG.

December 8, 1982 Athens

Two Armenians on a motorbike throw a bomb at the offices of the Saudi Arabian Airlines. The bomb hits a power pylon, explodes, and kills one of the terrorists. His accomplice, an Armenian from Iran named Vaheh Kontaverdian, is arrested. It is later revealed that ASALA ordered the attack because Saudi Arabia maintains friendly relations with Turkey.

January 21, 1983 Anaheim, California

Nine "sophisticated" pipe bombs are confiscated from an Armenian bakery after one of the detonators goes off and causes a fire.

January 22, 1983 Paris

Two terrorists attack the offices of THY with hand grenades. No one is injured. ASALA claims credit.

January 22, 1983 Paris

French police defuse a powerful explosive device near the THY counter at Orly airport.

February 2, 1983 Brussels

The offices of THY are bombed. The "New Armenian Resistance Organization" claims responsibility.

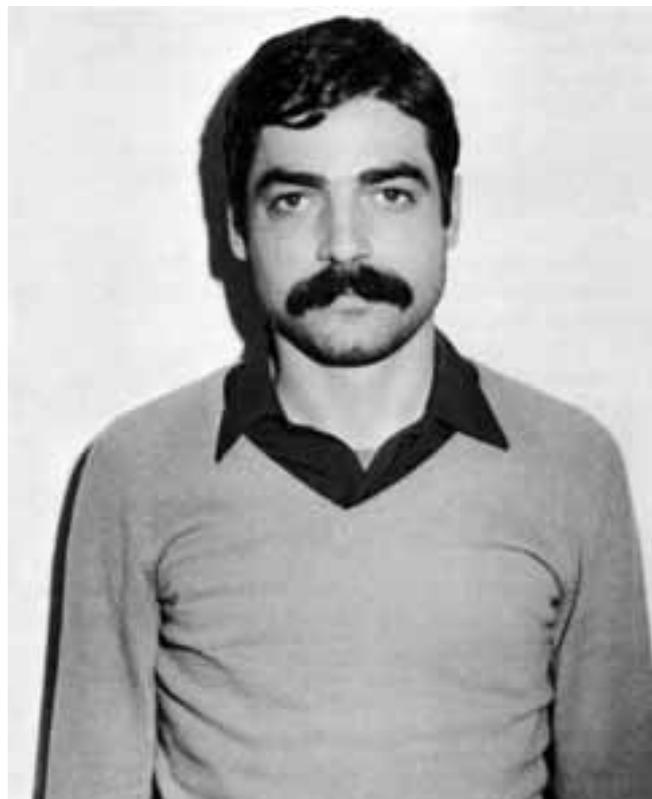
February 28, 1983 Luxembourg

A bomb placed in front of Turkey's diplomatic mission is defused. The *Armenian Reporter* in New York reports that the "New Armenian Resistance Organization" is responsible.

February 28, 1983 Paris

A bomb explodes at the Marmara Travel Agency. Killed in the explosion is Renée Morin, a French secretary. Four other Frenchmen are wounded. A few minutes after the attack, ASALA claims responsibility.

Levon Ekmekjian (which is a Turkish name equivalent to "Baker-son") was one of the two mass murderers of Ankara. In the course of a machine-gun attack on totally innocent airline passengers, nine people died and eighty-two were injured, some seriously. The ASALA assailant who survived the shoot-out with police was tried and executed. Like all these misguided assassins, he had been subjected to an exhaustive indoctrination from his superiors, and at first he was convinced of the "legitimacy" of what he was doing. During his imprisonment, however, he adopted a totally different attitude, and he issued an appeal to his fellow Armenians to abandon the senseless killing.



- March 9, 1983** Belgrade, Yugoslavia
Galip Balkar, the Turkish ambassador to Yugoslavia, is assassinated in central Belgrade. His chauffeur, Necati Kayar, is shot in the stomach. As the two assailants flee from the scene, they are bravely pursued by Yugoslav citizens. One of the terrorists shoots and wounds a Yugoslav colonel, and is in turn apprehended by a policeman. The second terrorist opens fire on civilians who are chasing him, killing a young student and wounding a young girl. The two terrorists, Kirkor Levonian and Raffi Elbekian, are tried and sentenced.
- March 31, 1983** Frankfurt
An anonymous caller threatens to bomb the offices and kill the staff of *Tercüman* newspaper, a Turkish daily.
- May 24, 1983** Brussels
Bombs explode in front of the Turkish Embassy's Culture and Information offices and in front of a Turkish-owned travel agency. The Italian director of the travel agency is wounded. AS ALA claims credit.
- June 16, 1983** Istanbul
Armenian terrorists carry out an attack with hand grenades and automatic weapons inside the bazaar in Istanbul. Two dead, twenty-one wounded. AS ALA claims responsibility.
- July 8, 1983** Paris
Armenian terrorists attack the offices of the British Council, protesting against the trial of Armenians in London.
- July 14, 1983** Brussels
Armenian terrorists murder Dursun Aksoy, the administrative attache at the Turkish Embassy. Three groups compete for the dishonor of having organized the death squad: ASALA; JCAG; and an "Armenian Revolutionary Army".
- July 15, 1983** Paris
A bomb explodes in front of the THY counter at Orly Airport. Eight dead, more than sixty injured. A twenty-nine-year-old Syrian-Armenian named Varadjian Gar-bidjian confesses to having planted the bomb. He admits that the bomb was intended to have exploded once the plane was airborne.
- July 15, 1983** London
A bomb, similar to the one that exploded at Orly, is defused in time. ASALA claims responsibility for both attacks.
- July 18, 1983** Lyon
A bomb threat is made by ASALA against the Lyon railroad station.
- July 20, 1983** Lyon
Panicky evacuation of Lyon's Gare de Perrache (railroad station) following a bomb threat from ASALA.
- July 22, 1983** Teheran
"Orly" carries out bomb attacks on the French Embassy and Air France
- July 27, 1983** Lisbon
Five Armenian terrorists attempt to storm the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon. Failing to gain access to the chancery, they occupy the residence, taking the deputy chief of the mission, his wife and family hostage. When explosives being planted by the terrorists go off, Cahide Mihcioglu (the wife of the DCM) and four of the terrorists are blown to pieces. The DCM, Yurtsev Mihcioglu, and his son Atasay are injured. The fifth terrorist is killed in the initial assault by Turkish security forces. One Portuguese policeman is also killed and another wounded. The ARA claims responsibility.
- July 28, 1983** Lyon
Another bomb threat on Lyon-Perrache railroad station. (ASALA)
- July 29, 1983** Teheran
A threat to blow up the French Embassy in Teheran with a rocket attack causes Iranian officials to increase security at the facility.
- July 31, 1983** Lyon & Rennes, France
Bomb threats from Armenian terrorists force the emergency landing of two domestic French flights carrying 424 passengers.
- August 10, 1983** Teheran
A bomb explodes in an automobile at the French Embassy. ASALA claims credit for the attack.
- August 25, 1983** Bonn
A whole series of bomb attacks against offices of the French Consulate claim two lives and leave twenty-three injured. ASALA claims responsibility.
- September 9, 1983** Teheran
Two French Embassy cars are fire-bombed. One of the bombs injures two embassy staff members. ASALA claims credit.
- October 1, 1983** Marseilles
A bomb blast destroys the U. S., Soviet, and Algerian pavillions at an international trade fair in Marseilles. One person is killed and twenty-six injured. ASALA and "Orly" claim credit.
- October 6, 1983** Teheran
A French Embassy vehicle is bombed, injuring two passengers. "Orly".
- October 29, 1983** Beirut
Hand-grenade attack on the French Embassy. One of the ASALA terrorists is arrested.
- October 29, 1983** Beirut
The Turkish Embassy is attacked by three Armenian terrorists. One of the assailants, Sarkis Denielian, a nineteen year old Lebanese-Armenian, is apprehended. ASALA claims responsibility.
- February 8, 1984** Paris
Bomb threat on an Air France flight to New York.

March 28, 1984 Teheran

A timed series of attacks is carried out against Turkish diplomats:

Two Armenian terrorists shoot and seriously wound Ismail Pamukcu, a master sergeant assigned to the office of the Turkish military attache; Hasan Servet Oktem, first secretary of the Turkish Embassy, is slightly wounded as he leaves his home; Ibrahim Özdemir, the administrative attache at the Turkish Embassy, alerts police to two suspicious looking men. They turn out to be Armenian terrorists and are arrested;

In the afternoon, Iranian police arrest three more Armenian terrorists outside the Turkish Embassy; An Armenian terrorist is killed when a bomb he is attempting to plant in the car of the Turkish assistant commercial counselor explodes prematurely. The dead terrorist is later identified as Sultan Gregorian Semaper-dan. (ASALA)

March 29, 1984 Los Angeles

The ASALA sends a written threat, saying they will assassinate Turkish athletes who take part in the Olympics.

April 8, 1984 Beirut

ASALA issues a communique warning that all flights to Turkey will be considered military targets.

April 26, 1984 Ankara

The Turkish prime minister, Turgut Özal, receives a threat warning him that if he goes ahead with a planned visit to Teheran, ASALA will schedule a major terrorist operation against his country.

April 28, 1984 Teheran

Two Armenian terrorists riding a motorcycle open fire on Isik Yonder as he drives his wife, Sadiye Yonder, to the Turkish Embassy where she works. Isik Yonder is killed, and ASALA claims credit for yet another senseless murder.

June 20, 1984 Vienna

A bomb explodes in a car belonging to Erdogan Özen, an assistant labor and social affairs counselor at the Turkish Embassy in Vienna. Özen is killed and five others seriously wounded, including a policeman who will endure tremendous agony in the years to come. His wife reacts heroically, staying true to him and doing everything for him. ARA terrorists claim credit for the crime.

A personal note from the author:

It was *this* assassination that made me decide on the spot to do something to fight this insanity. For I knew Erdogan Özen. I knew him to be a kind, trusting human being who loved nothing more than his wife, his twelve-year-old son, and his social work. He was a friend whom I truly admired, and he was a good person. R. I. P.

The assassins are forgiven. They did not know *whom* they were killing. If they had, they certainly would not have done it.

June 25, 1984 Los Angeles

A news agency office in France receives a letter threatening to attack all governments, organizations and companies which assist, in any way whatsoever, Turkey's team at the Los Angeles Olympics.

July 14, 1984 Brussels

Dursun Aksoy, the administrative attaché at the Turkish Embassy, is assassinated. ARA claims responsibility.

August 13, 1984 Lyon

A bomb explodes in a Lyon train station causing minor damage. ASALA claims credit.

September, 1984 Teheran

Several Turkish owned firms in Iran come under attack after receiving warning letters informing them that they are to be targeted. The first victim is the Sezai Turkes Company. A Turkish employee is injured while fighting the fire caused by the explosion. A chain of "smaller" acts of intimidation follows.

September 1, 1984 Teheran

Iranian authorities expose a plot to assassinate Ismet Birsal, the Turkish ambassador to Teheran.

September 3, 1984 Istanbul

Two Armenian terrorists die as one of their bombs goes off too soon. The ARA claims credit.

November 19, 1984 Vienna

Evner Ergun, Deputy Director of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations, Vienna is assassinated while driving to work. The assassins leave a flag with the initials "A. R. A." on his corpse.

Personal note:

I did not know Evner Ergun, but I know his wife. She mourns her husband. He was a faithful, honest partner. He was both a loved-one and a friend to her. She feels no hatred towards her husband's murderers. On the contrary, she feels sympathy for the ignorant, probably very young assassins who believed they were killing for a "just cause". Cursed be the men behind the scenes, those who seduce these young "freedom fighters" - or whatever they choose to call themselves - into fighting for a cause that is just as unjust as it is inhuman.

December 1984 Brussels

Authorities are able to thwart a bombing attempt at the residence of Selcuk Incesu, an official at the Turkish Embassy.

December 29, 1984 Beirut

Two French buildings in East Beirut are bombed. ASALA claims credit.

December 29, 1984 Paris

Following an ASALA threat to blow up an Air France plane, police increase security at the Charles de Gaulle Airport.



January 3, 1985 Beirut

The offices of *Agence France Presse* are extensively damaged when a bomb explodes.

March 3, 1985 Paris

An anonymous caller to *Agence France Presse* threatens to attack French interests throughout the world due to the verdict meted out to three terrorists who participated in the Orly attack.

March 12, 1985 Ottawa

Three heavily armed terrorists storm the Turkish Embassy, killing a Canadian security guard in the process. After blowing up the front door, the gunmen enter the building. Ambassador Coskun Kirca manages to escape but suffers extensive injuries. He remains lying on the ground throughout the four-hour siege. Finally the hostages (who include the wife and daughter of the ambassador) are released, and the terrorists surrender. The ARA claims responsibility. The three apprehended terrorists are currently awaiting trial.



Monika Özen with her twelve-year-old son, Murad, at the Vienna Airport for the transport of the body of Erdogan Ozen to Istanbul . . . Murad and Monika were Erdogan Ozen's life, although he was also completely wrapped up in his work - helping Turkish workers in Austria.



Anatomy of a senseless crime: On Wednesday, June 20, 1984, the labor and social affairs attache of the Turkish Embassy arrives at work at 8:45. He parks his car beside the embassy building, greets the policeman on duty . . . and then a remote-control bomb explodes. The car is thrown into the air and lands upside down. Erdogan Özen is dead . . . his body charred beyond recognition. The 62-year-old policeman, Leopold Smetacek, is caught in the flash of fire from the explosion . . . He will wrestle with death for months, his face totally burned. A number of passers-by are injured. The "Armenian Revolutionary Army" - ARA - once again claims "responsibility". The assassin is undoubtedly convinced of the "justice" of his deed. He probably has no idea of the true story behind the tragedy of his people in the First World War. All he knows is the lessons he has had drilled into him about the "Terrible Turk". History - misunderstood history - as the motive for inhuman behavior - that is unique to the world of terrorism. (Photo: *Neue Kronenzeitung*)



Mount Ararat, mentioned in the Hebrew sources, is "Urarat" in the Qumran texts, both of which are equivalent to "Urartu" in Assyrian.

But the Urartian language is classified as an Asian language due to its agglutinative form.

It should be emphasized that the Urartian language bears no relation to Armenian, which belongs to the Satem group of Indo-European languages.

On the contrary: Based on its capacity for creating words by adding suffixes to a given root, Urartian shows an affinity to the Ural-Altaic languages. Urartian is clearly related to Turkish.

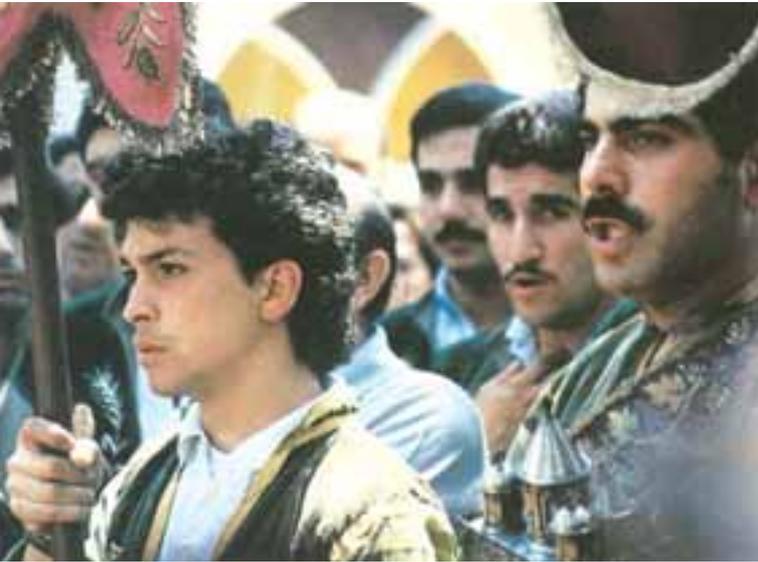
Mount Ararat has been a symbol of Turkish and proto-Turkish presence in Anatolia for 15,000 years.

Satellite photography by Dr. Lothar Beckel, Austria.





Hardly any other religious community in the world has suffered as much from the deadly influence of ultra-nationalistic sentiment as the Armenian-Apostolic (Gregorian) Church.



March 26, 1985 Toronto

A threat to blow up the city of Toronto's transit system leads to chaos during the city's rush hour. An "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Our Homeland" claims responsibility for the threat.

November 1985 Brussels

A special anti-terrorist security squad of the Belgian police exposes and arrests three Armenian terrorists with Portuguese passports. They were planning an attack on Turkish officers at NATO headquarters.

November 28, 1985 Paris

French police arrest the American-Armenian leader of the terrorist organization known as the "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia - Revolutionary Movement" (ASALA-RM) Mr. Monte Melkonian. Melkonian was formerly a top lieutenant of Hagop Hagopian*, the founder of ASALA, until he (Melkonian) formed his own terror organization (ASALA-RM) following the attack on Orly Airport. In Melkonian's apartment, police confiscate weapons, explosive devices, and arrival and departure information on Turkish ships scheduled to visit France. In addition, they find a picture of Turkey's ambassador to France, Adnan Bulak. This leads to speculation that the ambassador may have been targeted for assassination.

December 1985 Paris

Forty-one shoppers in two of Paris' leading department stores (Gallerie Lafayette & Printemps) are injured (twelve seriously) when nearly simultaneous bomb explosions rip through the stores. In the ensuing panic, some 10,000 Christmas shoppers flee into the streets.

The *Armenian Reporter*, published in New York, reports in its December 12th issue that French law enforcement authorities are concentrating on ASALA as the most likely perpetrator. ASALA later takes credit for the two bombings.

November 23, 1986 Melbourne, Australia

2:15 a. m. - Explosion in front of the Turkish Consulate. One dead (presumably the perpetrator), and one Australian injured.

* Hagop Hagopian (in reality his name was probably Mihran Mih-ranian or Bedros Ohanesian from Mossul) was one of the ringleaders of the appalling terrorist attack at the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Church managed to lead the Armenian people *without* fanaticism, but nevertheless with a proud and free awareness of Armenian uniqueness. They had no state, but they had full possession of a strong national consciousness. The development of missions from Europe and America and the ugly proselytizing between one Christian group and another created a horse race for the hearts of the Armenians. Later, the various political parties also got involved. Their platforms were revolutionary, nationalist, socialist. Their behavior was absolutely unscrupulous when it came to pursuing their irrational quest for a Utopian goal: a grand Armenian nation-state.

The disastrous consequences for the Armenian people are well known. *Two-thirds* of the Armenian terrorists' victims are themselves Armenian. The result is a curtain of silence. Virtually no Armenian (aside from those who live in safety - i.e., in Turkey) dares speak out publicly against Armenian terrorism.

The irony of this story: The Armenian terrorists, with all their atrocities, never accomplished *anything whatsoever* in the struggle against their original enemies - the Czarist and Soviet Russians on the one hand, and the Ottoman and Kemalist Turks on the other. Neither the Russians nor the Turks ever gave in to terrorist demands. The terrorists *did*, however, succeed in producing the desired climate of fear *among their own people*.

That must also be the reason why one almost never hears a voice against terrorism from the ranks of the Armenians. This situation would otherwise be inexplicable, given the intelligence and the high level of education of the Armenians. It is no problem, on the other hand, to form a committee on the spur of the moment to raise money for a murderer's defense. This was already being done in the twenties, when there was a "Soghomon Tehlirian" committee to assist Talaat's murderer. It was the same in 1982, when a twenty year-old immigrant killed the Turkish consul general in Los Angeles, Kemal Arikian.

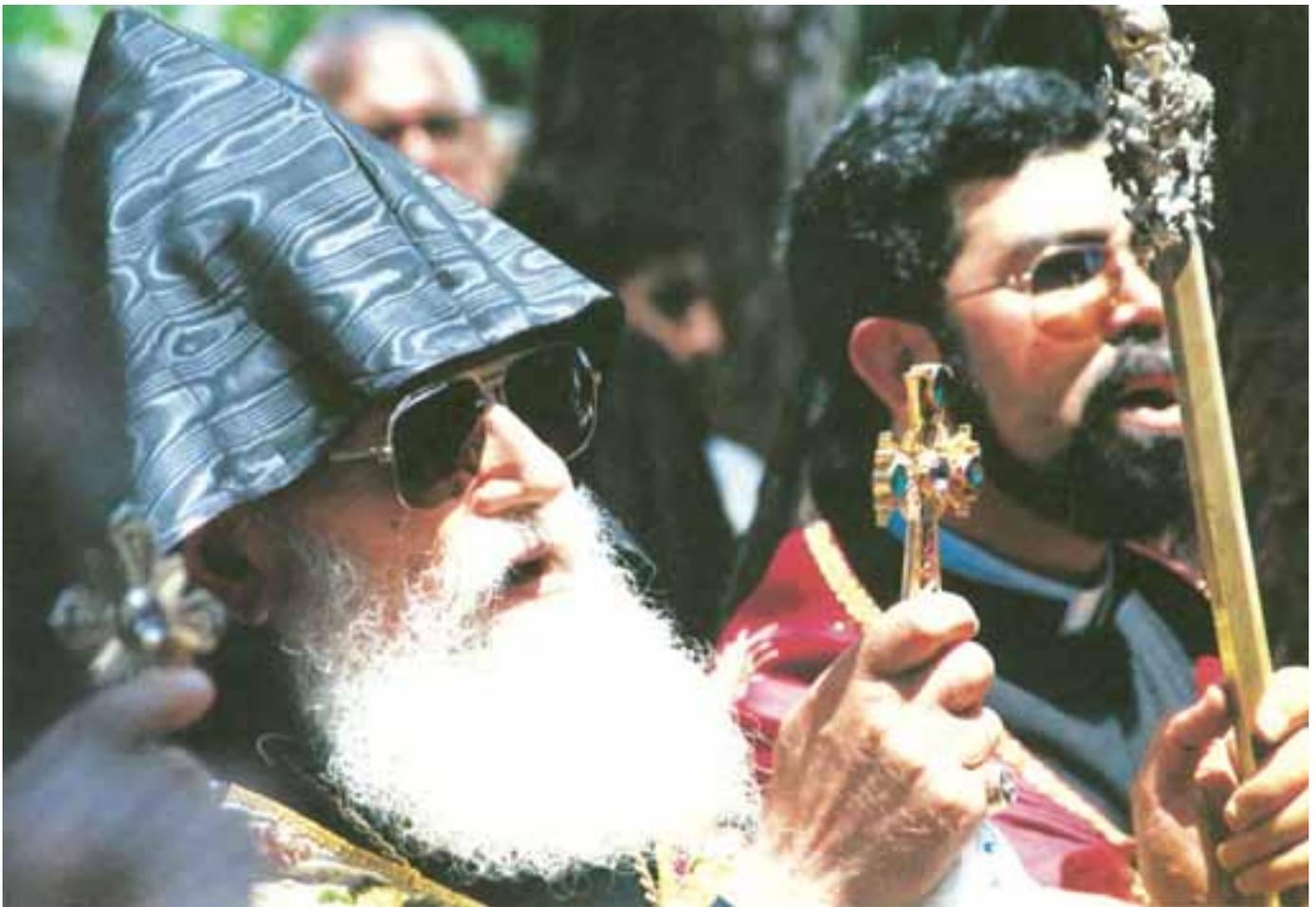
Statement of His Beatitude Patriarch Snork Kalutsyan on the problem of Armenian terrorism and the situation of the Armenian minority in the Turkish Republic. Kum Kape (the Armenian Patriarchate), Istanbul, May 27, 1985.

We, the Armenians living in Turkey, are at present the biggest minority. Our community consists of about 50,000 Armenians, mainly living in Istanbul, with some living in Anatolia, scattered here and there. Thank God we are doing fine. We are living in comfortable conditions, and our religious services are conducted in peaceful conditions, and we are enjoying all of the privileges that any citizen in this country may enjoy. Our main difficulty is that when we hear some innocent people are killed abroad, it makes us uneasy as all citizens feel themselves uneasy. All religions have great respect for human life,

and killing is forbidden by all religions. So I, as a man of religion, always have condemned and still condemn all attempts against precious human lives.

Otherwise we are, as I said,, living in a happy condition, and our schools are maintained in good condition, and nobody is interfering in our inner life. And really our only aim is to live in peace und happiness in this country. In the meantime, we wish to everybody, to all peoples of the world, to all countries, that peace should prevail in every country, in every people. And may all those unhappy events which take place in every country have an end. I'm sure that all the reasonable people in the world will combine together to give an end to those terrorist events, which unfortunately take place in many countries.

May the Peace of God be with all people of good will.



Suddenly, a "Hampig Sassounian Committee" was formed. It did everything to try to justify the insidious murder and, if possible, to have it go unpunished. Religious circles often become involved in these shameful activities as well. The competition for the souls of the Armenian emigrants lives on in the New World.

he Armenian-Apostolic Church in Turkey has, however, learned its lessons from the past. The Church and the Armenians of Turkey unanimously condemn the terrorism. They recognize that it benefits no one but the terrorists themselves . . . and their treasures, which are - thanks to terrorism - always overflowing.



An Armenian Orthodox Church celebration on Kinali Ada, near Istanbul, presided over by Patriarch Snork Kalutsyan. The representatives of the Catholic, Chaldean, Greek Orthodox, Protestant, and United churches sit together in peace. All these churches owe their survival in the Middle East to the tradition of tolerance, as upheld by the Ommiad, Abbaside, and above all the Ottoman Caliphs. Without the supremacy of the Caliphs, the churches would probably have wiped each other out. Sadly enough, it was the nationalistic rivalry among the churches which (though perhaps unwittingly) set the spritual stage for the nationalistic rivalry of the revolutionary organizations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Selected Bibliography

The number of publications discussing the subject of "Armenia" is legion. This is particularly true for the events of 1915. As far as the war years 1915-1916 are concerned, there is virtually no literature at all which presents the "Ottoman-Turkish side" of the issue. One exception is a collection published in Istanbul in 1917 with the title *Aspirations et Agissements Revolutionnaires des Comités Armeniens avant et apres la proclamation de la Constitution Ottomane*, which tries to present the facts that were known at that time, as far as this was possible given the military situation. After Aram Andonian published his forged "telegrams" with the forged "death orders" of the Ottoman minister of the interior, there was a genuine flood of publications on this subject. Almost without exception, they presented the Armenian point of view. The Turks, meanwhile, chose to remain silent, totally misunderstanding the "position of innocence". Although the Turks can certainly be brutal in war, especially when the war is forced upon them, they are the first to forgive their former enemies as soon as the war is over. During their centuries of harmonious cooperation, the Turks had developed a respect for the Armenians which prevented them from seeing the absurd accusations of "planned extermination" as anything more than standard wartime propaganda. The Turks simply had too much respect for the Armenians -and too much self-respect - to take these accusations seriously, let alone defend themselves against them. The result was that the world public was exposed to a totally one-sided view and now accepts the Armenian accusations largely at face value. They overlook the fact that the Armenians were actually at war with the Ottoman Empire, even though they were a part of it, and were pushing for a permanent division of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. (The Armenians themselves emphasized this fact immediately after the war but then played it down when it seemed more opportune to have been "unarmed".) The following list of the best-known and most important books on this subject does not by any means pretend to be exhaustive. Both points of view are represented - the Turkish and the Armenian. An annex gives the titles of some recent publications from the Turkish side which -better late than never - present the events as seen from the Turkish standpoint.

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Epilogue

Armenian terrorism: History is both poison and antidote. Historians usually contribute little or nothing to discussions of present-day terrorism. Middle-East historians have especially avoided comment on Armenian terrorism, preferring topics more remote and less likely to shoot back. However, in considering Armenian violence, history cannot be ignored, for history is both the cause of Armenian terrorism and its only cure. Armenian terrorism is rooted in a false view of history. Only by correcting that view will Armenian terrorism be defeated. I therefore wish to suggest a method not usually used to combat terrorism: the study of history.

Each terrorist needs a *raison d'être* - a philosophy and a cause for which he can kill and die. History usually plays a part in this, both because terrorists often look back to an idyllic past in which all was well with their people, and because terrorists almost always remember real or imagined historical injuries and vow vengeance. But the main wish of terrorists is always to free their people from foreign bondage. That was the case with the Viet Kong, and that is the case today with the I. R. A. Today's Armenian terrorists are unique in that history, or at least their version of it, is their only real justification.

For the Armenian terrorists, there are no people to be "liberated". The Armenian terrorists have only one cause: revenge - revenge for what they see as mistakes made by the other side (the Turks).

I began by stating that the best weapon against Armenian terrorism is the study of history. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say: The best weapon is the truth. Then perhaps we could make the words of Snork Kalut-syan come true:

"May all those unhappy events which take place in every country have an end. May the Peace of God be with all people of good will."

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Front dust cover: an Armenian terrorist group from Van, Eastern Anatolia (1912); Armenian terrorist attack on the Ankara Airport; a page from the Boston Herald-American, Sunday, October 24, 1982.

All color photographs by the author.

Black and white photographs from the Military Archives in Ankara unless indicated otherwise in the caption.