

GEORGES de MALEVILLE

THE ARMENIAN TRAGEDY IN 1915

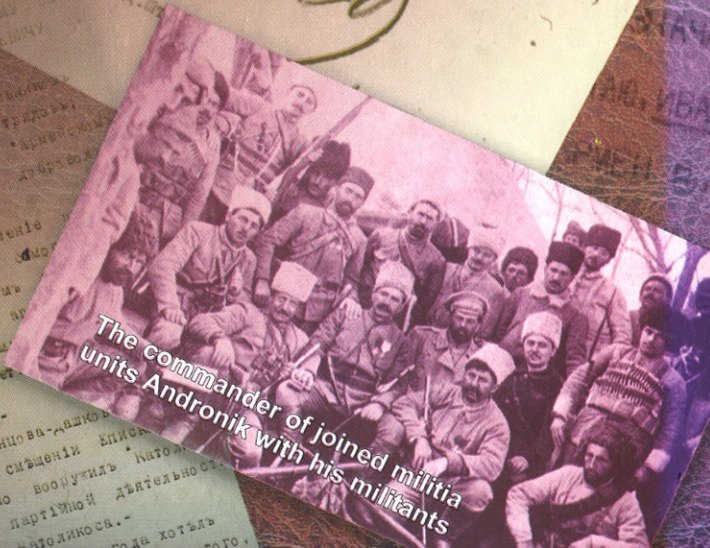
A. A. Lalayan

THE CONTERREVOLUTIONARY
OFER DASCHNAKUTJUN
(1914-1923)

Тифлисский
Генеральный
штаб
Подполковнику

По приращению Начальника штаба
для препровождения Вагз для сведения
поручению на 6 листах по вопросу
объ авошномати делегов на осмудди
рошу 6-й армянской Арзаним из
касарь.

Handwritten signatures and numbers:
25
29
Cavenevel



The commander of joined militia units Andronik with his militants

GEORGES de MALEVILLE



THE ARMENIAN TRAGEDY IN 1915



Azerneshr
Baku 2013

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Metre de Maleville wanted me to present him. I'm sure that he would manage without it perfectly. I may be suspected in partiality, as a historian of Turkish world. And though I try to elude this cannot definitely that I have not got such a partiality. But I perfectly know how much the enemies of Turkey are not deprived of this. But I'll try to keep silence about my feelings in this book. I feel myself neither as a jury nor as a judge here, anyway. But I'm let to say, of course that, Metre de Maleville's action is the action of a free person: this is a man who speaks freely and honestly, not being worried about the tastes and movements. And I am sure that the aim his soul and conscience believes is truth.


It is a great happiness that in democratic countries every person can say his opinion. It is a great happiness for all humanity that everyman can do it. Didn't the God himself give his creatures the right to say him – no?

Jean Paul Roux
The director of scientific researches of the National
center of scientific researches.

LA
TRAGÉDIE
ARMÉNIENNE

DE 1915

Georges de MALEVILLE



F. SORLOT
FLANORE

Cover of the book in French

FROM PUBLISHER



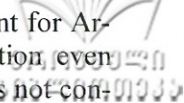
In 2015 there will be hundred years from the time of so called “Armenian genocide” in Ottoman Turkey. The whole propaganda machine of Armenian government, and also large Armenian Diaspora abroad, which earlier differed with their activeness too, now are directed to gain the legal status, legitimation in the public conscious of the entire world the fact of the Armenians’ mass murder in Turkey. And it must be stressed that not unsuccessfully. Under the influence of held for several ten years this ill-intentioned action, the parliaments of the number of European countries, and even of far Latin America have adopted the resolutions which accept the “Armenian genocide” in Turkey during the World War I.

Exactly, starting from this our publishing house planned the publication of the series of books in Russian, English, French and German languages of Armenian and foreign authors who give the objective value to the events which took place in the territory of Turkey in 1915.

During the hard for Turkey period of the World War I, when it had to struggle against the imperialistic powers of Entente – the triple alliance – England, France and Russia, which had the whole breaking up of the country as an aim, it faced with the enmity activities of peculiar “fifth column” in the face of Armenian population, which was muddled with the baneful idea of the “Great Armenia” and also the aggressive operations of numerous armed formations – the Armenian youth which arrived from abroad to Turkey, - from Russia, European countries, even USA and which fought in the staff of the regular Russian army.

Confronted with such a terrible danger, the Turkish government, fully according the situations of the Hague convention of 1907, decided the internment from the area of military activities, of Armenian population which evidently got the betrayer position.

Of course the death of any person as a result of violent operation - is the tragedy. The Turkish government does not deny that as the result of internment and military confrontation thousands of people died. The army and peaceful Turkish population had numerous victims.

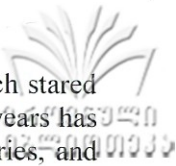


It is important to note one unbelievable but important for Armenian propaganda fact. According the initial information, even during that period accepted as exaggerated, doubtful, does not confirmed with anything number of the victims of this conflict and internment was nearly three hundred thousand men. Several ten years past and this number has already rose till the half million.

Coming to Turkish government, it several times addressed to Armenia with the proposal to open the archives of Turkey and Armenia, and also, related directly and indirectly to this conflict countries – Russia, France, England, USA to form to common committee of independent experts-historians, politicians, political scientists which would clear up the sizes of happened tragedy, their real guilty and instigators.

But Armenia each times denies this rational and just proposal.

Unfortunately, it chose the different way- the way of cultivation the sense of hatred and revenge against all Turkish speaking countries. Everything is used for this – black-mail, lie, slander, the evident distort of the facts, moral and physical terror. These all is accompanied with the permanent world public appeals with implores about the sorrowful fate of “little, miserable” Christian nation, which has found itself in surrounding of Muslim barbarians. But besides, it is dissembled that in the newest history Armenians as the firsts resorted to the terror as the means of political struggle. It is enough to remember that Armenian militants still in 1896 set off an explosion in the building of Ottoman bank in Istanbul, the terrible massacre held by Armenians in Baku and Shusha in 1920, their action of frightening by the working in Europe Turkish diplomats’ extermination in 1970-80s, the explosion of the Baku Metro in 1993, which took several ten citizens’ life, unthinkable tragedy of the little Azerbaijani town Khojaly, which was razed to the ground in 1992, and all the citizens – more than 600 men were killed, wounded, and 150 men’s fate is still unknown. By the way this fact is not denied by the Armenian government. According the Khojaly tragedy the president of Armenia Serj Sargsyan frankly reported: “Azerbaijanis thought that we would not exterminate the peaceful population. But in Khojaly we proved that we are able to do it.”



Covered up that the “little, miserable” Armenia, which started the Karabakh war, till now, already for more than twenty years has occupied more than twenty percents of Azerbaijan territories, and has driven out from their native lands in Armenia and occupied by it Nagorno Karabakh and close to it seven regions, nearly a million citizens making them the refugees.


Moreover, the “miserable” Armenia is probably the only country in the world which has the territorial claims on all four bordering countries – Turkey, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Iran, and at the same time, rare in our age of globalization, and people’s free transference – the monorepublic, where the titled nation constitutes nearly the 95 percent of the population. This - total expulsion of Azerbaijani, Russian, Kurd, Georgian population or is achieved either by force or the formation for the representatives of other nations, which settled in these lands for centuries, the unbearable life conditions.

It must be specially noted that, the permanent cultivation of the myth about Armenia, as the helpless victim of non-civilized nations and at the same time, inflaming the enmity, hatred, revenge sense against the other nations, be-sides the ruling circles of this country, is peculiar, unfortunately, to Armenian intelligentsia and clergy.

That way proudly mentions in his book “The revival of our spirit” published in 1996, by one of the main ideologists of “Great Armenia”, the “writer” Zory Balayan, who in person took part in massive murders in already mentioned town Kojaly.

“...When we together with Khachatur entered one of the invaded houses, our soldiers nailed the 13 years old Turk to the window. For the child not to cry Khachatur slipped into his mouth his mothers cut breast. Then I skinned him in the stomach, head and chest.

I looked at the watches the child died after 7 minutes because of the loss of blood. As I was a doctor as my first profession, I was humanist. I didn’t fill myself happy for what I did against this child. Then Khachatur divided the dead body of this child and threw it to dogs, which have the same blood as his. In the evening we did the same with other three Turkish children...”



The comments to “writer’s”, “doctor’s”, and “human-ist’s” but as the matter of fact butcher’s and sadist’s this confession are considered as needless.

It is also known the immediate and instigator role of Armenian church in inflaming the international massacre, in ideological grounding the infringement of the territorial in-tegrity of other countries. Exactly the Armenian catholicos Georg in person blessed those Armenian militant troops who went to commit the terror and robberies on the territories of Turkey in 1915.

Already, nowadays, in Russian press, is not denied the information that, the highest hierarchy of Armenian church were the mediators in the negotiations with the military direction of Russia, in the case of getting the arms and equipment, which later were sent to Nagorno Karabakh.

The facts, archive materials, the evidences of directs witnesses of the events of that time show quite different than claimed in Armenian information materials and books picture.

Knowingly, for not being accused of biliousness, any Turkish or Azerbaijani author was not included in these series of fifteen-twenty books.

Alovsat Agalarov,
The editor-in-chief
Publishing house “Azerneshr”

INTRODUCTION




At the end of the year 1970 the Paris society got acquainted with the great "treasure of soviet Armenia". The visitors' of Peti Palace with great enthusiasm revealed for themselves, at that time, beautiful little churches of square form, in Romanian style, which were built in mountainous niches. The exhibition had a huge success. Then was silence. The only this that was remembered about Armenians was that they as Copts formed Christian sects, and as Copts lived far in the mountains, but not in Africa or at the end of the world, in Caucasus. And that the museum at the first floor in Eney hotel in Fosh Street which always was empty was dedicated to them. They knew nothing else about them.

In 1974 Turkey entered the Cyprus to release the Turkish population which was in fear of massacre.

In 1975 Syria entered Lebanon- to that part which was emptied by Pakistan occupation.

And suddenly in October, 1975, the ambassador of Turkey in Paris was killed in his car 48 hour later than his college in Vane was killed too. These murders were the start point for long term of deaths: 21 Turkish diplomats were killed later. And all of them were killed in Western countries. We were told that these were Armenians who wanted us to hear them. It was like them remembered the things they forgot once. And the disappearance of this amnesia naturally, was realized quite spontaneously- in force major desire to destroy the representatives of Turkish government everywhere that killers could catch them. But as these deaths though they were quite dangerous, could be invisible for the wide public opinion, they were doubled by the way of systematic terror: disordered kills, throwing the bombs to the trading centers, taking the hostages, shooting down the people in the airports. It was said that to shed the innocent victims' blood in public was the way for Ar-



menians to realize their justice. And they needed this justice as we were told; Armenians were the victims of one of the most terrible genocide in the History.

That is the reason why, these pretensions were presented to public and were formed in its eyes as reality. And just this was met as a key for French government which was caused by various reasons, that were not straightly related to French and Turk relations, to give approval to put in Alfortville “The monument of Hatred” – the hate which all Armenians felt towards Turks; the hate that had to last forever...

As it may be believed to slogan that has been spread by all masses of information, Turks will be irreconcilable enemies of Armenians because they are Turks. Such discourses nearly, became as a stamps.

Really, such discourses make modern man recall the memories related with once read stories about past times, political statesmen’s approaches, which died many years ago, because of the revengable speech made by Gladstone about “Armenians beatings up”.

In much more moderate “Moderate History” by L. Genete, published in 1945, the book was official manual book at schools in France. It can be read there about Abdul Hamid: “As soon as Gladstone’s England tried in some way to protect Armenians, sultan announced about the reforms. But in real he spoke by massacre. These massacres followed each other. The number of victims was 250000...” (p. 517)

That is what little French children were taught to in traditionalistic environment in 1945!

And how can one doubt in such a statement, when you read following lines by Benoist – Mekhin, Turks’ friend in his book about Mustafa Kemal (p. 246)? It speaks about the order given by Ataturk in 1920, to General Kazim Karabekir to defeat the army of

Armenian Republic. The author writes: “The commander of the second army realized this order with pitiless cruelty. When there was the issue of Armenians’ beatings, his soldiers had to be held back than to be stimulated...”

So the scene was clear and it seemed that the reality was spoken: quite suddenly Turks liked to kill Armenians in any case, and the lasts terrified of this started finding the defense in international unities and in the international public opinion.

Nowadays, they cite on the same source and famous “Monument of Hatred” is nothing else than the symbol of defense that humanity has to show to that society which is in danger.

This legend had made roots in conscience of a great part of people...

Anyway, they believe in it too much, too much noise around it. In this permanent persistence in this hurry in the publications of the stories about massacres (which appeared every month) was something doubtful.

Too much is spoken about the terrifying scenes, too much of published photos (of doubtful origin) were accompanied with more and more dramatic legends. In silent observer’s conscience rise doubts these disordered massacres cover quite dangerous scene that releases some secret plan. But what if this all is nothing else, but legend, exaggeration, which is overblown by sad but isolated facts, or moreover by an intrigue of huge sizes.

Now we are not going to answer this question we just try to research this social phenomenon from the point of view of an independent observer.

We were in Istanbul, visited the regions with Armenian population in all city and researched the faces of the people. We never met among Armenians who lived side by side with Turks for long centuries, the sense of fear. In the stores and in little port restaurant the representatives of two nation mixed completely, there mutual

sympathies are more sincere than among the members of Paris emigrant society. Moreover, these Armenians speak Turkish among each other – it is their language.

I remember we quite by accident visited a little Armenian school, along the Vlashern street wall. Everywhere, in classes, corridors, at the steps were AtaTurk's portraits – and they were more than in any embassy. And moreover we speak about the private school, which are ruled by the church: these Armenian children, in future will be integrated to Turkish society, as much as possible.

It means that this fear from Turks, these extra ordinary genetic hate did not exist at that place where logically it had to be saved the most.

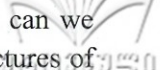
Independent observer gives himself a question: isn't this sense has been absolutely artificially formatted by the competent propaganda, who hides its aim?

This question is followed by the next question : even if it would be conceivable – though, saying as gentle as possible, this is too hard to do, - that the terrorist company is the way of revenge for whole nation and the way of calling the public opinion for help, and even if to accept, just for a moment, such criminal activities, - then how can be described these gushing over the limits terrible killings and supposedly, as a revenge for something that happened more than seventy years ago, and was forgotten long ago?

How can be justified logically, this late terrorism? Does it show that the matter is the late Armenian self conscience or rather the machination in which Armenians are just pretence?

“The crusade against albigoists”¹ the famous war of North against South made here indescribable nightmare. The massacre of

* albigoists – the section in the south France, which did not accept the ruling by Papa (ex, tran)



Bezier population is perfectly known (in 1209). And how can we imagine today that “provincials” would put bomb in prefectures of Montpellier as revenge for their killed men?... the destroy realized by Sweden army during the thirteen year war resulted with the massacre of one third of population of south – western Germany. Does it mean that german terrorists must call for responsibility the ambassador of Sweden and kill him for being justice against Wurttemberg population?

But just this goes on with Armenian “issue” and independent observer cannot keep himself of the sense- before he opens the dossier - that all this noise which was accompanied with crimes, as a revenge for the happenings that were long years ago, seems artificial from its very beginning.

This sense becomes more strong if we pay attention to evolution which Armenians’ performance passed during last period of time: their emissaries don’t just demand to pay their blood; they confirm in their ancestors being refuges from their lands, to which they – their descendants have got the right to pretend. The political pretensions become more concrete and sharper.

What may we think about it? Nowadays many Frenchmen are from different countries by birth, which they had to leave in the result of catastrophes, and left the graves of their ancestors there; must they now kill the diplomats, for example, Algerians?... what would we say about Moroccan terrorist if they nowadays came and demanded from Spain to return them Grenade and Andalusia back? Everybody would think that they are mad. But Armenians’ pretensions have not got even such a ground...

Independent observer of the violence which is realized by Armenians, either it being the word struggle of physical beating, cannot avoid himself of falsity. He thinks that this is a play he watches, which is fitted from different part by a secret director for

secret reasons, and that actors in this play being scientists- historians, of hiring killers perform the roles that they learned by heart.

Historical truth is not form by this way. We, in our turn, tried to understand what happened in real.

We did it quite independently: because of the sympathy towards Turks, and because of the sympathy towards Armenians. We tried to understand, how such simpatic, open hearted, clever, hard working and honest Armenian nation, which perfectly adopted in France, and did not call any racial enmity towards itself, could, if we believe to nowadays company, provoke toward itself such a hatred by Turks, the friendly qualities of whom are known to everybody.

The hatred which provoke willingly made terrible massacres.

But we also wanted to demystificate the propaganda, which seemed us more and more, was based on a lay and on the deformation of the separate facts.

During the whole work we memorized as a prophesy words which were told not long ago (10th of December, 1984) by madam Kirkpatrick, the ambassador of USA in UNO, about the modern company against the Zionism (which in many points remind modern conspiracy against Turley): "We let the lay spread not refuting it. Then it turned to be the policy – and this policy also not being condemned grew into the deaths... Sometimes the fate of a whole nation depends on the words..."

So, today we are going to debate basing on the truth to find the same truth.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL FRAME OF THE EVENTS

For evaluating correctly the tragic events which we are going to speak about, it is important to image the geography of the location where all happened, in one's mind correctly, and also to know what was before.

Geographically the great Armenia had the territory with indefinite borders, the approximate center of which was the mountain Ararat, the name of which was related with the name of Urartu government.

Exactly during Urartu this territory entered the history for the first time. But though its central location in Caucasus and its neighborhood with three Empires (Russian, Turkish and Persian) Armenia in not Switzerland, high in the mountains, is such a region, that you need just to turn and walk a little in this or that direction, for being in the valley of the river Inn, which runs to Black sea through Danube or in the Rhine, which lies through Germany to the North sea, or in the Rona valley, which flows down to Mediterranean sea. Geography was not so much favorable towards Armenians.

Of course, Ararat and the chain of the numerous mountains are the great storage of the water, which are the beginning for such rivers of the region as Tiger, and Arafat, which frame Mesopotamia. But here the location of the relief is not in star form: in original Armenia the mountainous rivers do not part here, they accumulate on each other, one by one paralleling, forming in same way the cross of the rivers. The dove which flies to Agra through

the Van Lake to the northern part of the Black sea, on the straight line crosses the distance in 200 km in four parallel valleys:

- The Murat valley river the tributary of Evfrat, which flows to west;

- The Aras valley which flows to east then makes a big turn and later runs to south-east to the Caspian sea in Baku;

- The Euphrates valley which surround Erzinjan in the west, and later runs to Persian gulf, and completely changes its direction;

- And at the end, Chorokh vally which flows to north-east surrounds Artvin and run to the Black sea in Batumi.

These geographical thoughts have the real historical meaning. The stratification of the valleys that in parallels interchange in opposite directions, influence to the homogeneousness of the native people. Switzerland formed as a government, because its central mountains were populated with quite homogeneous population that influenced to the provinces. There was nothing else till the late times in central Caucasus. The nations that lived here during the centuries (Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Kurds) stratificated over each other, the influence of each of them grew more or less depending on the location of their bordering with three great Empires of which they were dependant.

We insist on this position as, we find important not to go away of the present, while speaking about the past as the Armenian emissaries systematic do it, stating their pretensions. As is known today in central Caucasus there is an Armenian centre – Armenian SSR, the 90% of the population of which due to the soviet statistics, are Armenians. But this was not so always. “Six Armenian provinces” of Ottoman Turkey (Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Elaziz and Sivas) till 1914 were populated with great number of Armenians which were not the majority anyway. But today in Anatolia Armenians do not live any more, and exactly their disappearance is presented as the fault of Turkish government.

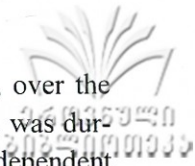
The Armenian republic which was formed in 1918, over the ruins of the tsarist Empire because of the will of England, was during its not long lasting existence (1918-1921) the only independent Armenian government, which in some way registered in the History.


In actual fact the Armenian nation appeared in the historical scene only in the VII century b.c. – after the collapse of the Urartu government because of the Assyrian pressure. May be they rooted from the Phrygians who came from the west. But in any case, referring on the language they were from the Indo-European nation. The territory they took, being more correct, the Aras river valley was the Assyrian province which later became the Median, and later after the occupation of Iran by the Alexander Macedonian the Greek. After the last's death Armenia went under the influence of Seleucus.

At the beginning of the II century b.c. under the title of Seleucus vassal appears the dynasty of local tsars, who try to get the independence in the periphery, where their principality was located, and formed the relations with one of the neighbors against the other one. But they never could get the independence for Armenia as a matter of fact, it always was the vassal of some apart Empire, with only exclusion while the years 95 to 66 b.c., when one local leader, Tigran using the common weak points of the neighbors – Mitridat and Persian monarch, who had to face with the Romans, - could gain the ephemeral independence, but at the end was defeated by Pompey.

Was Tigran “the Armenian” in the meaning that we use it now relating it to Armenian population in Marcel and Jerusalem? It is little presumable. In 400 b.c. when Xenophon (Anabasis) passed the territory, which later was called Armenia, its population spoke in one of the elamián languages, being more correct in Asian language.

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Armenian ethnos – as we know it now: with its language, physical type and religion, apparently was formed in the middle ages. So the aim to make Tigran “the Armenian monarch” is as mythical as to make the Vercingetorix “the French general”* .

Till the middle of VI century a.c. Armenia as a matter of fact was under the power of Rome, and Persia, by turns. In 301 Armenia accepted the Christianity, which here got the Gregorian meaning (according the Church Cathedral in Chalcedon in 451).

In 591 Armenia was completely parted the capital of that time Dvin (near by Sevan river), and also the eastern territories were under the influence of Sassanid Persia, and the western territories were given back to Byzantine. This division is quite important, because for the first time in the history was noted the division of the Armenia in two parts along the river Aras, while the western part went under the influence of Anatolia.

In 629 Byzantine in victorious fight against Persia conquered all Armenia. But these attempts had no results, as in 642 Arabians who came from Mesopotamia conquered in their turn Dvin and also gave the rule of this province to feudal who were dependent of Damask and later of Bagdad directly.

During the later period of partial anarchy was noted the formation of the local noblemen families – Bagratians. This surname, by the way is of Jewish origin, settled in the city Ani in 800. In 885 Akhadu Bagratuni could get the power over the other feudal, being at the same time the dependant from Bagdad. His family could get the factual independence from Abbasids, but this was accompanied with the new feudal breaking up of Armenia.

The Armenian monuments in Ani are of this period of time.

In 1045 one of Bagratid leaders bequeathed his principality to vasilevs Constantine Monomakh...

* Vercingetorix – the gallian leader, defeated by July Sezar- nearly in 72-46 b.c.

This return of Byzantium to thrown was not long anyway, as in 1071 Turkish-Seljuk defeated in Mantsikart the roman vasilevs Diogen and at the result annexed Anatolia.

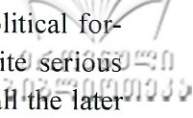
As the result of neighboring governments weakness not permanent "independence" of feudal and tore by anarchy Armenia lasted for seventy years by this way. And that is all. It does not mean that we were to show the weakness of Armenian culture, which is admirable; by the way we just state the facts. Some nations naturally form in a country, doing all their best for this. Other nations do not give needed attention to it, but try to keep the cultural relations among the member of their nation, not worrying about its being thrown about. That is so, and has no need for valuation: it is just the way of understanding the truth. If Armenians really had the sense of self-conscience, they would permanently fight for their independence, as it did, for example, Albanians, or Montenegrins, or a number of other Christian nations of Ottoman Empire, they would get the independence more before the "massacre", the victims of which they supposedly were at the end of XIX century. Quite the contrary they willingly during seven centuries accepted firstly Seljuk, and later Ottoman supremacy, absolutely not complaining about the system of the government, which let them to profess their religion, to get quite important positions in the government, and to get the supreme monopoly in the trading. These are the facts.

It is true too, that there also was the government Minor Armenia. Formed in the XII century while the vortex of the crusade events, it joined the parted feudal lands between Kayseri and Adana which Byzantium gave to Armenian feudal as a compensation after the annex of their lands in Armenia itself in 1045. These Armenian feudal took with themselves their peasants which resulted with the emigration of Armenians to Kilikia in some way.

Armenian principality with its capital of Sis relayed on French principality Edes (Urfa), Atiokh, and Tripoli. Its "starry moment" was when Prince Leon the II was crowned by the emperor Henrique VI Barbarossa.

During Mongols' occupation the Anatolia in 1247 the Minor Armenia went under the influence of Mongols and supported in Syria the French colonization. Such a policy after the khan Khulag's death in 1260 reasoned, quite naturally, by the occupation and defeat of Minor Armenia by the mamluks. Mamluks' second trip in 1375 ended with the occupation of Sis, and Kilikia, the deportation of 40 thousand men to Alep, the majority of which were Armenians. They are the nuclear of the modern Armenian population in Syria and Palestine in spite of the legends that are insistently spread nowadays. Meanwhile Leon the IV the last leader of Kilikia died in 1342, and bequeathed his lands to French princes of Cyprus Luzinian. So, disappeared the second Armenian unity that history knew. According the official Ottoman statistics in 1914 in the province of Adana in the regions Kayseri and Marash lived- sometimes closely, as in Zeytun - not more than 150.000 Armenians. But to insist for this reason on the Armenians' "historical right" on the ownership towards Kilikia, as separate propaganda circles do it during the whole century is as absurd as, for example, Belgium to protect its rights for Palestine and Lebanon because of the reason that, Fleming barons once occupied these territories and were the rulers of Jerusalem, and built in these two regions the fortresses which have the French names. It must be stressed, because, in their immense dreams, which Armenians left only in 1918, they imagined to themselves the huge Armenia that was surrounded by three seas- from Adana till Trabzon - and lasting till Baku! During the all history fate did not give them such a chance. And in all cases they did not have even a little right to do it.

The Great Armenia, as we have already stressed, lost its autonomy in 1045, when for the next time it was occupied by Byzan-



tium. From that moment it stopped its existence as a political formation. But soon it had to lose its unity, what had quite serious results for Armenian nation, which lies on the basis of all the later troubles of Armenian nation.

First being the vassal of Seljuk, and later Ottoman, occupied by Timur in 1385, Armenia to 1450 was occupied by Ak koyunlu Turks, and later in 1473 was annexed by Sefevis. At that time the occupied territories were between the Erzincan and Sivas regions.

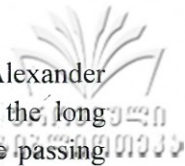
Starting from 1514 the Ottoman sultan Selim the I-st made the plan of occupation of the eastern Anatolia, and defeating at Chaldiran Safavids, which located in Isfahan then, got the ruling over Armenia and Azerbaijan. This was followed by the long term war against Persia, which ended in 1555 with Suleyman the Great's perfect success, as due to Amasia treaty, besides Armenia, also the whole Azerbaijan and also Mingrelia (Georgia) and Abkhazia were given to him.

But this suzerainty did not last long, and according the treaty made in Gasri-Shirin in 1636 sultan ceded to Persia the eastern part of Transcaucasia, being more correct, Azerbaijan, and a part of Armenia, that was to the east of Aras. So, Armenia was divided again, as thousand years ago, among two great powers which were neighboring to it- and by the same borders...

But in 1632, this border was destroyed because of Russians invasion the Caucasia.

In 1774, the treaty in Kuchuk Kainarji confirmed the loss of the power of Ottoman Empire over Crimea. It became clear that, Russians' political plans were in annex of the cost the Black sea. They realized these plans step by step, but quite firm persistence.

Coming to the eastern borders then here Ottoman's first step back was the treaty made in Bucharest in 1812, due to which Russia got Abkhazia and Georgia, which by the way were annexed in 1801.



Released from the Turkish pressure, the troop of Alexander the I-st that dislocated in Caucasia, immediately started the long lasting war against Persia, which ended in 1828, with the passing of all the territories of Persia to the north of Aras, exactly, Erevan khaning. According the Turkmenchay treaty which was signed in March, Russia got the wider borders with Turkey driving back Persia, it got the power over the big part of Armenia. A month later Loris-Melikov's army, which came to finish the Armenian company occupied the Turkish Anatolia being directed according the fifth Russian-Turkish war, and for the first time made the siege at the Kars fortress. Exactly during these invasions the Armenian population of Turkey was on the side of Russian army, which was formed from the volunteers that were gathered in Erevan who were fanaticed by the Catholicon of Echmiadzin, and were called to terror the Muslim population, so rising the Armenian nation in Turkey for rebellion.

The same play was played during ninety year each time, when the Russian army made the next occupation on the same territory, with just one nuance, that the times pasted and Russian propaganda improved its methods, and from that moment when "Armenian issue" became the object of constant stirring, Russian army was sure that, it can rely on Turkish territories and Turkish army, exactly, on the help of armed insurgent bands, which waiting the occupation of Russian army would exhaust the Turkish army and try to destroy it in the back front.

The company in 1828 appeared to be with no results for Russian army, as according the Andrianatol treaty they had to leave the occupied territories; but Turkey lost Batumi.

During the Crime war in autumn 1855, after the collapse of Sevastopol the new tsar Alexander the II made an attempt to revenge for his father. Who occupied Kars but the fortress was re-

turned according the treaty made in Paris in 1856. The earlier borders were proved also.

Twenty years later during the company in 1877, Russians were incited resolutely to occupy Armenia. After the occupation Kars for the third time, and destroying the western Turkish troops, according the Berlin treaty Russians got the mountainous valleys of Aras and the regions Kars and Ardagan. Russians also tried to relate Kars with their Tbilisi railway and to strengthen the Kars fortress.


It passed 36 years till the next conflict that started with the declaration of war in November the 1st, 1914. But the long time period was not peaceful for Turkish Armenia. Starting from the year 1880 for the first time during its history Turkish Armenia had the rebellion, gangsterism and blood disturbances that Ottoman government tried to defeat with nearly no success. The rebellion, we are going to return to them, were made chronologically, which was not accidental: disturbances were made systematically and their suppression that was needed for making the order, which caused the permanent hatred.

In all territory between Erzincan and Erzurum- in the north of Diyarbakir and Van – in the south during more than twenty years were made the attempts for the rebellion with all the results that it would have, in the region away of the center and with difficulties in ruling.

It also must be taken into the consideration for, understanding the degree of irritation of the population at the beginning of the war; just before the events we are going to research.

On the first of November, 1914 Turkey started the war.

In spring 1915, the Turkish government decided to resettle the Armenian population in Anatolia to Syria and the mountainous part of Mesopotamia, which once were the Turkish territories. We are proved as if there were the cases of beatings, the masked massacre.



We are going to analyze was it so or not. But before we will re- search these events it is important to learn the powers along the frontier line.

In December, 1914 the Turkish army under Enver's command attacked in the direction of Kars and in the result partly because of the cold, partly because of not being ready to the enemy's resistance was defeated in Sarikamish. Later the frontier was stabilized around the new borders to the east from Erzurum.

In the beginning of 1915, Russians, without Turks consent make a maneuver, and perambulating Ararat go down along the Persian borders. Exactly then was made the rebellion by Armenians who lived in Van, that resulted with the first huge deportation of Armenian population during the war. It must be described at greater length.

The telegram made by the governor of Van of the 20th of March, 1915 informs about the armed rebellion and specifies: "We suppose that the number of insurgents is more 2.000. We try to suppress it."³ Anyway the attempts had no result, as on 23rd of March the same governor informed that the rebellion was increasing to the neighboring villages.⁴ A month later the situation was critical. That is what the governor telegraphed on 24th of April: "4000 insurgents have gathered in the region. The insurgents close the ways, occupy the near villages and subject them to themselves. At the moment a lot of women and children are homeless... would not be right to resettle these women and children (Muslims) to the western provinces?"⁵ Unfortunately, they could not do it then and that is what the results were.

³ Gurun p. 240

⁴ Telegram quoted from there too, p. 241

⁵ Same, p. 316

“The Caucasian army of Russia starts the attacks in the direction of Van – informs us the American historian Stanford J. Shaw – this army is of a great number of Armenian volunteers... starting the way from Erevan on 28th of April... they have reached Van on 14th of May, and organized and realized massive massacre of the local Muslim population during the last two days... in Van was formed the Armenian government under the Russians’ patronage, and it seemed to keep itself after the complete massacre of the Muslim population, that were killed or became refugees.”

The Armenian population of the town Van until this tragic event was only 33.789 men, exactly only the 42% of the all population.⁷ It give us the correct impression about the scale of the massacre over the armless population (Muslim men were in the front), with a simple reason to clear the location.

These events had nothing occasional or surprising. That what the other historian Valiy writes: “in April 1915, the Armenian revolutionaries occupied the town Van and formed there the Armenian staff under the command of Aram and Varelu (the two leaders of the revolutionary party “Dashnakt”). On the 6th of May (may be according the old calendar) they opened the town for Russian army after clearing it up from the Muslim population... among the most famous Armenian leaders (in Van) was the ex-member of Turkish parliament Pasdermajan known as Garro. Here leded the Armenian volunteers, while the conflicts among Turks and Russian.”⁸

On 18th of May, 1915 tsar also announced his “gratitude to the Armenian population in Van for their devotion”⁹, and Aram Manukyan was made the Russian governor.

⁶ Shaw S. J V II p. 316

⁷ Shaw S. J p. 316

⁸ Felix Valji “Revolutions in Islam”, Londres 1925, p. 253

⁹ Gurun p. 261

Show continued to describe the events that followed it.

“The thousands of Armenian citizens of Mush and also of other centers of eastern regions of Turkey started to come to Armenian government, and there were the colonies of escaped criminals... in the middle of July in the region of the town Van were gathered more than 250.000 Armenians... but at the beginning of July the Ottoman troops drove back the Russian troops. The stepping back troops were accompanied by thousands of Armenians: they scared to be punished for the killing they made, for the dead born government.”¹⁰ Khovanessian, the Armenian author who was extremely against the Turks, wrote: “the panic was indescribable. After a month of resistance of the city, after the formation of Armenian government all was lost. More than 200.000 refugees ran away together with the stepping back Russian troops to Transcaucasia, losing the brightest, what they had, and fetching at the endless traps, made by Kurds”¹¹. The author evaluates the number of Armenians, who died while this events as 40.000 men.

We described these event in Van so in details because unfortunately, this is a sad example:

Firstly, it is clear that how much was spread and dangerous the armed rebellions in the regions with considerable minority of Armenian population for Ottoman troops, which struggled against Russia. This is completely clear and obvious that it is spoken about the betrayal in front of the enemy. By the way, Armenians’ such an action today systematically is hidden by authors, favorable for their pretensions,- these all are rejected, it disturbs them;

On the other hand- the official telegrams by Turks prove that opinion of objective authors about Armenian leaders systematic suppressing the Muslim majority of local population for, occupation of

¹⁰ Shaw S. J p.316

¹¹ Hovannisian “Road to Independence” p. 53, cite par Shaw ibid

the territories. We have already spoken about it and repeat one more time: nowhere in Ottoman Empire the Armenian population had which settled by their own will, were not even a little majority, which could permit to form the autonomous Armenian region. In these conditions the Armenian revolutionaries for the victory of their politics had nothing to do but to make the minority to majority, by destroying the Muslim population. They addressed to this form each time, when they had a chance, and by Russians support;

And last, and this is the most important element in our evidences, while the attempt to count the number of Armenians, supposedly killed by Turks, the honest observer in any case must not equal the number of those who were lost to the number of victims: during the all war, the reckless desire to form an Armenian autonomous government by Russian support for Armenian population of Turkey became an obsession. This is also described by Khovaneyan, the Armenian author. Unconscious, armed rebellion in Van gathered 200.000 Armenians from all over eastern Anatolia, who later run away, passing 3000 meters mountains, for returning then to Erzurum and again run away from there to other Armenians and so on. It was inevitable, for the population which felt such terrible sufferings during the war, considerably lost in the number.

But, the justice won't let to put the quilt of these people's death on Turks, which were just because of the war conditions and unconscious propaganda that during the tens of years spoiled the Turkish Armenians and made them believe, that they by the way of rebellion and killings would form the independent government, at the time when they always were in minority.

Let us return to the history of the wars.

The Turkish break was not long lasting, and in august Turks had to leave the territories for Russia. The eastern front was made along the Van-Agri-Khorasan.

But in February 1916, the Russians made a strong attack in two directions: one – around the Lake Van from the south side and later to Bitlis and Mush, the second – from Kars to Erzurum, which was occupied on 16th of February.

Here Russians were also accompanied by irregular Armenian colons, which were ready to destroy everything on their way.

Show writes: “this was followed by the worst massacre during the whole war: more than a million of Muslim peasant had to run away...thousands of them were cut away, while they wanted to escape together with Ottoman army, which stepped back to Erzinjan”¹² we can just surprise to the greatness of the number: it just tells about the reputation of the violence, that extra Armenian groups had and that they kept by the way of constant terror. (Russian army, of course, it not related to this.)

The Ottoman back front during this period gathered the new powers. On the 18th of April Russian army occupied Trabzon, in July Erzinjan and even Sevas was under the danger. But Russians' attacks on south, round the river Van was reflected. In autumn 1916, the front was in half circle form, which included Trabzon and Erzinjan to Russian territory and reached Bitlis in the south. This was kept until the spring 1918.

Of course, the Armenian revolutionary organizations believed that, the Russians' victory was guaranteed and they imagined their wish would be realized, moreover the new occupied territories included Trabzon port also. To the Erzurum region gathered a great number of Armenians- the refugees from Van and also the emigrants from Russian Armenia.

During the all 1917, Russian army was paralyzed by the Petersburg revolution. On 18th of December 1917, Bolsheviks concluded a truce with Ottoman government in Erzinjan, and was mad a

¹² Shaw S. J p.323

note on 3rd of March, 1918. Brest-Litovsk treaty which declared the return of eastern territories to Turkey, which were occupied in 1878. Russians returned Kars and Ardagan, and “Armenia” was in such way related to its complete settled territory – Russian Armenia.

But Armenians did not agree such. Starting from the 13th of January, 1918 the front (D-t, № 13) later on 10th of February 1918 they formed together with Georgians and Azerbaijanis the common socialistic republic of Transcaucasia with Menshevik tendencies, which beforehand rejected the agreements of the treaty that had to be accepted in Brest-Litovsk. At least using the decision of Russian army, non-combatant Armenian troops organized in Erzinjan and Erzurum the systematic massacre of Muslim population that was accompanied with extreme scare, which later were told by stressed Russian officers.¹³ the aim was the same: to rest the territory for guaranteeing the exclusive right to the territories in the eyes of international public opinion. Show tells that, the Turkish population of five provinces – Trabzon, Erzinjan, Erzurum, Van and Bitlis which was 3.300.000 men in 1914, became 600.000 refugees after the war.¹⁴

It is clear that, after knowing about this violence Turkish Armenians did not stay without some activities: on 12th of March 1918, it for the next time occupied Erzurum, this time form Armenians, and later moved to east, driving back the Armenian immigrants, who had not pure soul. (As it was in Van in 1915.)

On 4th of June, 1918, the Caucasian republics signed a treaty with Turkey, which affirmed the agreements of Brest Litovsk treaty, and affirmed the borders of 1877, so, let the Turkish troops to past the Armenia from the south and to occupy Baku from Englishmen, what they did on the 14th of September, 1918. Mudros treaty on the 30th of October, 1918 found Turkish troops in Baku.

¹³ Khlebov. Journal de guerre de 2-e regiment d'artillerie, cite par Gurun, p. 272

¹⁴ Same. p. 325

During the next period of destruction of Ottoman Empire Armenians tried to use the step back of Turkish troops: on the 19th of April, 1919 they occupied Kars one more time (and Georgians Ardagan). It meant that, the borders of frontier were moved to the west along the borders of 1878 again. From that location Armenians during seventeen months realized numerous attacks to the country side territories, which were occupied by them, exactly on the direction of the Black sea and Trabzon. ¹⁵(13)

And naturally, they tried to raise the Armenian population of Kars again, moreover, the “12th point of Wilson” though guaranteed Turkish sovereignty over Turkish part of Ottoman Empire, it meant the division of other parts of territory of Empire according the nationality principles. This maneuver would be realized to take into the consideration that the point 89 of Sevra treaty (10th of August 1920), which as we know, was not ratified and because of this the dead born, expressed the right of arbitrary in the issue about the borders of the future Armenia to the president of USA.

But the destiny mastered in other way. Thanks to Mustafa Kemal Turkey recollected its power and on 28th of September, 1920 general Kazim Karabekir made an attempt of attack against Armenians. On 30th of October he got Kars, and on 7th of November Alexandropoulos (Gumru). For the third time during the 5 years of the war the great mass of Armenians went back from Turkish occupation, and by these means in some way expressed their rejection to obey the Turkish government.

This was the end of the migration of Armenian nation in the Eastern frontier in the history¹⁶ in the statistics of notorious “massacre”, made by Turkish men towards Armenians. The only known is that, those who were alive reached the Soviet Armenia, and their

¹⁵Gurun (p. 295-318) that corresponds to the memories of the general Kazim Karabekir and two witnesses – Rawlinson (englishman) and Robert Dan (american)

¹⁶ all bald notes are stressed by author



concrete number of them is unknown. But it does not matter how much these miserable men, whom the human selfishness and criminally absurd propaganda sent to the frontier in full swing of the war, for forming their by the way of the massacre the chimerical government?

As the number of these people cannot be counted absolutely, we suppose it will never be possible to know even an approximate number of victims of those resettling. It must be taken into consideration, while our interfering to the deep points of this issue.

Though we did not look through the history of diplomacy, we cannot finish this brief history about the eastern borders of Anatolia, not paying attention to the order of treaties, which put sharp end to these wars, that went on during sixty years, and to this endless violence.

On the 7th of November, 1920 it was concluded a truce in Alexandroupolis, which was accompanied by the peace truce on the 3rd of December, which accepted the modern borders. This treaty which was signed by Armenian social-democratic government, in fact was not ratified in Erevan, as Armenia at that time was covered with the revolutionary struggle, and its government had to give its positions to Bolsheviks on the very day of the signature.¹⁷

Mustafa Kemal's government in its turn, was negotiating with Bolsheviks, the result of which was the treaty signed in Moscow on 16th of March, 1921. This treaty has its power till now, its first clause accepts the borders of Turkey according the nowadays lines, but, the 15th clause provides that, "Russia take a responsibility to realize the pressure on the Transcaucasian republics, for them in their peace truces with Turkey to accept that point of Turkish-Russian treaty which are related to them."

¹⁷ Afanasian "Ob istorii kavkazkikh respublik v kontse mirovoy voyni"

“The pressure” which is discussed was based on the equality of the regimes; in 1921 all mentioned states became Bolsheviks. Exactly on this ground in Kars in September, 1921 was held a conference, in which Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia took part. As a result of this conference was a treaty which till nowadays appears to be the charter of diplomatic agreements concerning the eastern Anatolia.¹⁸

In the first clause, the negotiating sides declared as invalid all earlier treaties among them, that were signed by previous governments, except the Turkish-Russian treaty signed in March, 1921.

In the 4th clause the sides agree with those borders which are kept till nowadays and in the 15th clause “Each of the governments that signed undertake to declare the general amnesty for killings and criminal cases that were done during the war on the Eastern frontier by the citizens of other sides.”

This last case is quite interesting because, it means that the negotiating sides really wished the peace, that they quite consciously decided to forget the past, and beforehand took a responsibility on the governmental level to reject from the pretensions, that are always meaningless, and often criminal, from nowadays pretended “defenders” of Armenian “issue”.

However, the lasts perfectly know, that all, and they cannot get any official help anywhere, except in several anonymous international organizations. They stress on terror, trying to raise a storm of indignation towards their victims, by endless killings!

But there is a treaty signed in Lozano too, which beforehand and forever puts an end to the late demands, that are announced several years later by the men who present themselves as Armenians’ emissary without any mandate.¹⁹

¹⁸ Gurun p. 316

¹⁹ Gurun p. 351

In real, the 31st clause of this truce gave to the citizens of new states that parted from Ottoman Empire the right to demand the Turkish citizenship from the government in the duration of two years, and by this way to return there. The very few number of left Armenians returned, but anyway they were given a change to choose. And if now there is no Armenian in the eastern part of Anatolia - they were not forbidden to return there.

Besides, the clauses 45, 63, and 65 regulated the return of the depts of Ottoman government to the foreign representatives, among which were Armenians, who became foreigners the properties of whom were sequestered while their deportation: all these bookkeeping was stabilized many years ago, and it is hard to understand which "lands" and which "properties" may demand the grandchildren of those who ran under the deportation sixty years later, than their grandparents were paid for this.

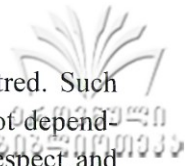
And, at last, in additional protocol, that was signed by all warring sides, the Lozano treaty implied "the total amnesty for those who during the war would be accepted as guilty."

That is what absolutely clear and evident: not depending on the characteristics that is tried to give to the facts, not paying attention to the law about the past time or not, the governments – representatives of the war in 1914, resolutely rejected from their names, and from the name of their subjects, from any complaints and tensions.

The problem was solved, and the interested sides quite consciously decided not to rise it, as it in its turn made the Armenian republic signing the truce in 1921.

It is just a common sense: to make peace and to forget the violence which by its nature: always brings the war with itself.

And then the "defenders" of the "Armenian issue", the work of which has no validity, tried to raise the international public opinion against Turkey according the irrational, sentimental motives,



systematically deforming the facts for inflaming the hatred. Such attempts in any case must not be ignored, as any side, not depending on the power it has got, cannot exist without the respect and friends. We are trying to clear, analyze all the facts, if Turkey and also Ottoman one, deserve to be respected.

And later in the last chapter we will briefly analyze the motivations: motivation – excuses and the real motivations of improvising defenders of Armenian “issue”. Already now we can say that, they are quite higher than they try to be seen to us.

CHAPTER II



THE SO CALLED ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Starting the researches of these sad facts, it is important to be exact as we are going to discuss the events that cause very serious polemics. In fact, the stories about these deaths, the majority of which are too much realistic, shock the imagination. So, we are going to research the following:

- 1 – The measures taken by the Ottoman government;
- 2 – The reasons for these measures;
- 3 – The indirect cause of these measures;
- 4 – And at least the real reasons of these measures.

We make these researches appreciating neither of the sides, and so, we reject, as they deserve all probabilities which are not affirmed by the documents.

But on the other hand, being guided by the sanity and elementary logics, we would like to remind that, the person who presses charges against anybody must present the proofs because the repetition of the declarative statement, not depending on their systematic and persistent form never could be the enough bases.

1. THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE OTTOMAN GOVERNMENT

In February 1915, we have already mentioned it, and are going to return to return to it the Armenian population in all eastern Anatolia made the rebellion. Exactly, in these conditions, on the 25th of February, 1915, (according the new style) was spread the circular of the General Staff to all units, sub-units, according which

(first part) "Armenians must not be called to the military service in any case."²⁰

By these means, they disarmed the Armenians, who were citizens label far call-up, as all Turks, while the Young Turks revolution period in 1908, but they were kept in active duty, in additional troops, (on a quartermaster duty, in an engineering troops). Exactly in this measure apologists of the genocide see the first step, which was taken by Turks for realization of their cruel plan: Armenians were disarmed being easier to kill them later.

The naivety of this argumentation immediately sets quite journalistic level of the dispute. If Turks really wanted to destroy the defenseless Armenian nation, would not be easy not to arm them at all, either to disarm them later?

And if the Armenians firstly were armed, and four months later after the beginning of the war – were disarmed, does not it mean that, in spite of the serious insistence of the opposite explanation, between November 1914, and February 1915, there happened some specific events, that convinced the General Staff of Turkish army of the betrayal of Armenian subjects of the Empire, that was expressed, for example, in massive desertion of Armenian conscripts, who took their arms, too?

We will return to this problem, but know we want to stress in how primitive and quite emotional level is held this huge polemics.

The circular which is discussed also had the clause 3, where after the definition of several directives according the made rebellions, was mentioned: "Everywhere where are not fixed the acts of aggression, is important, along with being responsible for keeping order, to abstain from any case, that would cause the act of oppression of (Armenian) population and would terror the population. It is important to describe to population that, those citizens who did

²⁰ Circular 8682. Quot. From Gurun

not overstep the norms of citizen obedience and keep their loyalty towards the government, have nothing to fear, and the population must not be incited to the rebellion, driving them to despair...”

Can it really be really the suggestion of the government that prepares to the massacre of the population? ... But we are persuaded, and of course, without any proofs, that exactly on that February the committee of “Unity and Progress” accepted the secret plan of the massacre²¹ would not it be better to them, for attaining the public opinion, from whom they tried to hide their cruel plans (though there is no trace of this was not found), to pool Armenians to rebellion, for having a reasonable pretence for their massacre, but not to forbid to Turkish army “any acts of the oppression that would terror the Armenian population?”. The argumentation of the accusation is opposite to the elementary common sense.

Unfortunately these measures did not restrain the Armenian rebellion that was sources abroad. On the contrary, in the middle of April the all region of Van was in the condition of rebellion, and the governor of the town was driven out. The leader of the local rebellion was as we have already mentioned, Pasdermajan, the ex-deputy of “Dashnakt” party in Ottoman parliament, and the coauthor of the attempt at the Ottoman bank using the bombs, that was realized in 1896.

So, was demonstrated the agreement between Armenian parties and the enemies of Turkey.

Exactly in these conditions on 24th of April, 1915, the minister of internal affairs declared due the circular the order of immediate closing of Armenian committees, the arrest of their leaders, and taking documents in Istanbul and other big cities.²² As the journalists Gamelin and Brun on 24th of April informed, “600 men writ-

²¹ Ternon “In Criminal Silence” p. 159

²² Gurun p. 249

ers, poets, journalists, politicians (pay attention to the order of the counting, chosen by Gamelin, - J. M.) doctors, advocates, lawyers, teachers, scientists, and priests were sent to the central prison”²³.

The same authors stress: “this date the 24th of April is considered now as the start point of the operation, which was directed to the complete eradication of Armenian population of Turkey. Before to destroy the nation, they try to make it silent. The elimination of the intellectuals let us to foresee what was going to be next. In real, the plan of destroy already had been in action...”

It is impossible not to surprise while reading these line of the author, naturally, enmity against Turks, who grandiloquently recognize that “the first genocide of the XX century” in memory of which Armenians each year gather the crowds of people and put the monuments everywhere was nothing else than the imprisonment of 600 “intellectuals” but in real – the members of Armenian rebellion party the activity of which had to be stopped, while this activity, that also surprises, lasted for six months after the beginning of the war. Not arrest itself can shock, each government could do the same thing, but its late character!

Khovanesian, the Armenian author, coldly affirms that, the arrested people were “deported to Anatolia and put to death”²⁴. All the authors who are in enmity mood against Turkey rewrite this legend from each other. However there is not any proof for it.

From “600 arrested intellectuals”, who were famous people, some were judged, and on this matter the Turkish government seems to publish the archive documents, but all others were set free, and lived their fate.

But the legend about those 600 men is insistent and universal. Its seriousness can be judged, due to the information that, it ap-

²³ Hamelin et Brun “La memoire retrouvée”, Paris 1983

²⁴ Hovannisian p. 45

peared to be from the official documents that the arrested men were not 600 – after April circular this was followed by 2,345 arrests!²⁵

If Armenian avengers forgot about three fourth of so called victims, than how we may relay on their stories? And we may believe to so called political innocence of the arrested men, after we get acquainted with the telegram of **22nd of April, two days before the arrest**, addressed to the president of the United States of America, by the Catholicos of Echmiadzin, Armenians primate, who was in Russian territory. In the telegram is spoken that due to the information, “that I have, the organized terror puts in danger the existence of Armenian nation”, and also it is asked for help, “to defend my nation, that is thrown to the mercy of Turkish fanatics.”²⁶

This telegram was received in the United States on 24th of April, on the very day of arrests. But nobody rejects that so called genocide started on 24th of April. By this means the information given by Catholicos proves two things:

a) On one hand he was informed by means of news leak, about the prepared circular. He hoped to stop its publication provoking once more in western press the company of indignation against Turks. In thirty years this procedure became efficient and ordinary and was accompanied by the malicious intrigues. But this time Armenians were taken unawares, the circular was already published;

b) On the other hand, and this is quite important, Catholicos confesses in his telegram, that the certain Armenian circles in Constantinople had secret straight line correspondence in the very time of the war, while Ottoman soldiers shed their blood in the frontier

²⁵ number is borrowed from Gurun p. 249

²⁶ the full quote in Gurun p. 246

of Anatolia, fighting against Russia. This is the same Catholicos who, on the 5th of August, 1914, exactly, though before the declaration of the war, but already after the start of the military activities in Russia, wrote to Vorontsov, the Russian general-governor of Caucasia: "According the information got from the mediator the Patriarch of Istanbul and Armenian national Assembly, we ask Your Mercy to tell to His Highness Imperator... the sense of faithfulness of his subjects, and also the faithfulness and sympathy of Turkish Armenians..."²⁷

The activities made by Catholicos in April, 1915 proves in fact the betrayal of concrete Armenian circles in Istanbul, and so, in fact, justifies the measures that were made by Turkish government, while trying to put an end to it.

So, we consider as important to make concrete and exact limits between the circular of 24th of April, which was directed, that is clear from the text itself, against concrete Armenians that considered dangerous and mentioned by names, and later documents, that prescribed the whole deportation of Armenian population.

The first decisions were political measures that were directed against the concrete famous political agitators. Just regarding to the measures of the second sort we would suppose the definition of genocide, basing on its massiveness. We consider as important to stress this moment, as the authors which are in hostilely relations to Turks, equal all these measures for proving their thesis about supposedly secret plan of genocide, that was realized quite illegal, and without any needed reasons for it in the beginning 1915, when Armenians who lived in Turkish territories were quite obedient. The circular of 24th of April was caused by the rebellion in Van and by the following rebellions. **The beginning of depor-**

²⁷ Esat Uras "Les Armenians dans L'histoire et le probleme armenien(en ture)", Istanbul 1976 cite par Gurun p. 231

tation was the reason of the letter written a little later by Enver, which we are going to discuss.

We would like to remind that Enver Pasha, the member of triumvirate committee “İttihad ve Tereqqi”, the military minister gave the right to realize the operations in the direction of Eastern front, where his attempts were still unsuccessful. To the end of April the Turkish troops moved back to Erzurum, and the revolution in Van made the Turkish troops leave this territory too. Exactly then, Enver pasha on 2nd of May, 1915 wrote down the letter to the minister of internal affairs Talat Pasha:

“Armenians that live around Van Lake are in the condition of alertness and are intending to continue the armed revolt. My aim is to resettle them, to suppress the seats of rebellion. As regarding to the information I have of the 20th of April, Russian side put the Muslim population which we had, away from their borders to the territory of Turkey.

A retaliatory measure and for getting our aim, it is important either to send the Armenians and their families to the other side from our borders – to Russian territories, or to resettle them and their families in various regions of Anatolia. I ask to accept and to realize that one of these measures which is more convenient...”²⁸

This letter is extremely important and it is surprising why the defenders of Turkish honor did not give needed attention to it.

In fact the originality of this letter is not rejected by anyone, and its content itself proves that was not written for publication.

But this letter with the naively revelation shows:

a) That the priority in deportation of population, which supposed to be in the sympathy to the enemy, belongs not to Turks but Russians (20th of April), and exactly they gave to Enver the idea to

²⁸ Quot. From Gurun p. 242

make the same "as a retaliatory measure". (Turks did not realize the rebellion against Russians);

b) That the need of resettlement of Armenian population was consciously decided by Enver, as a result of armed revolt around the Van lake and because of the risk of unquenchable seats of rebellion;

c) That Enver did not make a decision, at the moment of writing the letter, either to sent them to the frontier, or to the back front;

d) That the measures advised by Enver were only about those Armenians who on the 2nd of May 1915 revolted in eastern Anatolia.

This important document proves by this means, that there was not, in spite of assurances of the enemies of Turkey, any secret plan of destroy, supposedly accepted in the beginning of the year 1915, by the leaders of "Unity and Progress" in which Enver was one of three head leaders. **As on the 2nd of May, 1915** exactly, nearly three weeks earlier than the appearance of the order about the deportation, **Enver did not stop on any of the projects**, and it was spoken only about the simple proposal.

We may just imagine what would happen if the Turkish government chose at least not the second more humanistic proposal made by Enver, about the evacuation of Armenian population to the back front, but resorted the fist decision and freed Anatolia from Armenians, moving them to the frontier line, as Russians treated towards the Muslim population, and as Armenians themselves treated when they occupied Van, towards Turks: hundreds of people wandered at the front lines, being alive targets, and their greater part were killed.

Turks conscience was clear. They could not be accused in anything at least because they just copied these actions from Russians.

In spite of this, Turks chose, and quite unskillfully, more humanistic decision - to resettle in the back front; the decision which was realized much more unskillfully. And this was the reason of the drama.

But here already forms a conviction: there was no concrete plan of destroy, there was no genocide.

The chronological examination of the taken measures also, proves this.

On 26th of May, 1915, the general command (Enver), sends to the minister of internal affairs (Talat) the following dispatch:

“Was decided to send Armenians from province of eastern Anatolia, from Zeytun and other places, where they live in big amount, to the east of the province Diyarbakir, to the valley Erafat and the provinces of Urfa and Suleymania.

For not letting the formation of new seats of rebellion is important to follow these principles:

a) In these location the Armenian population must not be more than 10% of the local Muslim tribes”;

b) In the villages, established by Armenians must not be more than 500 houses;

c) The Armenian-emigrants’ families must not change their place of living, etc.”²⁹

This dispatch is evident continuation, after the concrete discussion of the letter written by Enver to Talat on 2nd of May.

The aim of the offered measures is quite concrete and the identical to the aim that was given in the previous letter: it is spoken about not letting to form the new seats of rebellion. And in these letters the problem is set not as the formation of concentrated camps, but about the villages, that are formed by the mixed population of Muslim and Armenian families.

²⁹ Gurun p. 249

We want to stress, else, that, the truthfulness of this document can not be disputed seriously, as it spoke about the evacuation to Urfa, Mosul, and Zor³⁰.

On 23rd of May, the same secret message got the governors of Van and Bitlis with clear instructions. Moreover, these secret messages also, direct to the measures of dependence, which later were accepted by all government. The message of the 23rd of May contains the following lines: "The ruling organizations have to **protect the Armenian personal and their property, to supply them with food, and to guarantee their rest** during all the trip"³¹.

At the same day Talat sent to the governor of Mosul, Urfa and Zor - the places where Armenians were planned to live, the following orders: "Armenians, which will arrive to the destination, will be placed either parted in the houses, which they will built in the villages that already exist, or, in that places where the Administration will show to built the new villages.

To the duties of the authorized persons is attached the **guaranteeing the security of Armenian personal and their property, to supply them with food, and to guarantee their rest** during all the trip. Armenians can take anything from their properties that do not need the transportation."³²

There is no reason to consider these orders not sincere, as they were **ciphered** and we meant **to be secret**. Getting acquainted with these documents, one cannot keep himself of being indignant at unbelievable aplomb and at indescribable malevolence, with which the enemies of Turkey speak today about the existence of a plan on the massacre of Armenian population, to prove which they cannot bring any proof.

³⁰ Gurun p. 252

³¹ Gurun p.254

³² Gurun p. 255

And naturally, that the instructions, given personally by Talat, were affirmed on one hand by preliminary laws (the law-decree) of 27th of May, which as a matter of fact, ordered to the commanders of the army to start the resettlement of the population, and on the other hand, it is spoken about the internal correspondence not for publication in any case.

On the same day, 26th of May, supposedly getting this dispatch the minister of internal affairs (Talat) sent to Presidium of the Unity the memorandum with the comments about the made decisions.

That is the text:

“the part of Armenians which live in the territories near by the frontier lines where the hostilities are realized, prevent the moving of the Empire army, make the collision with the enemy, moreover, enters the military forces of the enemy.

Inside the country these Armenians with the arms in their hands attack the armed forces and the population. They destroy, ruin and rob the Muslim villages, and attack the people... there were made some orders to clean up the zones of hostilities from such the sources of disturbances...so the Armenians that live in the provinces of Bitlis, Van and Erzurum, and also in the districts of Beylan, Chisla and Antakya except those who live in the cities Adana, Sis and Mersin are moving to the south provinces...”³³

It is quite evident that, it is discussed about the political, not juridical declaration, the reason to accept the measures, which started to be realized in few days. So, we can dedicate the date of the Armenians deportation from more disquieted regions nearly on the 15th of May. The official permission was given a little later on 27th and 30th of May.

³³ Gurun p. 250

Exactly on the realization of these actions before the official permission of all government stress the enemies of Turks, proving that there existed the second secret government parallel to the official structures, which supposedly had decided already in February the beginning of massacre. This is – absurd.

The process of the deportation was discussed “verbally”, regarding to Enver, on 26th of May, as a result for the demand made on the 2nd of May. It began to be realized quite officially according the ciphered message to the governor of Erzurum, before the decision of the Ministry Council of 30th of May, which must be quoted here.³⁴

“... The Armenians that live in the mentioned villages” (in the message sent by Talat of 26th of May), “those whose resettlement must be realized quite peacefully, to the locations meant for them to live.

Until their coming to the destination, to guarantee them with food, property and the land to divide among them according their previous economic position.

To grant means for building the houses to those who need, from the governmental fund, to give to peasants and craftsmen the seeds, arms and instruments.

The properties, luggage, and valuable things that are left in the previous places, compensate in the most convenient form, the cost of their house, property, and lands of emigrants to value, and pay etc.”

When you know what was followed with what, in which terrible conditions was realized the deportation, you feel some horrible feeling while reading these orders that are full of naive optimism. But anyway, we will have a chance to return to this once again.

³⁴ Gurun p. 251

But getting acquainted with these detailed instructions, given by the highest rang governmental instances of Ottoman Empire, there can be no doubt either about the openhearted, or the peaceful will of Turkish government towards the Armenian population, to deport which they had to do because of the military conditions.

For any truthful and impartial reader there is no doubt, the more so because, the measures taken on the 30th of May appeared to be quite difficult to realize. The clause 21st of the decree of June, 1915 provides for: "if there is the attack on the deported people, either being it during the stop or on the way, Gurun p."³⁵(in reality according this clause hundreds of people were sentenced to death).

The second law of 26th of September, 1915 meant the sale by special committee under the attention of tribunal of the property that was left by those who deported and to gather the summed money for those people in the saving banks.

The enemies of Turkey deny to get acquainted with these texts. They have the ready answer for this: the double language. All these juristically arsenal, even in a case of being used, what is quite rare, seems to be nothing else, but hypocrisy that covered the violence.

That what Ternon writes, who calls himself the historian ("The criminal silence", p. 160):

"In February (1915) everything shook. The general plan of the massacre that was prepared under a huge secret started to be realized.

The prefects and local officials from the name of "Union" got the order either verbally, or by telegram. The realization of the program was ordered to gendarmes etc."

³⁵ Gurun p).254 which quoted by Sonyel "Shocking new documents" Londres 1975

This is followed by the twenty five lines of line with a great amount of details for “plausibility” without any proofs that end with the following subject: “the military censorship supplied the secret of the operation and blocked the information.”

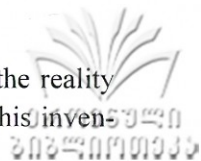
For Ternon, in such way, Turks appeared to be violent and cruel. But where are the proofs? That is what Ternon says in the same source about the proofs: “This plan as a whole cannot be given to the tribunal as a matter of fact. The criminal took care of the method of his crime. He acted as careful to hide his actions as to realize it. So, only by indirect ways, by means of analysis... we may affirm that made kills... are not isolated facts.”

And so, as **less the facts as clear the guilt, because this absence of the proofs** in its turn discloses the resourcefulness of the crime in the destroy of the tracks and proves in fact the guiltiness of those who are chosen as a guilty!

Moreover, if he did the gestures that demonstrated the opposite, if he publicly spoke with demands, that told about his innocence (for example, the decision of the Ministry Council, then all this is nothing else, than cutting a dash! While guaranteeing himself the alibi, the criminal which is far from self-justification, demonstrated the full awareness of own guilt, the punishment for which he tried to escape, etc.

This primitive and revengeful reasoning quite widespread in Marxist world have just one fundamental deficiency. They forget to tell you that the guilty is defined beforehand, and his crime accepted before any discussions. So, it is spoken about the demonstration and about the political agitation. It arouses the pity that several historians, who are quite respectable, are ready to start this poor game: we are trying to understand why it was so, a little later.

For a while we are putting this dirty legend apart, the reality in Armenian issue is quite dramatic, for adding him all this invention.



2. THE REASONS OF THESE MEASURES

Let us now analyze the reasons of the measures taken by Ottoman government.

The direct reason as we already mentioned were the tides of discontent in the province of Van. But this was not the only reason, they were several.

The historians with enemy attitude towards Turks, in their argumentations systematically remind the name “faithful nation”, which long ago was given to the Armenian nation by Turks. They use this fact to prove that during the deportation Armenians were the silent and obedient nation, absolutely non-aggressive. In these conditions the decision about their resettlement, and later “massacre” were nothing else, but the measure of the destroy that was caused by God knows which religion and ethnic hatred. **Armenians “peaceful” character is the most important proof for the “genocide”.**

But it is hard to believe – it is enough to stress the confused tone of the historian Ternon, who was enemy towards Turks, who writes (In Criminal Silence, p. 156): “it is quite obvious that, (at the beginning of the war) the Armenian population of Ottoman Empire wished the victory for Russia, which would stop these persecutions, but nothing demonstrated their sympathy.”

This is his lie: from the very beginning of the war from Armenians’ side the fact of desertion and rebellion became more frequent.

It is absolutely for sure that on the conference of “Dashnakt” which was held in Erzurum in August 1914, just before the decla-

ration of the war, was said that, "party wishes Turkey to stay neutral, and is ready to cooperate with her, for being away of the war, but (decides) it the war will break out, then the members of the "Dashnakt" party as other Armenians will discharge their duties." (Ternon the same source, p. 153). This is a fact.

But mister Ternon forgets the following. That what Armenian author Papazian writes about it³⁶: "the leaders of the Armenians' Turkish section, the member of "Dashnakt" party did not keep their promise to stay loyal towards Turkey, when the last started the war. On their actions had influence the interests of Russian government, and they did not know about the danger which later was brought by the war to the Armenians of Turkey. All caution was absolutely put away... it was spread **an appeal to Armenian volunteers to fight against** Turks at the Caucasian frontier."

The example for betrayal was shown by the upper parts of the society. The historian Rafael de Nogales³⁷ writes the following: "When the hostilities were realized the deputy from Erzurum in Ottoman Assembly Pasdermajan passed to the opposite camp to Russia, together with nearly all Armenian soldiers, and officers of the III army. Soon he returned together with these soldiers and officers. They started to burn villages, and to kill mercilessly all peaceful Muslim population, that they could catch."

And at least the historian Clear Prize writes: "... from the side of the eastern border the Armenians started desertion to the Russian army, and Enver's government who doubted in loyalty those who stayed, parted them from the fighting units, and appointed them to the engineering troops. In April 1915, lord Bris and "The friends of Armenia" in London started to gather the fund for arming the desertion. And at last they occupied Van... and after the

³⁶ Papazian "Patriotism perverted" Boston 1934. cite par Gurun p. 230

³⁷ Rafael de Nogales "For years beneath the Crescent" New York 1926, cite par Gurun p. 232

Turks' massacre they submitted all that was left to Russian army..."³⁸

That's how described the activities of these supposedly obedient, loyal, and peaceful nation by its own friends. Armenians armed by the help of Russians and funds, who were presented by Englishmen and gathered by lord Bris, who, by the way, became one of the most important prosecutors of Turks while the "genocide" company!

And all these waves of course, had direct influence on the hostilities.

From the very beginning of the war, revolted the region of Zeytun (in Kilikia near Marash)³⁹ and was so important seat of the rebellion that in February 1915 the ambassador of Russia in London made statement to Englishmen to supply with arms 1.500 mutineers... (to stress the seriousness of happening, we would like to note that, at that time Turkey was already holding the line in Dardanelles)⁴⁰.

Form the 29th of November started to come the information about the forming of partisan in the region of Van⁴¹. On 21st of February the rebellion arose in Bitlis and also in Mush, where as is noted, in notices the presence, and not occasionally, of Papazian, the deputy of Van, who later passed to Russian side.⁴² On 20th of March, as we have already told, the governor of Van, gave the information about the 2000 mutineers, but on 24th of April he had to leave the city, while the Muslim population was driven from the native lands, and sentenced to wanderings.⁴³

³⁸ Clair Price "The rebirth of Turkey", New York 1923, cite par Gurun p. 234

³⁹ Gurun p. 235

⁴⁰ Gurun p. 244

⁴¹ Gurun p. 238

⁴² Gurun p. 239

⁴³ Gurun p. 240

On 22nd of April the governor of Sivas telegraphed that, 30.000 men from Armenians are armed, 15.000 passed to Russian army...it is absolutely exactly specified that the left 15.000 will attack the Turkish army from back front⁴⁴.

On 27th of April more than 1.000 deserters were imprisoned in Diyarbakir⁴⁵, etc.

All these facts are stressed from the official telegrams of the General Staff. And in such conditions, when the whole eastern Anatolia, was covered with rebellion, they want to accuse the Ottoman government of their taking counter-measures for guaranteeing the safety of its army, and population which was loyal to them.

The defenders of Armenian issue perfectly know that, this cannot be true. That is the reason why, while counting various facts, they pass the rebellions farsighted.

However, these rebellions were the reasons of military measures that were accepted at least- the measures to realize which Erver asked on the 2nd of May, as we could see.

Armenians appeared to be, as sadly notes Papazian, the creators of their own misery. Yielding to the criminally utopist propaganda they revolted, and Turkish government which in April 1915 had the fights in two fronts at the same time, could not stand in the back front the existence of the enmity population, exactly, the revolting one, any more. They had to react at it.

The decision of Turkish government had quite strategic meaning, and the legend about the secret plan about the destroy of the Armenians for taking their place, is as unconscious as primitive.

When Greece started the war against Turkey in 1917, there happened nothing like that, and Turks did not start, and even did not think about the deportation of greek population, which were

⁴⁴ Same

⁴⁵ Same

quite many in Middle Asia, and with which they had unhappy memories. Why? Just because, Ottoman Greeks kept quietness. Until concluding the treaty in October 1918 there happened nothing violent to them.

If Armenians acted in the same way, then no deportations or the deaths that accompanied them would not happen.

In all countries, in all regimes, the general staffs evacuate to the back front the population that lives in frontier, and may prevent the moves of the army, and especially, if this population is in enmity mood. The public opinion has nothing to put against these measures, though they are poignant but needed. In winter 1939-40 the French radically, socialistic government evacuated to south – west of France, exactly to Dordon all population of Elzas villages that were in Rain valley, to the east of the Majino line.

This was German, and sometimes germanphil population that disturb the French army. They stood there apart from their left, ruined homes till 1945. And nobody in France did not cried of barbarity.

Moreover, just strategic character of the deportation in Turkey was expressed by the reason that in the measures was not mentioned the resettlement of Armenian population of big cities, which would be controlled easily.

The reasons of the decisions, of Ottoman Empire, so, were quite legal. Nothing can be disputed here. But the realization of these measures was catastrophic and dramatic... and we are going to consider now.

3. THE RESULTS OF THE MEASURES

The results of the measures taken towards Armenians in May 1915, were terrible. Each objective person must admit this, and Talat himself agreed with this, during the last session of “Unity and Progress”, on May 1st 1918.

The government foresaw during the deportation to guarantee the safety of the life, and the properties of Armenians; it ordered them to be provided with provision, and while they come to the destination – to be given definite material means for settling.

There was done nothing like that. The Armenians' colonies were destroyed on their way to south, and those who were alive reached Mesopotamia, where was nothing prepared for their coming; they had to live on the coasts of the rivers and in improvised camps, and a great deal of Armenians died of hunger and exhaustion. The foreign witnesses of these tragic events rose warning in their diplomatic ambassadors, and so, in international public opinion was formed the opinion, as if, Turks "for the next time" started Armenians' massacre, but this time it was systematic and whole.

Around these terrible events was formed a whole legend, which exists till now, and even has a tendency to enlarge. We will give them due, but it is important firstly, to identify which power at that time made inside the Ottoman Empire and on the territories nominally controlled by Turkish arms, to the series of terrible events.

Let us remind he orders that were given:

- The ciphered information, as a result, secret in its nature, that was sent on 23rd of May, 1915, by the minister of internal affairs Talat to the governors of Erzurum, Van and Bitlis, that ordered "to defend Armenian individuals and their property, to supply them with provision and to guarantee their rest during the whole trip";

- The other ciphered information also, of 23rd of May 1915, addressed to Talat by the governor of Mosul, Urfa and Zor, that instructed the authorized persons "to be busy by Armenians properties and their personality, supplying them with provision along all the way, and settling after their destination."

These secret documents till the near times were kept secret and were published by Turkish historical society only at last years. Their originality is not doubted and was proved by document, which was published when, the others:

- The preliminary law of 27th of May, 1915 that appeared in official Turkish newspapers on the 1st of June;

- The decision of the Unity of the Ministers of Ottoman Empire of 30th of May, 1915;

- The leadership in applying the measures in transportation of Armenians published in June 1915;

- The preliminary law of 26th of September 1915, about the liquidation and defense of their property.

All these documents quite in details order the measures, absolutely analogical themes that are in the secret instructions that were sent a little earlier by the minister of foreign affairs Talat to the governors in the places, the responsible for organization and realization of the transportation of Armenian population.

The thesis about the criminal conspiracy about the massacre of Armenian race – the conspiracy that was formed and prepared in very upper parts of Ottoman government which could not stand the critics while getting acquainted with these documents.

Critics impermissibly, in our opinion, rely on doubtful documents the general acquaintance which reveals their falsity and unilateralism. Moreover, the objective proofs are quite enough. But exactly this did the upper mentioned mister Ternon, and along with him all Armenian propaganda during seventy years.

Published stories and depicted Armenian deportations in 1915 are a great amount of literature. The proofs that are contained in this literature can be divided in three types:

1. The evidences that do not prove anything, though the pretend to incontestability. Their falsity and unilateralism is quite evident.

2. The same not proving anything evidences, which explains their positions rely on the information from the second and third hands, that just from the Armenian source.

3. Direct and objective evidences to which we may add the evidences of Young Turks government too, that were published in governmental dispatches. These evidences are quite revealing and do not need in adding to it the whole osprey propoganda literature, based on false evidences

1. To the serious of documents fabricated for the propoganda with no doubt, related “documents of Andronian”.

Let us remember that in 1920 Andronian not known till that time exile Armenian, spreading in English and French languages the whole series of “documents” which according his statement is a copy of ciphered telegrams, that were sent in 1915, and in the beginning of 1916 sent by Talat pasha to the perfection Aleppo and concerning the measures on the Armenians massacre matter.⁴⁶ These copies, that were published by the way, in the moment of signing of Syrian treaty, were supposedly made in Germany in 1921 while the process for Tehliyar, Talat Pasha’s killer. The court at that time removed them away from the case.

It is interesting that the originals of these documents were lost and were not found. It is more interesting that expertise which was realized at that time according Andonian’s ask and affirmed the realness of the document was also “lost”.

Andonian died after 1937, “do not revealing” anything.

These telegrams which made a great noise were received by Andonian from the hands of no one else than Naim Bay, the small functionary and what is interesting, no one never describes how he could get the access to the secret archives. It is also interesting that,

⁴⁶ Andonian’s work appeared in Paris 1920 in the Turabian’s publication titled “Official documents dealing with the Armenians massacres. The photographic depiction of the most documents”

they cannot find any mark of registration of these documents in Ottoman administration.

The curiosity is changed to the surprise, when it appears clear, that as they suppose, “telegrams” were gathered by the sign of some Mustafa Abdul Halik who at the time given in the telegram had no post in Aleppo that in dates were confused Muslim calendar, Julian (Russian) calendar and Gregorian (Armenian) calendar and that the statement “Bismillah” (Muslim greeting) which figured in these “telegrams” of Ottoman government was written with orthographic mistakes⁴⁷.

Coming to the themes of these texts, then it must be mentioned that they are cruel and primitive at the same time.

7th of May, 1916: “under the pretence that they will have complete care of the administration of deportation, not causing any suspicion to catch and massacre (singled out by them) the children of famous people (Armenians) which were gathered and kept by them due to the order of the military ministry in the military stations”¹⁴.

Who will believe that it is spoken about the official document? And this is other telegram.

15th of September, 1915: “it was informed earlier that, the government due to the order of the committee “Unity and Progress” decided to destroy all Armenians that live in Turkey.”

(Naturally, that the previous message to which it is reference is made, does not exist in any archive. “Telegram” in a striking manner supposedly, contains the “proof” of its existence.)

It is followed: “not depending either they are women, children or old men, and how terrible the means of massacre were, not lis-

⁴⁷ the wide critics of Andonyan’s falsity documents their photo reproductions and also facsimile of real documents for the comparison were given by S. Orel and S. Yuka in their works “Talat pasha’s telegrams”

tening the voice of conscious it must be put an end to their existence.”

Which sensible man can believe that Talat Pasha the person who during forty years was the responsible person of the first rank in Ottoman politics, not depending on how were his political mistakes, could you such melodramatic style in the official telegram of such a content? This is a case of ill mannered falsity.

Unfortunately, today also, in all works that have the relation with Armenian issue, except the little amount of the works by Turks' friends, the authors insistently refer as to the “material proof” to Andonian's false documents, arguing furiously with author that, the originality of these telegrams “needs no doubts”. (Ternon, “The Criminal Silence”, p. 191) how much will continue this manipulation of the public opinion?

Really, this manipulation has a long history. It goes deep o the basis of analyzed events: it is hard for us today to believe, how rough was trumped up this political propaganda during the World War I. half official French brochures spread that, the soldiers “boshes” fried, pinned on bayonets the little children, and eat them, and public opinion believed in it!

The same methods were used by allies' propaganda while the events, about the “Turkish Armenia”. In 1914 in London, under the leadership of some Mosterman was formed an organ of official publications, which was controlled by the ministry of foreign affairs, where at that time worked Arnold Toynbee , later a famous historian, but then a young man yet. This bureau along with the “Committee of the revival of Armenia” the kitchen of Armenian propaganda, which was leaded by lord Bris, published in 1916 “Blue book” the stories by the pseudo-witnesses about Turks treats towards Armenians,

The sources of these documents are absolutely Armenians, and it appeared so, for Ottoman Empire being in the state of war, all

spread information all the final information was sourced from Armenian Diaspora in France, Russia, and USA. The information that is contained in this book, is as falsity as all other numerous lies, that is so ordinary for Armenians when it is spoken about their relations with Turks. One of such sorts of information was “the documents” by Andonian. In our opinion there is no need to stay on the “proofs” given in the “Blue book” which is propaganda origin, and has military aims. Toynbee later in his work “the Western issue in Greece and Turkey” (p. 50) admit that, “Blue book” really was the “work of military propaganda”⁴⁸.

Moreover, about the realness of such stories may be given any opinion after the following statement by Toynbee, which was stated by him in memorandum, sent on 26th of September, 1919, to the Ministry of foreign affairs: “For making the public opinion inside the country and abroad of it to believe in the importance of regulation of Turkish problem radically” (exactly, settling in Anatolia according the Serbian treaty), “the main trump in the order made by the government of His Highness, is Turks treats towards Armenians.”⁴⁹

If we understood correctly, Armenians massacre was “trump”, which can make the public opinion to take concrete political project. The only thing we have to do is to wonder at the cynic silence. We can make the conclusion that the author of such statement has no sincerity in considering the Armenian issue, and that his statements on this topic have no historical interest.

Can we believe in quoted by mister Tern proofs of those who survived while the Armenians’ events, who, spoke to the “Tribunal of nation” – the organ which has no authorities the members of

⁴⁸ the source: the witnessing by professor Atayev in the court on the attempt case in Orly

⁴⁹ Quot. Gurun p.59, which refers to the archive of MFA of Turkey

which appointed themselves and which has gathered in Paris in April 1984 for, "trying" Turkey? We think I cannot be.

These filled with horror childish tales, who had the details of unbelievable violence that were made more than seventy years ago, does not prove anything; even if they have several statements by the witnesses, and then they show that the repressions, exactly, the criminals were towards Armenians by non-controlling elements which is not denied. Even if the stories that are full of horrible details prove that the witnesses' families were killed either by Kurds or separate Turkish soldiers or unknown people at all, at exactly not according the concrete plan. So, the witnesses had to be enough just with their own senses, and not the history of the whole nation, and moreover, about the concrete politics.

2. The second category of the witnesses, quoted by those who want the Ottoman Empire in the crime, unites the people, who did not know anything but supposedly are informed of everything: they do not know nothing concretely, but from the considerable rumors and talks made the conclusions which absolutely correspond their notion about Armenians as the historical martyrs. One of the main representatives of these category of witnesses is Lepsius, who was quoted by the friends of Armenians, as he was German and had to be friendly towards Turks from the origin.

But he in any case was not loyal towards them.

Doctor Lepsius, born in 1858, was protestant pastor from 1895, who devoted himself fully to the German-eastern mission that he founded. Researching the evolution of the relations between Armenians and Turks, after 1895, nobody paid any attention on how considerable "destabilization" and the enmity towards Turks role played protestant missions among Armenians. These organs which had residences in many big cities, tried to spread their influences over the Ottoman Empire that was in the condition of decline. They actively increased among Armenians that turned to

their belief, the enmity “centrifugal” tendency as towards the Muslim-Turks and Ottoman government so towards the Armenian Gregorian patriarchy, which morally ruled the great part of Armenians, that lived in Ottoman Empire.

They appear to be busy in all incidents and rebellions that had place among Armenians in Ottoman Empire starting from 1880. And in each case, they were the intermediate point in intensive operations according the propaganda in favor of supposedly massacred Armenians, the propaganda that acquit the new foreign interference on the diplomatic level to the disintegrating Empire.

(Actually, in all worlds it is done the same, always. We today forget about the pathos, by which were inspired the Christian missionaries during the European colonial expansion in XIX century, when they were sent to the zones, that enter to the sphere of interests of their government. Everywhere – in the Pacific Ocean, in Far East, in black Africa – the activity of the foreign missionaries was followed by the artillery treatment, which in its turn was accompanied by the arrival of European general residency. The same had to be by Armenia, and here we just state the fact, not trying to cast aspersions on the ideologies of Christian missionaries).

So acted Lepsius himself too. In 1896, he published the first work titled “Armenians and Europe”, where he spread the legend about “the massacre” in 1895. In 1915 inspired by the Armenian Diaspora he was intended to go to Turkey, where he had never been, beforehand gathering the plenty of “documents” in Sofia – in Central bureau of Armenian independent and revolutionary party “Dashnakt” that was forbidden in Turkey. Lepsius went to Constantinople where was politely accepted by Enver pasha, who with the same politeness forbid him to continue his trip while the Empire abroad of the capital.

Returning to Berlin, Lepsius published vindictive work titled "The answer about the conditions of Armenian nation in Turkey"⁵⁰ the spreading of which was forbidden at that time by German police. Which merits may have these documents, written by the author who could not affirm anything, the affirms of whom were made beforehand and the sources of information of which were Armenian revolutionaries, that lived abroad of Ottoman Empire? But anyway, this book made a lot of noise, and caused a great scandal. It firmed the international public opinion in its enmity attitude towards Turks, and contains to do it till nowadays.

The case with the ambassador Morgenthau is analogical. This diplomat that was appointed by Wilson to the post of ambassador in Constantinople appeared to be in ambiguous situation of American representatives that were sent to the work at the beginning of world conflict to the side, towards to which American government took the position of distrust, not declaring though, frankly about their enmity. It must not be forgotten, that the second point in Wilson's politics after the separation of Ottoman Empire, was the formation of independent Armenia with big territory. The project that got the spread just after the leave of Morgenthau, was made by Wilson, from the very beginning of the conflict and consisted in active propaganda which was held by Armenian propaganda in USA during the tens of years that was supported by Armenian protestant missions, that settled in Ottoman Empire regarding the tolerance of Turkish government.

Morgenthau supported, by this, with young Turk government by which he was accredited, the cold relations which became worse after the telegram by Catholicos of Echmiadzin (on Russian territory), the beforehand calling Wilson for help to "his nation"

⁵⁰ Bericht über die Lage des Armenischen Vollkes in der Türkei. Postdam 1916, the third work by Lepsius, Deutschland and Armenien – Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke, 1919

before any measures, that were taken towards this nation. (22nd of April, 1915)

So, before to appear behind Talat and Enver , Morgenthau used as the source of information “just Armenian missionaries”. He spoke about it in his memoirs (Chaliand, “Genocide...”, p. 106). This strange ambassador notorious of Armenian “issue” and “that who, considered himself as Armenians friend among Turks” (same, p. 108), had no sympathy towards the lasts, whom he called “lazy and limited” (p. 112). Anyway, he could obtain to negotiate with Talat and Enver on the Armenian “issue”.

We would better stay on this more: how may be accused the leaders of “Ittihad” in duplicity while there were used declarations against them which they made to the official representative of USA?

And so, these declarations, which supposedly were the grounds for charge, must be first of all, read and analyzed.

And what Enver pasha told to this hostile proxy?

“Armenians were warned in time about what would happen to them if they pass to the side of the enemy. Three years earlier I called their patriarch... I admire their intellect and abilities; nothing else would give me more pleasure than to see them got accustomed to our society.” (We would like to stress by the way that, this opinion by the leader of “Ittihad” affirms the political position of Ottoman Empire towards Armenians, and declines nowadays widely spread absurd thesis about the racist genocide). “But if they pass to the side of our enemies – ads Enver Pasha – as they did in the province of Van, they have to be destroyed.” (Shailand, same, p. 114). And what is scandal in this statement by the high-rank officer, the duty of which is to defeat the enemy?

And what did Talat say, which according to Morgenthau is, “the most irreconcilable enemy of Armenians”? “They decided to destroy our government and to form their independent state; they

frankly helped our enemies, supported Russians in Caucasia, and so, promoted our retreat. We have made unconditional decision to secure them till the end of the war.

But to secure the population does not mean to massacre them.

Moreover Talat told at the end: “we do not want to see Armenians in Anatolia. They may live in desert and nowhere else” (same, p. 113).

It must not be forgotten that, under the “desert” was meant then the great part of Ottoman Empire that was in the south of Turkey and was inhabited by millions of Syrians and Arabians. That are how the proofs which have the scandal reputation, and to which Armenian propaganda refers during seventy years, for exposing the intentions of Ottoman Empire to realize the massacre against Armenians. But as Talat, so Enver if they really had such talks with so hostile person, which is strange itself, just proved the intentions of the official directives, in which is spoken the resettlement of Armenian population, who proved their hostility, from strategically important zone, for giving to Ottoman army to maneuver freely in the front line. Every other intension is based on hostile prejudice and is originated from groundless suspicions.

Coming to the direct “witnessing” given by Morgenthau, which made so much noise, it is based on the information from the second and third hand, which sourced either from missionaries who are extremely negative inclined towards Turks-Muslims, or from Armenian-interpreters, and also, in the tendentious interpretation of the speeches, which Morgenthau retold himself. In all this there is more propaganda than history.

To the same interpretation was subjected the dispatch sent on 17th of June, 1915 by the ambassador of Germany Vangenheim to the chancellor Betman Holveg, the meaning of which is deformed knowingly. Vangenheim writes (quoted from Chaliand, p. 69): “it is obvious that Armenians deportation was not just military idea.

The minister of internal affairs Talat bay, recently... announced publicly, that "the government wanted to use the world war, to put an end with internal enemies (local Christians), passing the endless foreign diplomatic interferences."

What do these words mean? If these measures have not just military aims, it means that, they have the political meaning too.

How we may accuse the government of the country, that runs the internal pressure during the hundred years,- either diplomatic, or military which is directed to the weakening and breakdown of the country, - the wish "to use" the formatted situation, at least, the order in own government, and to do something this war not to be the pretence for one more war, as it already had been in the history? The decision which was in regrouping and resettling from the periphery inside the Ottoman Empire, Armenians who during the long period of time made rebellions, was a political decision. Here is no reason for being exasperated and our epoch saw lots of other important resettling of the nations. But then the public opinion did not speak about the "genocide". To make other decisions from this quite moderated statement made by Vangenheim, may only that persons who have prejudice towards Turks, those who systematically accuse them.

3. But thanks God there is no need to rely on such interpretations of the texts, for forming the opinion about what really happened in Ottoman Empire in 1915. There is also the third category of witnesses, beside those who did not see anything, and those who base only on rumors. They are – eye witnesses.

There is no shortage in the stories that are told by direct and objective witnesses. There is no need to invent any false telegram and to interpret the statements of political figures as you need, aiming to show the existence of blaming plan.

It is enough to read the report by the German council Sheybner Richter, who was accredited in Erzurum⁵¹, the reports by his colleague Ryosler, who was in Aleppo⁵², that make the man doubt in honesty of the persons, who realized the given orders; the letter by German teachers of lyceum in Aleppo, of the 8th of October 1915⁵³, the report by the German nurse Mering, published in jurnal "Sonnenaufgang" in October 1915⁵⁴, the story by the American Berno about the camps in northern Syria⁵⁵.

There are too many documents, they are different and exactly differ from each other. Some of them were given in the third book by Lepsius "Germany and Armenians", which was published in 1919 and others are published in other works. In all cases their conclusions are the same and hard.

The miserable migrants on their way to the north of Mesopotamia, while passing Anatolia, became the objects of terrible treats form the side of unknown bandits, and sometimes by their own escorts: robbery, rape, theft, kills. Coming to the little amount of those who were alive, so they arriving to the Higher Syria, settled in the camps along the coasts of large rivers, or in the suburbs of the cities, and were left by themselves, and even felt non-friendly attitude from the local administration (among the personnel of which not everybody was Turk), which could not already overcome the needs of local population and Empire that was close to collapse.

These terrible facts are incontestable, and if there was even a any doubt about this, then it could escape, after getting acquainted with the photos, secretly made by the German medical orderly,

⁵¹ 28th of July 1915, by Lepsius in "Germany and Armenians" p. 123

⁵² 3rd of January 1916, same p: 226

⁵³ Same p. 66

⁵⁴ Same

⁵⁵ Same p. 73

Armon Vergen, who worked in Bagdad at that time. These photos were published after the end of the war, and their realness is not disputed by anybody. It is impossible to depict the photos, so unbelievable horror is described in them. Venger's witnessing is important the most, as he fully admits the validity of military-political reasons that made the Turkish government give an order about the resettlement of Armenian population. Moreover, he adds: "Turkish government made everything to make the fate of these poor migrants easier..."⁵⁶

The realness of the violence is not argued, also because, it was immediately accepted by the Turkish government, which immediately reacted by starting in pursuit the guilty. This undeniable proved by, recently published archives of the Ministry of internal affairs of Ottoman Empire.

Here are several examples from the great amount of materials:

- The ciphered dispatch of 14th of June, 1915: "the Erzurum prefecture informed us that, the column of 500 Armenians which started the ir way from Erzurum, was undergone the attacks by the tribes between Erzurum and Erzunjan, the people were killed. **The life of Armenians who are sent must be secured.** (14)... in future it is important to take all the measures to save Armenians from the tribes' and peasants' attacks; **it is also important to punish harshly the killers and robbers**"(quotation from Gurun, p. 256)⁵⁷.

- The cipher note by Talat to the governor of Elaziz of 26th of June, 1915: "To the colonies Armenian colonies which were sent from Elaziz without guides, was made an attack by the bandits from Dersim, and they were killed. As it is absolutely **inadmissible, for the bandits from Dersim to make in future...** such

⁵⁶ Ternon Quote from the book "In Criminal Silence" p. 108

⁵⁷ Gurun quoted the material of archives.

crimes, we demand to be taken special measures, **for guaranteeing the safety** of the columns.”⁵⁸;

- The other ciphered message by Talat to the governor of Diyarbakir of 12th of July, 1915: “the Armenians which were recently taken out off the city were cut the throats as the sheep. We learned that due the several valuations the number of the killed men reached 2.000. **It must be stopped**, and we demand to be informed of the situation in the location.”⁵⁹

Actually, the reaction of Ottoman government was strong and immediate, but not always effective. Under the military ministry was formed the special committee on the on inquiry, which tried by the tribunal the arrested offenders. Exactly, this moment is always hidden by the defenders of Armenian “case”. Even in 1918 in tens of provinces, and regions of eastern Anatolia, to the guilty ones in the crimes against the migrating Armenians were given 1.397 sentences (The greater part were death ones), from them 648 in Sivas, and 233 in Elaziz⁶⁰. The existence of these pursuits itself precipitates the fact of the criminal conspiracy, about the secretly prepared plan of “genocide”. Did anybody see in Nazi Germany a person to be imprisoned for killing the Jews? The authors of the genocide do not pursuit the executors. That is the reason why, such charge made by the Armenian propaganda against the Talat government and against the Turkey as a whole, is as lying as horrible.

Talat explained himself for his friends during the last congress of the party “Unity and Progress” on the 1st of November, 1918.

“The deportation was realized in the general conditions... in many regions occurred explosions of long ago accumulated enmity, which had the results that we did not want absolutely. Some

⁵⁸ Gurun p. same p. 257

⁵⁹ Gurun p. 258

⁶⁰ Gurun p. 259

functionaries displayed the extreme cruelty and applied the violence. I also accept that in many places the victims undeservedly were many innocent people...

... many tragic events happened while the resettlement. But neither of them was realized by the order of the government. The authority for these acts is on the elements which acted inadmissibly” (Qout. From Gurun, p. 259)⁶¹.

Besides those verdicts which were made by the Ottoman tribunal during the war, the personalities of those who were the authors of the massacre, were not ascertained, as they acted separately, prudent, unexpectedly attacking the resettling Armenians. Kurds? The Bandits from the big road? Turks-Muslims who re-vengeed for theirs? No doubt, among the assailants were representatives of all these categories, and they attacked unexpectedly, and we will repeat, prudent. That is, in this catastrophe there was no common plan, and this is important to stress.

Some migrants, died of exhaustion while arriving the destination, the others died on the way, the thirds simply disappeared. But there was not, anytime was the other governmental plan, except that which was published- about the resettlement of the population to the other places of the Empire, the presence on the hostility regions of which recognized as inaccessible. This is the reality for everybody, who objectively researches the historical facts.

Moreover, the search of the guilty in the governmental level is made for more than seventy years. And though the insistent pressure of the British government and occupation of Constantinople by England it gave nothing and we will return to it.

And how today, seventy years after the events, they may speak about the “revived memory” of Armenians (Hamelin and Brun, 1983)? What is it: revived memory or invented memory?

⁶¹ The speech published in Journal “Vakit” 12th of July, 1921, quoted by Gurun quot. tran

And if it is invented then what is the aim? Every objective observer must give this question to himself.

And he will give himself this question because the number of the lies of Armenian propaganda is really huge. In the book "In Criminal Silence"⁶² the author of the preface writes: "Mustafa Kemal who was the authoritative general at that time witnesses at the military tribunal in January 1919: "our compatriots, made unheard-of crimes, used all imaginable forms of despotism, organized deportation and massacre, burned alive breast babies, poured over with petrol, raped women and girls etc."

But in January 1919, tribunal that judged the leaders of the party "Unity and Progress" was not functioning⁶³. Besides these words were not told by Kemal Ataturk, the victor in Dardanelles, and the founder of the modern Turkey, but by his namesake, also the general, the judge of the military tribunal, the aim of which was to condemn the leaders of the party "Unity and Progress", and which was chosen for this by his friend from the party "Freedom and consent"⁶⁴.

Who it can be relied in this case on the Armenian propaganda, which knowingly uses the false information, which is spread at the same time, just using the sameness of the names?

This is the second lie that we meet in this case. And it is not the last: in the work by Hamelin and Brun "Revived memory"²¹ on

⁶² Quot. Tran p. 11

⁶³ He started his sessions just in March

⁶⁴ other sources tell that Kemal Ataturk publicly spoke this speech before the court on 27th of January 1920. but this is also impossible, as at that time Kemal was in Sivas, where he led the company against sultan the mistake if of footnote made by the French author Paul de Voen titled "Catastrophe of Alexandretta" published in 1938. it was repeated several times then. Look Atacv "the decloration attached to Kemal Ataturk" Faculty of political sciences University of Ankara, 1984

the cover at that place which arrests one's attention the most, is the quotation from Adolf Hitler, which lets understand that in the preparation to his racist policy he was inspired by the Armenian massacre. The aim of this quotation is clear: as the Hitlerian genocide is accepted by absolutely everyone, the same will be with the Armenian "genocide" too, and about the policy by Talat one can judge according the person who adored it so frankly! But **this quotation - is falsity**. Hitler never told these words, and objective Armenian press accepts it.⁶⁵ And who we may value the historian actions, who use such thing to strengthen their thesis? It must be that their thesis are quite weak, if they need to be strengthened by these means. Anyway, the endless repetition, the rework of the public opinion, made its work. "Lie, lie, - said Walter, - there will be left something". That what is practiced in Armenian "case".

But fortunately, their thesis have already got their Vluе – and moreover, in 1921. They have been valued objectively before the appearance of Hitler in the historical scene. And this was made by Armenians' best friends. The authorized persons of the British government; we will discuss it too.

So, we consider as unimportant in this stage to research deeply the number of the victims while the massacre. The numbers that

⁶⁵ Quoted phrase is like that: "I ordered to my squadrons of Death to massacre the women and children which were of the race that spoke polish. So, we can provide ourselves with the place to live, that we need. At least who today remembers the history of Armenian nation?" this word supposedly was told by Hitler in General Staff in august 22nd. 1939. but in german form of the same speech presented in Newberg, and which figured in the archives there is no such word. The full text of this short speech is given by Ataev in his archive work "Hitler and Armenian issue". Faculty of political sciences of University of Ankara. 1984. the phrase about Armenians (as that about the polishes massacre), made from the replacement to the text the english translation. The Armenian newspaper that was published in America "Armenian reporter" of 2nd of August 1984, recognized it.

On this issue look Ataev, quot. Tran. Also the american historian Hive Laurie "the Congress of USA and Adolf Hitler about armenians" "Political relations and persuasions" V 3 (1985) p. 111-139 that clears up the lie. Though the Armenian propaganda spreads this lie.

give Armenians, anyway, rice day by day, and now cover the all Armenian population of Ottoman Empire in 1914! The truth is more moderate but, quite terrible. Basing at the official statistics of the Ottoman population in 1914 which was fixed by the Ottoman statistic service under the American's supervision, the work which did not cause suspicion in anybody, the number of victims was nearly 300.000 people. This number includes (as we have already mentioned) "the being missing men", exactly, those Armenians who escaped from Van., passed to the side of Russians and stepped back with them settling in soviet Armenia⁶⁶.

The number 300.000 also fully coincides with the data given on 11th of December 1918, by the main Armenian delegation in the letter to the ministry of foreign affairs of France, which was compiled from the materials of Armenian sources. So, this number may be considered as correct⁶⁷.

But the statistic clashes must not and cannot influence on the final decision on this tragic case.

As the correctly mentioned the Turkish historian whom we often quote, "the crime is crime and it cannot be forgiven. As we do not forgive the Armenians the massacre of Turks, so we do not forgive Turks the massacre of Armenians"⁶⁸. And the number of the victims let it be five times more, than we told, as the Armenian propaganda wants to present it, or the opposite, ten times less, this changes nothing in historical, moral, and judicial evaluation of these terrible events.

⁶⁶ look Gurun p. 101-125, which in details researches the statistics from province to province comparing as Armenian sources so the ottoman and European sources, and at least comes to the number given by us. Look also Mc curly "Muslims and minorities" p. 47-88, which gives more high numbers of as the population in 1914, so the victims.

⁶⁷ Archives of MFA of France, Levant, 1918-1929, Armenia v. M. 2. F. 47

⁶⁸ Gurun p. 265 quot.tran.

The organized kill of even 300.000 people is considered the genocide, if there is fixed the will to destroy unprotected group. The number has no importance.

All the more, that, the correlation of the number of the victims and the whole population in Armenian tragedy is truly terrible: more than 20% of population, that lived in 1914 in six vilayets, 40% of transported population⁶⁹.

Mister Chaliand agrees himself that,⁷⁰ “the argumentation on the numbers”, has quite little meaning”, while he is speaking about the genocide by Hitler. “Not depending on the number of the victims, which is considered to be the last, it does not deny the fact, of the **aim of Nazis to destroy** the Jews.”

This is so, because the genocide, as any criminal case, is characterized by the criminal aim, and does not exist without it. Exactly the existence of this aim must prove the accusers, not being enough in this case, just with their own statements.

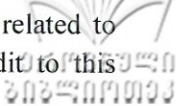
But, the analysis of the real reasons of the tragedy of 1915, prove that, there are a lot, there is no aim to realize the genocide among them.

4. THE REAL REASONS OF THE MASSACRE IN 1915

The polemics (one sided) on the issue of “The massacre of 1915”, make us remind one fundamental principle of historical methodology: the objective of each historical event displays that the reasons of the events are never simple, at least are not equaled to the only fact. Even in the cases the historical fact had its own author, this last never could make his mind to his action, having just one reason, and always based on the number of situations laying on each other.

⁶⁹ the total number of deported is 700.000 people, look letter by Bogkhos. link 67

⁷⁰ “In Criminal Silence” quot.tran. p. 375



The harsh primitivism in anti-Turkish propaganda related to the Armenian “case” is already enough for the discredit to this propaganda.

The reasons that drew Armenians to the catastrophe in 1915, no doubt that, they are many. But before we count them we will briefly on the false motivations, which do not stand any little critics.

The statements by the propagandists of the “genocide” always suppose the existence of some conspiracy. This supposition is logical, but not correct. Actually, one of the main elements of the genocide is its systematical character. It is impossible to massacre the whole population, which is settled in different locations, not deciding the crime beforehand, and for this reason not making the huge preparation, which proves the existence of the conspiracy. Nazis acted the same: firstly, they made the people’s beatings, and later filled them, exactly; this all was realized according the earlier accepted political decision.

In anti-Turkish propaganda the references on “the Nazi followers” are constant, though they are nearly always not formulated, as it is so absurd that, has a risk to shock the reader. That is the reason why, to substantiate this idea, they have to fix the fact of intention of massacre, the existence of the decision which would be accepted with the freezing the heart cruelty⁷¹.

That is where we come to the thesis of “conspiracy”, which supposedly was under the big secret by the “Special organization” of Bekhaddin Shakir, who was the spine and the brain of the party “Ittihad ve Tereqqi” which was in the power in Turkey during the World War I. this bark organization, supposedly had in the Arme-

⁷¹ look as the sample for this “method” Chaliand and Ternon “Armenians genocide” p. 40: “from turks side there was no acception of the guilt no remorse, no repentance, no punishment. Hiding this crime by the indifference we, in some way encourage for the next crime.”(bald by us)

nian “case” the role, which is analogical to the SS in the Nazi party in Jews resettlement.

This legend had the definite success, as the readers always prefer to impute any dramatic event to the actions of some strong and black power, though to the prosaic and natural conditions.

We have already reminded this “dark legend”, which is spread by numerous literary works, but may be it will not be vain to return to it once more, to display its absurdness.

Ternon writes on this theme (“The in Criminal Silence”, p. 156) : “This “Special organization” or “Teshkilat-i-Mekhsuse” is controlled from Constantinople by triumvirate: Nazim, Atif Rza, and Aziz bay... The operative center is in Erzurum. The other member of the Central committee (Ittihad) Behaddin Shakir leads them.” These are the details. The information is exact, but what does it prove? Just that the “Ittihad ve Terakki” party had some internal structure that was duplicating its official structure.

The same case is with many parties nowadays too. What relation may it have with Armenians massacre? There exist only the allegation (which we have already quoted) according which exactly this organization made “absolutely secret” decision, prepared beforehand and realized Armenians massacre.

But there is no track of such a decision, not any proof. Nothing.

On the contrary, in the official archives exist hundreds of documents, that are published recently, and that clear up the conditions in which was made the decision about Armenians resettling and in which this decision was realized so terrible. But the Armenian propaganda denies all these documents; they just refuse to have a look at them.

They are interested only in “secret orders”, that are opposite to the official documents, the horrible decisions, that must exist, as

it is stated beforehand that the Ottoman government had the secret conspiracy.

But there was found no track of this conspiracy.

They allege that supposedly the leaders of the organization destroyed their archives at the moment of the collapse of the Empire. Let it be so. But how it could be that all such archive were destroyed in all the territory of the Ottoman Empire? The realization of the massacre of the nation that is spread in all territory assumes actually, the existence of a great number of the correspondents of these secret document. And even if to suppose that, at the moment of the collapse of the Empire there was an order from the center to destroy the archives in all the net, how it can be so, that such an order was realized everywhere without any exclusion, without any deviation, at that moment when the front line was destroyed swiftly? How it may be so, that in were not found any of these notorious archives such regions as Syria, where the English troops made quite fast breaks?

The state of the party "Unity and Progress" fell on the 15th of October, 1918 – fifteen days before the truce, giving its place immediately to the party "Independence and Consent" which was in quite enmity mood against the first, and had the aim to get the peace by any means. How it could be so, that the new government could find nothing about the secret Armenians' massacre plan? How we can concede that, nowhere In the whole big territory controlled at that time by the Ottoman Armenians there was no functionary of the lower rank in the "Special organization" who maliciously or for self-justification would pass the compromising documents that he had, in spite of destroying them? There was no one like that.

Such situation is absolutely unbelievable, if we consider the existence of the secret orders, which would be spread in all the Empire. Mussolini's downfall in July 1943, and the coming

Badolyo to its place, had immediately resulted by the seizure of the archives of fascist regime. The same was with the Nazi party, while the apocalypse in April –May 1945, in Germany, and if in central staffs and residences of nazi organizations the definite archives in the last moment were destroyed, their quite big amount were found in other parts of the net, in the hands of various correspondents of criminal orders, and this was quite enough to accuse and sentence to death penalty those who were guilty in the beatings of the Ukraine population and Jews genocide.

But in the Armenians' case in Turkey, there was found nothing, nothing that would be opposite, or at least would interpret the items of the official orders given about the migrating population. Nothing if we do not count Andonian's false documents, about which we have already spoken, trumped-up by the way, while the discussions of Serve treaty and which disappeared from that time. And if the Armenian propaganda is satisfied with that they show the false documents the lie of which are evident, then it is just because they have nothing else, and that the notorious "secret instructions about Armenians' massacre" are absolutely imagination.

But it does not mean that there was no attempt to find out these "proofs".

On the 1st of November 1918, Behaddin, Nazim and Aziz bay the three of which were brought by Ternon as the leaders of "Special organization" escaped in the Central Europe together with the other members of triumvirate. Even if we consider that the notorious secret documents existed and were drown out by them, they are not the only men busy in this case.

On 27th of April 1919, in Constantinople was started the trial over the members of the party "Unity and Progress" who were accused in bringing up the Ottoman Empire to the catastrophe, and also accused by the leading party, their enemy in provocation, that

resulted by the Armenians massacre⁷². The trial was formed by the political enemies of the accused.

Here is not discussed the trial “for the public” as the same court was gathered several days later, on the 8th of April for accusing and sentencing to death Kemal bay, the functionary in Anatolia, who was accused in bad treat towards Armenians and this was due to the law, promulgated tree years earlier by Talat pasha⁷³. So, it can be supposed that this court made no indulgences to the accused persons, if their participation in the secret conspiracy would be proved.

But among the accuse people figured the same Atif (about whom Ternon spoke), the president of “Special organization”.

On 13th of July 1919, the court declared its sentence - Atif bay was brought in a verdict of not guilty. How can we now, seventy years later, speak about the existence of a mythic “conspiracy” the tracks of which were not found a few years after the events, when the memories were still fresh, the acting people alive, and the accused men in the hands of their enemies?

Moreover, at that time were taken all measures to find out the guilty. In May 1915 the French and English governments concerned by the telegram by the Catholicos Echmiadzin to the president Wilson sent on 22nd of April, who informed the last about the supposed preparation of the massacre of Armenian population, made the proposal from which it was obvious that, they themselves would accuse the authors of this massacre if this happened, and that they would persecute the guilties after the war.

England kept his promise, and as its politics in 1919 was directed to the formation of the strong Armenian government in the

⁷² for this look Gurun p. 277, that quoted Beur quot tran.

⁷³ Gurun p. 277, quot. Tran.

eastern Anatolia, that would resist the soviet expansion, it started the persecution of the guilty in the Armenian "case" personally.

On 13th of November 1918, an English fleet came to anchor in Bosphorus due to the Mudros peace treaty, and so, took the Ottoman capital under its observation.

On 25th of January and later on 9th of March 1919, the British military powers, by means of Turkish police arrested some people, who, as they were informed presented themselves more than others in the Armenian "case". Sixty seven of them were given to the British naval forces by Ottoman government, which immediately sent them to Malta. The half of them was non-ambiguously accused in bad treats with the Armenians⁷⁴.

On 16th of March 1920 the British army disembarked in Constantinople and occupied it. This was followed immediately by the arrest of thirty more people. And by their exile to Malta. Taking into consideration the other arrests too, which were made by the British in the territories that they occupied the number of those who were exiled to Malta was nearly one hundred forty four men in November 1920.

At that time due to the 230th clause of the Serve treaty that was signed by sultan's government and was accepted by Great Britain, the competence in the sphere of judge over the people who were guilty in the beating while the war, was passing to the governments of the allies (in this case England), and sultan government undertook to pass to the winners the whole information on this case, that it had (as they did).

But the process against those who were arrested in Malta, completely failed.

⁷⁴ on the matter of British pursues look Gurun quot. Tran. P. 280-284, who quotes the archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also look Shimshir "Convicts from Malta"- given in bibliography.

On the 8th of February, 1921, the British public prosecutor's office made a statement according which the court over the arrested could not go on, for not having the proofs.⁷⁵ On the 1st of June the ministry of foreign affairs applied to the USA government for help in this case, to which had this official answer: "we could not find anything, that would be used against the Turks that were sent to Malta"⁷⁶.

And finally, on 29th July, 1921, the prosecutor of British court declared the end of the criminal case, on this ground: "until now there was no written witnessing, which could prove the realness of the charges against the imprisoned men, and it is remote that, such proofs can be found"⁷⁷.

So, six years later of the events the professional judges, could not find the needed proofs to continue the court, that was coordinated with the politics of their government, at the time when the accused were in their hands, the Ottoman archives were open to them, and all the people who were left alive from this tragic event were still living.

And the prosecutor declared that there is no proofs of Armenians planned massacre, at the time when Andonian's pseudo-documents were published a year before, in 1920, and Andonian's book was in the hand of all specialists on this case. That was because, can one believe to this forgery?

At least the those who were exiled to Matla were just freed on 31st of October 1921, and were passed to the Turkish republic in exchange to several English prisoners.

Such ended the trial, which was held by Englishmen against Armenians' most important "killers", six years after the events.

⁷⁵ Gurun p.282

⁷⁶ Gurun p. 283

⁷⁷ the whole quote and footnote is from Shimshir, quot. Tran. P. 42

But it did not prevent that, in Paris in 1984, seventy years after these events, pseudo trial that declared itself, ignominiously judged about these events, an gave pseudo judgment which announced the Turkish government “guilty in genocide”. Thus the case of poor Armenians, who died in 1915, served as the pretext for the all kinds of manipulations with the public opinion, and for the numerous lies and slanders!

In 1915 there was no “genocide”, because this term means the knowingly massacre of the concrete nation. Genocide as the word itself shows, supposes some racial hatred, which would be the reason for it. But, such a sense did not exist among Turks and Armenians till 1915, quite opposite, to what repeats the one-sided propaganda during the whole century, sometimes even confusing the friends of Turks.

In connection with this, it must be reminded the whole list of factors that preceded these event.

1. First of all the Ottoman Empire never knew the racism, that divide Europe till the last times. Such a doctrine naturally was not acceptable for her. Ottoman Empire originally was poly-ethnic as any real Empire. The aristocracy from those of conquers comparatively less in number, were included to the apparatus and army. Very early there appeared the need to gain the sympathy of the local population, which in other case would revolt endlessly. Already when in 1453 Ottoman Empire conquered Constantinople in had Greeks under its ruling. This policy of ethnic cooperation lasted with several steeplechases till the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Starting with the reformist movement “tansimat” (1839) the official doctrine in this sphere was “pan Ottomanism” – the attempt to form an Ottoman nation on the basis of numerous members of Empire. It is the same policy which was followed in this epoch (and with the same final result) by the Habsburg Empire. Exactly because of this policy Young Turks who won in 1909 invited to the

parliament in Constantinople, for the first time, Armenian deputies: Vramyan, Papazyan and Kachaznuni; all three are the future leaders of the Armenian rebellion in 1915, against Turkey and the heads of the future Armenian republic. They attended the Turkish parliament and it all happened due the will of the same leaders of the party "Unity and Progress".

So, the Turkish leaders at the eve of the war in 1914 had no inclination to racism towards Armenians.

The term of "panTurkism" appeared long after it. It theoretical Hecalp that died in 1924 had some, but limited estate just in the limits of the unitary government, which did not exist already in 1915. So, it is absurd to describe everybody the events with the fact that are related to the later period, that have to connection.

2. Ottoman Empire in spite of the statements by the cruel propaganda did not also know the "religious racism". Shariat the law of Koran, on which the Empire was based, was against of such things. It is quite natural that, in Ottoman Empire as in other Muslim countries, all monotheistic religions were let to form the communities and societies to realize their religious ceremonies freely, what proved the following the rules about the free of religion. The only discriminating obligation was the special tax of "jisie" but it gave the right to free oneself of the military service.

Here we speak about the known facts, but what is the point to repeat these all, if durig the centuries bordering powers did not stop because of their expansion policy to provoke the rebellions in the suburbs of Turkish government, relying on supposedly oppressed minority. This policy persistently was followed by all European powers, till the complete collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and the most important victims of this were mainly the same minorities. This was with Armenians at least.

Already in 1862 in the limits of "tansimat" the Armenian committee which always had the religious freedom, and could

choose the religious leader for themselves, agreed willingly and without any pressure to the formation of the private Assembly, which would rule its issues, and which would publicly speak in the name of the “nation” (“millet”). This system of generous encouragement which was already formed for other national minorities of the Empire was dangerous the benefactors themselves, as it kept in germ the discrimination of the opposite character. Actually, the separate “nations” that had private right, special tax system, that had official representation, which was secretly or openly supported by the ambassadors of foreign powers, to which these nations ethically referred, were in privileged position in comparison with Arabian and especially with Turkish population of the Empire, who were obliged to pass the military service, and had no other “defender” than the weakened sultan.

The danger was so, obvious that, Young Turks after the revolution in 1909 in the limits of their politics of “pan Ottomanism” abolished the “millet” status including the non-Muslim minorities, to the general legal system of the citizens of the Empire⁷⁸. Exactly as the result of this decision, in 1914 Armenians for the first time were called to the Ottoman military service. Later it appeared that this was a mistake, as it resulted with their massive desertion. And where it can be found a racist discrimination in the measures taken here? Exactly the opposite is discussed.

3. In opposite to the legend that is continually and with frantic zeal repeated by the propaganda, historians are absolutely unaware of the fact of Armenians “many centuries torture” under the Ottoman yoke till 1878, the date it became discussed. Till that moment in Ottoman history there is nothing, absolutely nothing

⁷⁸ this principle was announced by the constitution in 1876 (item 17), but its apply was stopped by Abdul Hamid

about the Armenians' rebellions and of course, about their cruel suppression⁷⁹.

The Armenian nation lived at that time in Ottoman Empire in peace, in quite disconnected unities, without any political ambitions. These are the facts. They do not get any evaluation from our side, but we consider that, a few people would be found to reject it. "Hatred" towards Armenians which is related to Turks, in this case, has not got so old origin (nearly four generations) and so, it must have any concrete reason.

So, at the beginning of the year 1878 the Ottoman Empire sustained a military defeat in the seventh Russian-Turkish war. At that time the Russian troops were elbowing their way deep in eastern Anatolia, making Kars their base. In the west they passed Bulgaria very hardly, arrived the Aegean Sea and came close to Constantinople. In the little city San-Stefano were held the negotiations, and Turkey had the very hard clauses of treaty, which included especially the passing the greater part of Anatolia where lived Armenians (but not the all) to Russians.

Exactly at that time, during the high point of the diplomatic negotiations Nicolay the Russian generalissimo received in his general staff the Armenian patriarch of Istanbul Varjabedian, who for the first time drew an attention on the Armenians "tortures"⁸⁰. This last entered the history with one strike. Demarche of the Armenian patriarch was marked with the success as the 16th clause of the treaty in San-Stefano which was signed on the 3rd of March 1878, among Russia and defeated Turkey provided the right of

⁷⁹ there existed places that considered as disturbing, as Zeytun; but this was local, with no signs of "armenian nationalism"

⁸⁰ About this dispatch of patriarch the mentioning of which embarrasses some Armenian historians look Gurun p.126, who quotes from Uras "Armenian in the history and the Armenian issue" Istanbul, 1976 which basis himself on Armenian historians. The petition to tsar was published in Tbilisi in 1916 by Armenian historian Leo. "Documents dealing with the Armenian issue"

control and regulated interference of tsarist Russia to the left part of the territory where lived Armenians and which was under the control of Ottoman Empire, besides passing the large part of Anatolia which was inhabited with Armenians to Russia. Here was discussed the procedure that was realized by the Russia effectively towards Romania, Serbia and Bulgaria which had an aim to part Ottoman Empire in benefit of the tsarist Empire.

And what were the motives in Armenians demarche in 1878? It must be that wanted to gather all the population around the catholicon of Echmiadzin, and to put an end to the division of their "nation" to two factions, that were under the domination of different governments. Their demarche had an aim of unification. This is proved by the secret negotiation documents that were held on 17th of March among the ambassador of England Layard and Armenian patriarch of Constantinople. According the report made in the Ministry of foreign affairs, Varjabedian told to his interlocutor "that Armenians for the relation towards them during the last year cannot complain of the Turkish administration, and that they would rather stay under the domination of the Ottoman... but something has changed when they learned that the definite eastern provinces can be joined to Russia."⁸¹

Various Armenian historians that commented this act and also English ambassador himself stressed that the Armenians decision to enlist Russians' support even in Armenian Assembly was not adopted unanimously and gave way to the long discussions. Most likely that Varjabedian's visit to crown prince Nicolay was imposed to him by one faction of the council. Here is spoken about the decision accepted "upper" by some group of Armenian statesmen without any participation of the population which this deci-

⁸¹ Gurun p. 127. quotes the archive documents

sion concerned directly. This condition had for the last very bad results.

Moreover this maneuver by Armenians, when it was known, could not look in the eyes of Ottoman governing body as nothing else than the betrayal during the war. This only fact made the Armenian nation, which always was known as the "loyal nation" in Ottoman Empire changed to the "suspected nation" in the eyes of Turkish government and this poisoned the relations among Armenians and Ottomans for forty years.

On the other hand it is known that, San-Stefan treaty did not come into the effect. After the interference of English government Disraeli this issue was sent again to the discussion to congress, which was held in Berlin under Bismarck's leadership.

The Armenian delegation was also presented there, that publicly spoke with memorandum. Bismarck did not show any interest to Armenians pretensions for the freedom, they seemed him unexpected and at least the treaty signed in Berlin on 13th of July 1878 entrusted to sultan an obligation to held a referendum with quite obscure content in the provinces with Armenian population at the time when Russia had to return to Turkey the territories in Anatolia.

Demarche undertaken by the certain circles from the Armenians Assembly at the moment of Turks' defeat did not bring from their position any results.

But this step had two important results: on one hand as Gurun mentioned (p. 135): "the Armenian issue the last of the "issues" dealing with the national minorities in Ottoman Empire, for the first time let be known about itself in the international policy." From the other hand, Armenian representatives' actions in 1878 made for the first time the Ottoman administration are suspected in bad treat towards the Armenian population, the suspicion which was more than "proved" by the following events. This psychological climate

was kept during the world war I and it partly explains but not prove the development of the events in 1915.

4. Armenian maneuver in 1878 was beforehand. Held by separate politicians and several church leaders, it at that time did not mirror Armenians' national self conscious, which were spread among the Turkish population of Ottoman Empire. The Armenian nation (millet) was declared in 1878 the bases f separate elements that were united by means of common language and religion.

But Armenian population did not have at that time "the national self conscious" in nowadays meaning of this word. There is no need here for special proofs as patriarch himself agreed with it while already upper mentioned secret negotiations with English ambassador.

And as Armenians did not have such national sense at that time yet, it was needed for some policy "to pull it down" "from above" or to export it from abroad. This was the role which the Armenian revolutionaries took at them, they were not formed in Ottoman Empire and were the reasons of the agitations among the population. All was realized according the scenario to which our epoch knows a great number of examples.

In this case the chronology of the events is quite interesting.

In 1878 in Ottoman Empire did not exist any revolutionary party and even any organization the aim of which could be the independence for Armenians. Immediately after this date there appeared a great number of such parties. As an example there also was the experience of Komitatjis Bulgarian revolutionary organizations which by means of terrorism and foreign support could gain the independence of Bulgaria.

In 1885 Portakalian the Armenian from Van who emigrated to France formed there the party "Armenakian". The aim of this party will be the same as the aims of all other following parties: to arm all the Armenian nation for the realization of revolution which

would be based on the common revolt. The “Armenakian” party had the little influence on the later events, but the characteristic is that from the documents of this party it appears that no one else but the Russian ambassador himself had to teach the local revolutionaries to use the gun⁸².

The fate of the other revolutionary party “Gnchak” is also important, which was formed in 1886 in Geneva by the young Armenian student Nazarbekyan. Under Plekhanov’s influence whom he met in Switzerland, the former of the “Gnchak” party (the bell- in analogy with “the Bell” of Russian revolutionary Gertsen) openly gave to his organization the orientation of revolutionary socialism. The 4th point of the program⁸³ is especially interesting:

“for getting the aimed results the revolutionary government must use the following method: propaganda, agitation, terror, the formation of subversive organizations the development of worker-peasant movements... the agitation and terror must make the people more strong and more courageous, etc.”

Let us quote the following part from the program of the party “Gnchak” given by Moser in “Khistorama” 16 June, 1985, p. 79: “to kill Turks and kurds in any case, not t spare the Armenians who betray their aims and to take vengeance on them.”⁸⁴

Quartered in Istanbul with his agents in several provinces, this party had his influence on different events, which we will discuss later. It broke down in 1896 but just because of the giving the place to “Dashnakt” party.

The Armenian revolutionary federation (“Dashnaktsyutun”) was formed in Tbilisi in Russian Georgia, in 1890 as an open nihilistic organization, was ruled by Nichayev’s logics party did not

⁸² Gurun p. 156

⁸³ Gurun p. 157

⁸⁴ not certify the correctness of the quotation as the source is not given

bring forward any political program, and just advised to its strugglers methods with use of the violence first of all. Judge yourself
“to use all means to arm people...to support the conflicts and terrorism against the governmental officials, informatories, betrayers, and exploiters of all kinds...”

To rob and to destroy the governmental institutions etc.”⁸⁵

Mozer (quot. con) gives especially interesting quote from the program of the party “Dashnak” which we repeat here with the same slip, as in the previous link to the same author:

“we deeply believe that the chains that prevent Armenians development in Turkey, must be broken and Armenian must gain their independence not depending on what does it will cost.

For getting this aim everything is permitted: propaganda, terror, merciless partisan war”.

The party realized its activities from this and other side of the Russian-Turkish frontier. And if afterwards its leaders settled down and became the members of the parliament in Istanbul after young Turkish revolution in 1909, and also, the managing personal in the independent Armenian republic of social-democratic tendency in 1919 that during the first ten years of its existence the party held an active terrorist activity. It stood on the basis of nearly all revolutionary coups that were realized at that period.

Such were the three Armenian parties which threw food for political life of that epoch. So, it is not surprising to find here three essential elements of “strength strategy” (in the form with which the history of XX century got us acquainted):

- Directorial committee that assigned the political project (Armenian statesmen from the Armenian Assembly that gathered around patriarch)

⁸⁵ Gurun p. 160 who quotes the Armenian authors Nalbadian and Papisian

- One or several revolutionary organizations which were the executive instrument for inflaming the horror among the population;

- The national rebellions that had absolutely casual character and nonpolitical motives which were stimulated and got wide resonance due to the press and appeals for help addressed to the foreign governments.

That was the scenario that affirmed Turks reputation as “Armenians’ destroyer” abroad.

5. The facts about the realization of such a tactics are more than enough. According the limits of the following work we cannot stand on these materials no more, but it must be accepted that, the objective history of “the massacre in 1895” has not been written in French at least⁸⁶. And here we just try to analyze which of the events that happened during this period in future had an influence on the tragedy in 1915.

From 1880 to 1890 in the regions inhabited by Armenians were not observed any cases of disturbances, except the separate incidents as for example the single kills. This is the time of the formation of political parties’ period. But starting from 1890 the situation changed sharply. This explosion was caused by the appearance of the favorable environmental conditions besides the complete of the preparation of the revolutionary parties: during the first years of his governing tsar Alexander the III who was stricken by the kill of his father by nihilists, persecuted all the revolutionary organizations in whole territory of Empire. Starting from 1890 Russia resumes its expansional politics and the relations of the Russian government with the terrorist groups that were sent abroad and could serve those changes completely.

⁸⁶ on this matter there exist a good research by S. Sonyel “the ottoman armenians” published in London in 1987 in K. Rustem’s publication.

At the same time, Salber Gladstone's starting his service in Britain cabinet gave an opportunity to Armenian organizations to find in English prime-minister, as for personal and religious, so for political reasons terrible Turkphob, the person who was ready to accept beforehand true all complaints and lamentations by Armenians and to give them wide international resonance. And at least at the same time in London was formed an Armenian committee under lord Bris' subordination, who so strikingly proved himself during the world war I, publishing the propaganda document "Blue book".

So the instruments for the large-scaled operation on the manipulation of the international public opinion, was thus ready.

Exactly in these conditions immediately followed:

- The revolt in Erzurum (28th of June, 1890)
- The manifestations that ended with the serious riot at the governmental residence (September 1895)
- Followed just by this (and of course not by accident), the whole series of twenty four revolts, that changed each other on the large territory in several hundred kilometers from the province Aleppo in Syria till Trabzon at the Black sea;
- Especially violent riot provoked in Zeytun (Kilikia) by the members of "Gnchak" party (October 1895/ January 1986);
- Quite serious riot in Van which was accompanied by the mutual kills of the civilian population (June 1896). This riot was prepared by the "Dashnakt" party with general Mayevsky's support he was the Russian "diplomat", who held a position in Van, and frankly admitted in his memoirs his support to the revolutionary elements⁸⁷;

⁸⁷ look "Armenians massacre" by General Maevsky, the general council of Russia in Van and later in Erzurum. The Petersburg military publication 1916. partial reproduction of Russian text from the French translation.

- The sensational assault on the Ottoman bank in Istanbul on 26th of August, 1896, by taking the hostage and with the appeal to the foreign powers for help according earlier thought-out plan. It is interesting to note that this operation that was realized by the terrorist group "Dashnakt" was the first assault by taking the civilians as hostage in the new history, which in its turn was offered twenty five years earlier by the Russian nihilist Nechayev, the program and method of whom Armenian terrorists adopted⁸⁸. These are the main events that European public opinion under the influence of the intensive propaganda immediately called "Armenians massacre".

So, during the several years, and in the continuous rhythm through the Ottoman territories by the Armenian nation passed the political cyclone the center of which continuously changed from the one corner to the other corner of Anatolia, but it was done according concrete plan. The Ottoman government which had weakened till that time was taken unawares, and the local officials were defeated immediately. At that very moment (all according the same concrete scenario) the armed Armenian bands started to exterminate the part of the Turkish population. The lasts, who were in the position of the defenders answered in the same way. And when at last the government established the order, and strengthened its power the precipice of enmity and hatred that was formed between two neighboring nations was already too deep. Exactly that was one of the aims in the programs of the revolutionary parties that we analyzed above.

But this policy of the cruel and criminal violence had for the peaceful Armenian population two results, quite opposite to the schemes that planned the terrorist organizations.

⁸⁸ about the detail of rebellions look Gurun p. 168-199 who relies on Armenian sources especially on Nalbandian "the Armenian revolutionary movement" and on official archives

Actually, in one hand, these endless rebellions that were accompanied by the massacre of the neighboring nation, which in their turn answered with the same; this endless war made the formation of Armenian autonomy in the territories of Ottoman Empire by the peace ways absolutely impossible. Here is no point in detailed analyzes the demographic situation in the “Armenian” provinces of the Ottoman Empire in 1914 (though exactly this fact is insistently falsified by the Armenian propaganda). Anywhere, in any province Armenians were not the majority of the population. Any settlement, any district, any village was not fully inhabited by Armenians. In contrary, Armenians lived in the regions with predominantly Turkish population. Even in Van where was the strongest concentration of the Armenian population in Anatolia it was only 43%⁸⁹. These are the facts and there exist objective statistic researches on this case⁹⁰.

One document which does not need to be proved is the enough proof of the dispersed settlement of Armenian nation among Muslim majority. It is spoken about the report of the French minister of foreign affairs sent for the consideration of the president of the council on 19th of November 1918, after the capitulation of the Ottoman Empire. Here we read: “it is impossible now to define the borders of Armenian nation (it is spoken about the Armenian Republic that the winner allies wanted to form)

Even till the destroying in 1895 **Armenians were not the majority in villayets that were called “Armenian”**. In provinces Bitlis, Van and Erzurum they are in compact groups, but... their statistics is given without the special census of the population and is quiet inexact. In three other villayets – Diyarbakir, Elaziz, and

⁸⁹ Shaw quot. Tran. V. H, p. 316

⁹⁰ exactly Justine Mc Curtly given in bibliography.

Trabzon – the Armenian population is less compact and is just the little percent of the all population.”⁹¹

The formation of the Armenians government on the territories by the non-Armenian majority was nonsense. But even if some from the point of view such project was realizable for some ideologists in 1870, but, in 1910 its realization was absolutely impossible.

If, for example, to imagine that at the end of the XIX century the European powers made sultan agree to form in Anatolia half autonomies Armenian government and hypothetically to suppose that the Muslim population of this region that got its independence agreed with the change of the government (what is quite improbable, nevertheless, it happened in Bulgaria and Greece), then such Armenian government would probably be possible as the two nations that are spoken would live during the centuries in peace.

But in 1910 because of the activities of the terrorist organizations the situation changed completely. The rebellions and revolts, vendettas and contra-vendettas formed between two nations the chasms of distrust and hatred. Their coexistence inside the borders of the autonomies Armenian government would be impossible.

The Armenian leaders understood it quite clearly, and after the beginning of the war in 1914 they had no other way to reach their aim than to do till the end their policy of violence and “vacating the empty place”. That was what they do in Van province in spring 1915, while the Russians’ attacks: they massacred the part of the Muslim population, and those who were alive – they drew till the Turkish lines. The same activities they realized in the region of Erzurum too, while the big break of the tsarist army in 1916.

But by the fate they endangered congeners who were left under the nominal control of the Ottoman army. These people were

⁹¹ AAEF Levant 1918-1929 (Armenie) vol 1, p. 244, quot. Tam Gurun p. 323.

undergone the cruel repressions by the uncontrolled elements whom Armenians gave more than enough motives for hatred.

And in the same opinion is the person, who has the right to judge, it is Kazachnuni. The first president of independent Armenian republic in 1919, the war enemy of Turks during the October company in 1920. In his speech in the last session of “Dashnakt” party in Bucharest in 1923, he told⁹²:

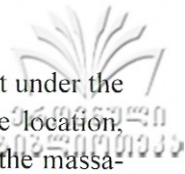
“At the beginning of autumn 1914, when Turkey had not started the war yet,.. in Transcaucasia with great rise started to be formed the Armenian revolutionary groups ... in contrary to the decision made in their assembly in Erzurum, just several weeks earlier the Armenian revolutionary Federation (“Dashnakt”) took an active part in the formation of these groups and in their future activities against Turkey...

Today there is no means to discuss if these volunteer groups had to enter the company. The historical events have their undeniable logics. During the autumn 1914, the volunteer Armenian groups formed and struggled against Turks as these volunteers could not keep themselves of fighting. This was inevitable result of the psychology which was propagated to the Armenian nation during the whole generation: this kind of thinking could not keep of expressing itself in any activities, and it did it...

We formed in our brain the atmosphere, full of illusions. We imposed our desires to the others minds; we lost the sense of reality and let our dreams lead us...”

(We considered as important to give here the opinion of the statesman who had an important role in Armenian republic, though this opinion is systematically hidden – what is not surprising, - by the modern propagandists of the Armenian “case”.)

⁹² Katchaznuni “the Armenian revolutionary federation has nothing to do anymore, reprint par Armenian Information Service” New York 1955, p. 1-2



And when the columns of Armenians passed on foot under the “theoretical supervision”, of the territorial troops of the location, where settled the refugees, who quite recently escaped the massacre, organized by the same Armenians, the poor deported people had to face the terrible danger. The telegram by Talat pasha to which we already had referred⁹³, mentions about a column of two thousand Armenians which started their way from Erzurum and “were thrust like the sheep to be next night”. Who did this terrible crime? Of course, it was not Ottoman government, because they ordered to find and punish the guilty. But who then? Circassian? Kurds? The Muslim refugees that were settling here? May be, but in this concrete case there is known nothing.

We can only state that these poor victims paid tribute to the hatred, formed by the criminal and willingly activities of the definite representatives of their own nation.

Armenians’ systematic terrorist actions, that were held during the thirty years had the other, nearly as serious, “converse effect” on the fate of their compatriots, that were conveyed in 1915. All these absurd rebellions that were inflamed from the outside brought only useless deaths. But they also had the definite psychological result, which Armenian agitators got by means of the “strategic tension”: to change the Armenian nation in the eyes of Ottoman government from the “loyal nation” to the “suspected nation”. Several ten years of the riots and cruel deaths were enough for this.

Turks are trustful by nature; change completely, if you lie them. Armenians rebellions, which were widely commented by their own propaganda and were trumpet by press, changed in 1914 for the officials of the Ottoman administration to the constant problem. And these lasts of course, naturally, considered the representatives of Armenian nationality as the suspected people, that had to

⁹³ Look footnote above 59



be kept in a distance, and that had to be treated without the kindness, though it formally did not correspond the governmental order that was gotten with quite opposite content.

All was like this when Armenians that were saved from the transported columns arrived to Syria. “The reception” that was made them is described in details too good, for us to return to it.

But also, for explaining this indifference, there is no need to invent any “secret plan of destroy” or the special governmental orders, which by the way were prescribing quite the opposite. The explanation from the psychological point of view is quite banal: the deported Armenians that arrived the destination, paid for that reputation that they gained in Ottomans’ eyes for their “nation” the Armenian revolutionary agitators.

We want to be understood correctly: we do not appreciate such an action in any case. There does not exist collective responsibility for the actions that were made by the separate persons, either speaking about Armenians or Turks. The actions of the separate Turk officials towards Armenians in Syria are reminded unforgivable: there is spoken about the not obeying the order and many of them were punished for this. But for judging the historical situation it is important to understand it first of all and to know all the elements of the problem. “Antipathy” towards Armenians undoubtedly was one of these elements. Malicious fate saw that the poor victims requited in Syria, in the conditions of indifference and hatred, for the crimes made in Anatolia by the Armenian revolutionaries, most of which continued their silent life abroad, writing the revengeful memoirs from the name of the nation, which they led to the death by themselves.

Starting from the materials of the present research of the reasons of event in 1915, we can make a conclusion, as these reasons, as we consider, are now evident and simple, and without any dark and strained intrigues.

Armenians were the victims of the concurrence of quite serious circumstances and exactly this concurrence was on the basis of the tragedy lived by them:

A. First of all, and we have discussed it several times already that, they provoked the vengeance of the definite elements of Ottoman population themselves.

We insist on the following: the massacre of the helpless population because it drew upon themselves the hatred because of the crimes, made by the separate representatives of them, that could not be reachable, - this is not the crime of genocide, as the last is the destroy of the ethnic group, each of the members of which did not incur any guilt upon himself.

If in any echelon of the government or the Ottoman administration would be a desire to kill the transported Armenians, then genocide as we understand it now, would obvious and the only thing to do, would be to find the guilty.

But we saw that it was quite the reverse, again and again there were given absolutely concrete orders to defend the transferred Armenians.

But these lasts, by fate on their way faced the population, which had the reasons, to feel hatred towards Armenians, just they were in the hands of the bandits. Such acts of vendetta or brigandage which of course are unforgivable, just form the crimes against the public right. Ottoman government held the inquest on this issue, arrested a lot of people and punished the guilty. But the government cannot considered as guilty for the crimes that were made on its territory, the participant of which it was not in any case, and that which it pursued in contrary.

But if we judge in the other way, as insistently it do the Armenian propaganda, then the government of any state must be found legally responsible for the crimes that were made by the sep-

arate persons on their territories, what is absolutely absurd, as the legal responsibility is personal.

But if Armenians' fate was so tragic, than just because, they with their actions raised in Turks the sense of revenge and that the cruel fate brought them to the enemies while their resettlement.

It is important to make a note here: some Turks' friends to justify the Armenian tragedy address to the great loses that had the Muslim population while the war exactly from Armenian terrorists' hands. Such argument is incompetent.

It is quite exact that the Muslim population of the six "Armenian" provinces of Anatolia that in 1914 (in the limits of the year 1878) was 2.295.705 men, after the war and endless migrations was reduced to 600.000 refugees⁹⁴. Not less exact that the big losers among the civil population (1.600.000 deaths) were the results of systematic massacres that were realized especially in the north (Erzinjan), by Armenian militants, which acted above and beyond the Russia troops. Armenian revolutionaries realized the policy of "freeing the place", about which we have already spoken. On this occasion there exist a great number of the proofs by the indignant Russian officers, who had even to use their force, for putting an end to these brutalities⁹⁵.

But the facts that are discussed were especially much later than the massacre in 915. So, they cannot be used as a justification even if such could be done. It is quite obvious that, the cruelty of the blow cannot justify the other illegal violence afterwards. The beatings which were done by the Armenian subsidiary troops can at least explain the aliveness of the unkind memories of Turkish population, which the last kills that were made by the notorious Armenians' "defenders" just "provoke".

⁹⁴ Shaw quot. Tran v II p. 325

⁹⁵ For example, Khlebov look footnote 11

On the other hand the arguments made by Turks here are partly authorized too: the Armenian volunteers did not wait for the year 1916 or 1918, for starting the massacre of the peaceful Turkish population. They started to realize this policy on the territories where they acted from 1911, and even frequently from the end of 1914. The telegrams that were sent by the local Ottoman officials that we had quoted, the historians' comments, prove that these all was exactly like that, especially in the region of Van, which in March-April 1915 was absolutely covered by the rebellion. This led to the formation of a whole stream of panic-stricken Muslim refugees, that had to leave their homes, and to follow the Turkish troops, that were stepping back at that time⁹⁶. And exactly on that places where these refugees were settled. Unfortunate and embittered, had to pass Armenians' columns under the defense of the armed guards, that did not have a real power. The elements of the tragedy so, by fate joined.

The decision that was justified from the military point of view – the resettle the Armenian population to Syria, cannot be considered as a reason of the tragedy.

B. But if nothing lets us call the crime that part of the authority in Armenian tragedy, that has the government and “Unity and Progress” party, and then we have to note that, Enver and Talaat's decision was made and realized with incredible thoughtlessness.

They had to, and it was strategically important, to take the Armenians off the frontier, for providing the freedom in maneuvers for the Ottoman army. It was important not depending how severe the measure was, to resettle to Syria Armenians who lived earlier in the Turkish borders and who served, as it turned out later, the source of information for Russian army, just as they during the

⁹⁶ Shaw v II p. 316

long years served as the elements of the penetration of Russian influence.

But besides, it was important, all the means to be ready beforehand to realize this measure.


Here we see in action the absurd self-conceit that characterized the members of triumvirate of the party "Ittihad" (and which so irritated Kemal Atatürk). This is not the only fact of no-sense of reality and such incompetence.

In August 1914, before the joining of Turkey the war, on the session of party "Dashnakt" the delegation from the party "Unity and Progress" offered in the case of the war to form the Armenian partisan net, in the rear of the Russian army aiming in future to join again all the territory, that was inhabited by Armenians. This proposal was denied but it can be just wondered to the sense of absolute non-reality of its authors. The joining of the representatives of "Ittihad" party in the session of "Dashnakt" party is not exactly ascertained fact, as there is no reliable reference to it⁹⁷, but that these proposals were made to Armenians is known for certain, as they were repeated in September 1914, while the secret negotiations between the judge of Van, the member of the party "Unity and progress" Nasibbek and Armenian deputy of Turkish parliament Papazian, who writes about it in his memoirs.

Actually, how carelessness! The plan that Ottoman leaders offered to apply against Russians, was immediately after the start of the war applied by Armenians against Turks themselves.

In December 1914, Harro Pasdermajan, the member of Ottoman government that took part in the session in Arzurum, passed to the Russian side and armed in their rear the battalions of Armenian

⁹⁷ Ternon "in Criminal silence" p. 153 confirms it, with lots of details, but do not quote any source. Gurun (p. 229) that criticize on this matter Uras, accepts it and refers to Price, on Tionby's memorandum and on Papasian's memoirs.



volunteers, which deserted from the Turkish army⁹⁸. The same did in February 1915, the deputy from Van Papazyan⁹⁹. Soon the governor of Van, which was occupied by Russians, was appointed, as we have already mentioned, the Turkish Armenian Aram, who was honored with the personal congratulations by tsar for the help, which was made to his army¹⁰⁰. The leaders of the "Ittihad" party appeared not to be able to evaluate the condition of the Armenian spirit actually.

They continued to act rashly in the same way, also, while the realization of the plan of deportation of Armenian population from Anatolia. According the bureaucratic tradition, which once was the glory of the Ottoman administration, for guaranteeing Armenians' transportation in as humane conditions as possible, the whole administrative mechanism was motioned. It was ordered to guarantee their safety, to census their property and to keep it, to give them lands, instruments, seed after their reaching the destination, etc. Everything was envisaged, but unfortunately just on the papers. There is no reason, not to trust in good intensions of the Ottoman administration, as the government of the country which was in the condition of the war could give quite different orders, or could do nothing at all. Much later examples of the real genocide that was realized in Europe demonstrated it with interest.

All was envisaged (except the tragedy, that happened), but nearly nothing was done. And on 26th of September the Ottoman government with clear conscience started the realize labor-intensive procedure in the inventorying and preservation of the property left by Armenians in Anatolia, - the property, that belonged to the people the great part of which to that time had already died, while the absolute ignorance of the Turkish government about this.

⁹⁸ Look Raphael de Nogales footnote 37, also Valji footnote 6

⁹⁹ Look above footnote 42

¹⁰⁰ Look above footnote 7

It is important to stress that, besides the government did not order to destroy the deporting Armenians, but also did not believe in the happening till the last moment! From this and that places were received the telegrams, which dropped a hint on the kills of the deported Armenians. The reaction of the government in Istanbul was reflected in new orders about guaranteeing the security and pursuing the guilty. We in our turn cited many of these orders. All the archives dealing with this issue were published. They demonstrate that in each case the Turkish officials believed that there is spoken about the separate cases that happened nearly each day in all layers of the civil population of Anatolia, which was covered by the vortex of the violence, at that time. Just much later, when there were made the calculations, the tragedy appeared in all its sizes.

When at the beginning of August 1915 the American ambassador Morgenthau (quoted in "Armenian genocide" p. 105) held the negotiations with Talat and later with Enver about Armenians fate, to defense of which he wanted to come it was not discussed neither the "massacre" nor "genocide". First of all there was discussed the fate of Armenian agitators, which were arrested on 24th of April, secondly about the decision to deport Armenians which was decided in American's opinion without quite enough reasons, and which was in his opinion, cruel. Turkish leaders raised objections on this case, explaining their decision with the strategic considerations. This appears quite clearly from the Morgenthau's "Memoirs". At that time the ambassador as his interlocutors, did not know yet, that Armenians' great part did not reach the destination. If it was not like that, they had to discuss it.

Turkish military leaders in their turn, getting several telegrams from the local officials, were yet sure that the order about Armenians resettlement was realized properly and that separate incidents that cause pity had the local character. Moreover there was an order to punish the guilty. How they could think of the con-

rary, if even today, 70 years later than the tragic events, we do not still know, what really happened while Armenian column passing Anatolia, and who are the real authors of the crimes? We know only the result.

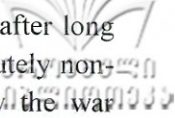
Just much later, in the beginning of autumn of 1915, and especially in 1916 and 1917, while the companies held in Germany by Lepsius and Vegner, the Turkish government thought of counting the number dead Armenians. In the result in October 1918 in the last session of the party "Unity and Progress" Talat admitted that the considerable part of Armenians disappeared without a trace.

The mindless self-conceit, absurd administrative optimism, total lack of control over the realization of the order – in all this the highest command of Ottoman Empire may be considered as guilty. But there is no reason to accuse the government in the desire to massacre Armenians, and particularly, in premeditated realization of the crime.

C. To this inadmissible thoughtlessness of Ottoman functionaries was added the third factor, which also had an important role in the tragedy, the victims of which were Armenians: this is the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, with which the high command could not agree in any case.

This condition had an critical influence on Armenians fate not only during the resettlement, but after their reaching the destination. The orders given on this reasons, were very humane. Reading these orders it is difficult to imagine more generous addressing towards the population which was so rapidly resettled during the war. But to fulfill the order in reality there were made no attempts, and the reason for this mainly was the lack of needed funds for this.

This – is not an excuse, and here, in the historical work, we do not try to justify anybody or to blame. We just want to explain the



reasons of the tragedy. The “Unity and Progress” party after long hesitations on the issue of choosing the ally, drew absolutely non-prepared Turkey into the European war. Exhausted by the war against Italy (1912), and later against Balkan wars (1913), Ottoman Empire just started to restore its power. The German diplomatic reports sent in 1914, do not leave any doubt on how little hopes did European powers put on this ally, which was accepted more as a burden than a support. The value of the Turkish army was not doubted, it always was considered as one of the best in the world, is like that now too. The weak point was its organization, which in its turned was tied with the anarchic limitedness of still too big Empire. At least the only geopolitical location that gave the Ottoman Empire influence on England made German accept its burdensome support.

Immaturity of Turkey to the conflict in such sizes gave to be known in a moment. In December 1914, Enver pasha attacked Russian army, in the direction of Kars. His aim was to return the territories annexed by Russians in 1878. Few weeks later after not long lasting attacks the operation ended with full defeat at Sarikamish. Left in the middle of winter in the frozen mountains in the height of 2,000 meters 90,000 soldiers of the best Ottoman troops died of exhausting and cold. The military command did not count the fact of cold in the battle-ground, though this territory which long centuries being under the possession of the Ottoman Empire, was perfectly known to them.

The same carelessness, the same problems in providing the army with the provision and technical means displayed themselves in 1915 too, while the battle at Dardanelles. General Livan fon Sanders the head of the German military mission in Turkey declared about it in 1921 while Tekhliyar’s process (qout. From Chaliand “Armenians’ genocide” p. 140): “after holding the operation “Gallipoli” just in my army thousand soldiers died of exhaust-

ing as they were not fed enough. ” so in two kilometers from the capital in the place which is as accessible from the sea, as from the ground the Turkish army which was defending Constantinople was sentenced to the hungry death because of the breaks in the supply of provision. Than what had to happen to the poor Armenian population which was resettling to the north of the Syria?


Liman fon Sanders answered to this question (same source): “when we speak about cruelty made by Armenians’ escort, the all conditions of that time must be taken into consideration. Armenians were not escorted by Turkish soldiers, but by too bad gendarmes who were raised because of the need. It must also be mentioned that the organization in the Empire was so bad that not only Armenians suffered from it, but also Turkish soldiers, who died of bad maintenance, illnesses, from the same absence of organization.”

“The absence of organization in Empire”. This is the main reason of bad rather even terrible treatment to the migrating to Syria Armenians. And there is no need to involve here any mythic criminal plan.

When Vegner and other German witnesses of the events in Syria rose and quite justly, against inhumane treatment towards Armenians, they noticed that, at the same time the Turkish administration showed itself as not possible to maintain its civil population and to feed its army.

The malice that gathered in a part of the population in the result of the following events, groundless self-confidence of the highest command, carelessness of the administration in all the Empire, - these are three facts that all together became the reason of the tragedy, lived by Armenians in 1915. There are no other reasons, but these three are also quite enough.

We saw how difficult to find out the responsible for the happened: so degraded and ambiguous is our information. And the



simple thesis that attach the tragedy of 1915 to the appearance of only and malevolent will, exactly, the will of Ottoman government, is nothing else than, propaganda move. This move is made to realize the plan that is formed on the blood of those who died and had nothing common with them.


Many historians opposed objectively about this catastrophe. For example, N. de Bishoph's opinion, which in 1936 wrote (with definite statistic mistakes, that are described, as there was no correct researches about it at that time)¹⁰¹: "of course, giving an order to resettle to the other place the nation that lived in the frontier, and had an agreement with enemy, Turkish government just realized the legal measures of self-defense. But the form of realization of this order resulted with the terrible tragedy, and indescribable sufferings. More than a half of the Armenian population died being the victims of men and conditions. Just several thousand exhausted Armenians arrived to the camps in Mesopotamia..."

Fifty years later other French historian Jean Paul Roux¹⁰² wrote about Armenians desire to form to the end of the World War I the independent Armenian government: "Armenians' despair is understandable, while thinking that they are – the only who could not use such a sized catastrophe (the collapse of Ottoman Empire). One would laugh over their utopist desire, if these desires did not have so sad and bloody results, and if they did not light fire, on which died so many Armenians – lightened helping to Russians in the war against Turks, with whom them lived in peace for many centuries, and I must say that, from this mutual life they had more benefit."

The same author writes about the attitude to this situation of the European powers: "Europe in secret manipulated this process

¹⁰¹ N. de Bischoff "La Turquie dans le Monde" Paris, 1936 p. 172

¹⁰² Quoted in bibliography



(the development of rationalism in Ottoman Empire), rejoicing the success: it glorified them by Byron and Hugo's lyres, and described by Delarkua's brush; through the prism of romanticism – it was dominating at that time, - Europe saw in Greek bandits Pracsitel and Socrates. Armenians by no means were for them the pawns, which were moved on the chess board, and later thrown paying off with the topics about the genocide and the tears about their miserable fate.”

Exactly this is going on nowadays in the international public opinion.

CHAPTER III



THE LAST EVENTS IN THE ARMENIAN “CASE”

The hunt for the “guilty” organized by the enemies of the party “Unity and Progress”, and later by England, did not give any definite results, and kemalist Turkey signed first with Armenian republic, then with USSR, then mutually with USSR and Armenia and later with all countries, that fought in the World War I, the series of documents about the general amnesty. After it would be expected that the tragic events on 1915, as a great number of other catastrophes in the history of humanity, to become just the memory to be the food for the historical discourses.

Exactly like that, acted a great part of Armenian Diaspora, which settled down in West. These people with great dignity healing their wounds thanks to their calmness and hardworking perfectly adopted and that countries which accepted them, and caused just the sense of sympathy. Sixty years past.

1. And suddenly in 1975 while the collapse of Lebanon, appeared some Armenian revolutionary organization that acted evidently by the **support of terrorist elements that based on the Near East**¹⁰³. This organization makes a name for itself, by means of realizing the kills of Turkish diplomats in different countries.

2. One astonishes when reads the lines sincerely written on this reason by the teacher in the school in Paris: “during the three or four years of terrorism realized by Armenians, without any important breakdowns, by means of operation, that keep the anonymousness of the executor, served in the Armenians’ “case” describ-

¹⁰³ till the collapse of Lebanon after 1975, 7 % of population of this country were Armenians. In Jerusalem also existed an Armenian district.

ing: the reality and sizes of the genocide that **motivated** these attempts, more terrible, than the conviction for the terror crime.

“Public terror either we blame it or not, here find out its justification”¹⁰⁴, 14.

So, the kill of the highest rank statesmen that have no relations to the long before happened events, find out their ‘justification’ in the political motives of the killers themselves. Every person appears to have a right to kill the other if his victim is of the nation, which as the killer supposes he has a “reason” to hate.

In other words, the supremacy of destroying insanity and institutionalisation of barbarism.

Though the addressing to the human rights, and to the humane-legal phraseology, which are used by the defenders of the terrorist for defending their murders, this is also- genocide, but in smaller sizes. If Turks (even till nowadays it is not known which ones, exactly) had no right to “massacre Armenians” then according which right today Armenians massacre Turks? What is that if not the discrimination which is fed by the collective hatred? “Exactly the law of revenge which is applied to the grand children lies on the basis of the principle of the collective responsibility, which our system of civilization rejects absolutely.”¹⁰⁵

Moreover, as it would be expected, terrorists showed their real faces very soon, to their apologists’ great regret.

When after several selective murders notorious “avenger of the Armenian “Case” turned to act like that, as the detonation of the offices of airline companies in different countries, machine-gun fires on armless people in the airports, the public opinion was in coming to accept in these pseudo-human rights activists bloody

¹⁰⁴ Chaliand and Ternon “Armenians genocide” p. 117

¹⁰⁵ metre Lauretta’s speech in Orly, published by the faculty of political sciences, in University of Ankara, 1985, p. 74


madmen; that were ruled by the international terror, towards which was important to use all the force of the criminal law.

The attempt to draw the attention of the public opinion by the series of crimes resulted with a big burn.

2. The late defenders of the Armenian "case" which stated the reasons, that the history would ascertain once, about the "rebirth of their memory" seventy years after the events, the witnesses of which they were not, started to use the other tactics, more peaceful, but with the same aim, - to form the public opinion against Turkey. They wanted to draw Turkey to the "tribunal".

Of course, there does not exist such an international court that would judge Turkish republic because of the crime that was made before its birth. The international judges are competent and serious lawyers. Any respectable government would not agree to bring such an accusation. Especially, this concerns the powers that took part in I world war and that were related with Turkish republic with the treaty about the general amnesty. For affecting deeply the public opinion, the modern "avengers for Armenia" use the help of some feeling for them "tribunal".

One of the scourges of our epoch and the signs of the weakness of law and order is the expansion of notorious "tribunals", self-constituted without any rights to it aiming "to judge" anybody, and in any matter according the principles that are declared by the pseudo-judges themselves. For the first time such a procedure was used more than hundred years ago, by Russian nihilists, which by these means "judged" and later killed Alexander the II. The idea had a success. Starting from that time, in all hot points of the planet, the public opinion is systematically stricken by the information about the decision of some "tribunal" that was assembled in some cellars by several killers. They try by these means to justify their crimes, in the eyes of the naïve society while it is a question of a violence, torture, extortion and frequently murders.



The information of such kind of processes perform comes to the society. And absolutely natural that, they sympathetically listen to the voice of some “tribunal”, even if it is fictitious, as everything too, but consists of respectable people and relying just on their moral authority. “The Armenian avengers” used exactly such kind of “tribunal”, which gathered in Paris, in Sorbonne, in 1984, and was accompanied with unbelievable sensation.

“Nations tribunal” was founded in Bologna in 1979, by several intellectuals that decided with peculiar to them “modesty” “to judge” the governments. “Nations” against “governments”: immediately one can evaluate the ideological scale of this organization. The initiative itself is quite sympathetic: in our times there exist many nations, ethnic minorities, which, as they lived in the countries with outdated technology and did not have the needed information facilities, were assimilated by force, or destroyed. As for example, the Indians in Amazonia and Jews in Ethiopia.

But the motives of “the tribunal of nations” become clear when we learn that in 1983, just before the “court” over Turkey “tribunal” gathered in Madrid, to “judge” anti-communistic Guatemala for pursuing one of the Indian tribes, but trying not to touch the “Nicaraguan case”. In this country which nearly bordered with Guatemala, but communistic, Marxist government realized towards Indian-Mexicans genocide about which knew the entire world. Where is the same objectiveness?

Moreover, by which right the notorious “courts” with endless pretensions oppose as the accusers of the government, though they were not given such a mandate? These all was done for misleading the public opinion which will not deal with the details about the degree of competency of these “judges”.

Such a method was used by Bertram Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre in the “court” over USA. If Russell would use his great prestige as an avenger to judge his opponents, he would be heard, of

course. But using for his aims some pseudo – tribunal he sneered at the justice.

The same can be used towards the “tribunal of nations”, which appeared in the case about Armenia the instrument in the hands of the definite ideology, which used sometimes the heavy judicial terminology to form the illusion of the legalese.

So, quite and in weighty style, borrowed from the real international instances, “tribunal” pronounced “the sentence” and condemned Turkish republic for the tragedy in 1915, not researching any of the given arguments that were presented seriously, though visaging them for the visual objectiveness.

Of course, Turkey was not up these pseudo-judges and did not have to do it. But it presented the documented explanations of the events which were published in the official brochures and dispensed round the public.

For rejecting these documents without a serious examination, “tribunal” started indescribable judicial acrobatics.

The international public right is characterized with its being in the condition of rapid development. So, it is possible to interpret it at one’s own discretion, or to anticipate its development and to present it as already existing rules, which possibly, would come into force in ten years, if they come at least.

This was not left without the attention of the “judges” from Sorbonne.

We would draw the book too much, if started to describe the details of these pseudo-judicial accusations, which do not cause any serious interest.

It is quite enough to bring as an example, several legal violations which are obvious for every lawyer.

- The violation of the principle of absence of the counter force of the criminal incrimination- the principle, which had been accepted already several centuries before, by the civil countries;

- The violation of the principle, according which in the case of the collapse of the Empire, the last stops to be the legal entity in the international right, except the case that were correctly mentioned in the treaties. Today is as absurd to pursue Turkish republic for the actions done in 1915 in Ottoman Empire, as it would be meaningless for example, judge Syria , which also was the part of this Empire¹⁰⁶;

- Distortion of the notion of oneness of the crimes against the humanity, which even if would be acceptable towards the events in 1915, what is quite doubtful, does not mean that the guilty can be pursued after their death! The fact that the physical death puts an end to any criminal persuasion is the general and absolute principle. Otherwise, we would be able to judge the man which was not able to defend himself, and this would be the violation of the fundamental principles of the General declaration of human rights. But exactly this act on the quiet was realized against Turkey;

- The violation of the principle of international recognition of the treaties, when supposedly suffered side itself signed these treaties (the treaties signed in Kars and Lozano), and also the item 10 of Pact SDN, the member of which was Turkey too, that guaranteed the safety of the borders of the countries that entered the pact.;

- The violation of the principle of presence of the juridical person while the arraignment, as "the Armenian nation" which

¹⁰⁶ professor de Phischer in the book "the theory and reality of the international public right" (Paris , Pedon 1970 p. 189) mentions the principles that were applied to this case: "coming to the treaty relations there exist quite definite principles: except those case when one of the countries take the responsibility of the opposite side, the relations disappear as the cooperating countries disappear itself." This case can be compared (p. 191) "with the judicial sentence that is accepted everywhere, and can not pass the responsibilities ex-delicto that were entrusted to the governments that do not exist any more as the responsible persons. This comes from the common principle of personal responsibility."

These principles are so clear that author of the preface of the book "Tribunal of nations" has to accept it confusedly: "the issue that was put, is the issue and quite difficult, about the indentions of unitary government, formed by Mustafa Kemal, to the hierarchic and multinational Ottoman empire." (P. Vidal-Nake "Criminal silence" p. 16)

supposedly accused Turkish republic, was not a juridical person, except the Armenian SSR, which even was not called to participate in “tribunal”;

- And at last, the violation of the principle, of personal responsibility, as in is quite obvious that in particular to the nation of the nowadays Turkey through its present government they try to lay by means of horrors and attempts the **collective responsibility**.

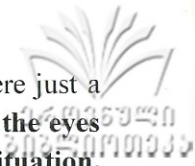
It has no use to stay more on so one-sided document that was “the court decision, which was accepted in Sorbonne”, the decision accepted by the organ which called itself “the tribunal of public opinion”. The manipulation of the public opinion is too obvious here.

The Armenian population that lives now in Turkey is quite little in number and lives in several cities among Muslim-Turks. So, it is impossible immediately to form a **company about the “right of the nations to self-defense”**, all the more, this nation does not reflect any interest towards it.

Pretensions of foreign Armenian extremists are groundless actually, as they cannot rely on such facts as **the population and territory**. Even “nation’s tribunal” had to recognize it. So, Armenians pretensions would be formulated only by the whole violation of the court procedure.

3. But the use of falsity methods did not did not cool their heat. Quite opposite. Approved by the noisy company, largely – scaled by press around the murders made by terrorist, notorious defenders of Armenian “case” during several years importuned to international organizations.

But their plans were revealed here. The separate actions of several impudent rogues, not depending on their crime, yet could be named as the acts of the “revenge”. But the attempt to redo the part of the history by means of the international organizations in the name of Armenia, that politically did not exist, already was



non-covered anti-Turkish maneuver, where Armenians were just a pretense: **the kemalist republic had gained too much in the eyes of some, and modern Turkey has got a geopolitical situation, that disturb the interests of definite circles.** These were motives though not stated, but quite obvious, that stand today beyond the speeches of Armenians fiends. And Armenian naïve and artful in the same time, once more as it was in XIX century, are used as an instrument in the political plan which can bring them no use. This condition could not make the ideologists that serve them as defenders to step back.

The first attempt was to approve the fact of “genocide” in the committee of the defense of the national minorities at the Commission UNO on the human rights. The proposal carried in 1973, - to consider the “Armenians’ genocide” as the typical case of the measures, that had to be forbidden, - was rejected at least in 1978 by voting I the committee.

The remakes of the history did not find themselves defeated, and carried again in UNO indignant appeal against the decision of the committee, that was signed by several intellectuals. Here we see the use of the method known us by the pseudo-tribunals: **turn the resistance of historical facts and the decisions of the organs that have the needed authorities, and to call to the emotional and weak informed public opinion.**

In 1983 Benjamin Wittierkar the director of some humanitarian association in London was charged by the committee UNO to present a report on the various cases of the genocide for discussion at XXXVIII session.

The session of UNO gathered in august 1985, and after the long debates on different issues passed to the examination of Wittierkar’s report. Wittierkar listed among many famous cases of genocide “Armenians’ genocide” too. After the boisterous discussion the committee made a decision to take the report into consid-

eration, but to consider the critics, that it raised, and rejected to pass it into the commission on human rights. The document so was sent to the archive.

This did not prevent the separate Armenian newspapers to trumpet the victory. The newspaper that was under their influence “Journal de Genève” came to call one of the articles in the journal of 30th of August 1985 “the human rights: the Armenian genocide is accepted by the UNO committee”. So, to manipulate the public opinion all means are good: taking into consideration of the individual report by some organ, which in addition, rejects to pass to other instances, is equaled to the approval of the conclusions of the same report¹⁰⁷.

These all would be considered as idle speeches: which have at least, the meaning of wrangles inside the sections of one of the innumerable special organs of UNO, which do not have any important prestige.

If we tell them about it, then just because the incident bars the aims put by Armenians. At least, they have no meaning either UNO, the effective role of which, by the way, is quite limited, or the relations of the countries that are related by the diplomatic treaties. Armenians’ “friends” perfectly understood that, at least, in the peaceful time, **the main power in cultural**, that the superficial and impulsive public opinion can be manipulated easily, and that in large democratic countries, the political leaders certainly listen to the public opinion, or at least cannot go across of it.

After the collapse of the terror despotism “avengers for the Armenian “case”” also understood, that they have to change the tactics and the best way to reach their aim – is to make the official

¹⁰⁷ about the discussion of the report by Whitaker in Geneva look T. Ataev “La verite au sujet du rapport Whitaker. Fwculte des Acienes politiques de l’Universite d’Ankara” 1986. Professor Ataev is themember of the committee of UNO, that discussed this report

political organizations accept their propaganda, using the help of some "objective allies".

This method was used in the recent incident in Strasbourg parliament. The results of the happenings there are quite serious, not for "Armenia" it cannot get anything with this, more for Europe.

The sources of this large incident take its origin from the report by Vandemelbrug, which was presented to the political commission of the European parliament. In the report Vandemelbrug claimed in spite of the reality that, the "Armenian genocide" was accepted by UNO in Geneva and that as the result the European parliament must, in its turn, express its opinion on this issue.

Here we once again become the witnesses of realization the policy of violation of truth, which leads the Armenian propaganda for the auditory that becomes wider.

On 26th of June, 1986 upper mentioned report was declared as unacceptable by the political commission of the European parliament. But under the new pressure of the definite lobby it was returned back to the consideration to the same commission in February 1987, and the last sent consideration to the plenary assembly. In such conditions on 18th of June 1987 the European parliament accepted shocking resolution.

The parliamentary assemblies with the limited sphere of competence always display the desire to widen the sphere of their activities. The European parliament was not exclusion on this point. And this let it; make the visibility of the legislative activity for all the world, directly related to its competency.

This are brightly reflected in the resolutions of 18th of June that contains the injunctions, addressed to Iran and even to USSR, that deal with the issues which are internal affairs of these countries.

The other attitude would not be waited towards Turkey, which already being the member of the European council, asked to accept

it to the “Common trade”. According the various political, economic, and social reasons that were obvious, (the Turkish government can count them if it will be considered important), they let Turkey understand that its present existence in the European community undesirable. But any of upper mentioned motives did not become the topic of the discussions on 18th of June, which was dedicated the Armenians where debates were differing with sanctimonious dissimulation.

The question that was given to the observation to the European parliament was to define: was in fact, as mentioned the preamble of the accepted decision, that “Turkish government till nowadays, denying the genocide in 1915 continues deprive the Armenian nation **the right to its own history**”.

It's totally ludicrous! **The history is not the right, but fact**; the existence of any fact does not depend on its acceptance. Notorious “right to the history” is, of course, the ideological camouflage, that covers and quite badly, absolutely concrete and related not to the past political pretensions.

During the debates this was mentioned immediately by several independent European deputies. Lets us , for example, quote the German Lemmer: “So, parliament puts down to its agenda the topic, that can become the object of historical researches , but not the topic of political discussions on modern problems.”¹⁰⁸

The Englishman Welsh noted justly: “to the mission of the Europarlament does not included the definition of the responsibilities for the tragic events, that happened many years ago, and moreover, much before the signing the treaty in Rome. We are the parliament of the European community. We cannot act as the judges in the last instance or as the judges of the historical events”¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁸ Europarlament. The account about the debates of 18.6.1987 p. 454

¹⁰⁹ Same

If to the competency of the Europarliament is included to punish the guilty for the massacres that were in the history, than why it do not reject Madam Tetchier to enter England to the "Common trade" and punish for the disgraces made by the Cromwell's army in Irland, or Mitteran – for the robbery of subjects of France by Ludovich XIV? The proofs for all of these are saved till now.

The sphere of activities of such "reshuffles" of the history can be unlimited: we may for example, punish France because of the evils made by Napoleon in Spain, Spain – for the barbaric activities by Phillip II in Netherland, Dane- for the riots in Sweden etc.

Non-competency of the parliament assembly in such issues is vivid for every sane person. Ruled with the logics of such decision the greater part of the deputies of Europarliament (3/4) rejected to take part in the votes on the issue, that do not related to their competency. The deputies can be understood. This was a great tactic mistake, which made a risk to put Europe in the condition of debtor for a long time.

On 18th of June, 1987, while the absence of the greater part of the members of Europarliament with little majority (68 votes places, 60 votes against from 518 members), accepted the resolution, presented, indirectly by the Armenian lobby.

The conditions of this decision astonish with their illogicality, which nevertheless, uncover its real motives. We read in the document:

“- deeply regretting and condemning the terrorism of Armenian groups that are guilty in a number of the murders, made between 1973-1986, that are condemned by the majority of the Armenian nation and that resulted with the death or the wounds of the innocent victims”¹¹⁰;

¹¹⁰ Preamble N.

“- taking into consideration that the attitude towards the Armenian issue of Turkish government, that changed each other did not result with the weakening of the exertion in no way... etc.

So the Armenian terrorism was “repaid”. Europarliament naively supposes, as it usually happen in the western democratic republics, that it can disarm the terrorists, satisfying their demands, all the more, this is not so difficult, because is done by means of the third government, in this case by Turkish republic!

Ready in this condition to any concessions, Europarliament announced that “in its opinion, the tragic events which were realized against Armenians who lived in the territory of Ottoman Empire in 1915 – 1917 contain according the Convention of UNO genocide”¹¹².

That’s how the history was redone and defined as post-factum by means of the parliament assembly. In contrary, to all legal principles our legislatives form the laws not for future, but for the far past, and moreover, in the sphere of unknown to them political competency.

Being aware that how absurd would be to define to punishment measures, basing on the recently accepted petition, the European parliament added immediately, that: “the modern Turkey cannot be considered guilty for the drama lived by the Armenians of Ottoman Empire” and stressed that, “the recognition of the historical events as genocide **cannot be used as the reason for any pretensions of political, economical or material character towards the modern Turkey.**”¹¹³

Soon we will demonstrate what the result of this was. As if “the recognition of the genocide” would not have any practice results, what for it had to be recognized? Really, the role of the par-

¹¹¹ Preamble i.

¹¹² Resolution i2

¹¹³ Same


liament assembly is equaled to the recognition of the abstract statements and laws? But everybody understands that it is not like that. "The innocence" of the recognized resolution hides hardly the sighting hypocrisy.

It becomes clear as soon as you read the following lines of the resolution: "Parliament... considers the rejection of the modern Turkish government to admit the genocide, that was done against the Armenian nation by the Young Turks government, its unwillingness to solve its disagreements with Greece on the basis of the international law, the keeping the Turkish occupation troops in Cyprus, the deny of the Kurd factor, and also the absence of real democratic parliament in the county and the respect towards the personal and collective, and especially religious independences, arrange all together insurmountable obstacle for the consideration the possibility to accept Turkey into the "Community"¹¹⁴.

That why these all was needed! And for this aim were used quite simple methods of propaganda: starting with the discussion, academic in appearance, about the Armenian tragedy, - discussions, which were claimed not to have any consequences, - the parliamentarians pass to Kurds, Cyprus, internal political problems of Turkey. And these all to claim that: the modern Turkey must stay apart from Europe, as (it is not stated openly, of course), its presence would disturb the interests of definite circles.

But Turkey not depending do we want it or not, is the bridge between Europe and Near East. "Turkey must be Muslim Europe, that addresses to the other Muslims" (Sharl Leman in the journal "Revue de deux Mondes", March 1987, p. 608) This fact must draw the attention of our politicians today, as, for example, in France Islam is the second in number form of religion.

¹¹⁴ Resolution 14



But the bridge always has two ends. If Turkey will be rejected in Europe then it definitely will try to find the way of rapprochement with its neighbors in East and in South. Particularly its population is mainly the Muslims of Asian origin. The results of such policy can be unpredictable for Europe. Closing the door for Turkey to Europe socialists and communists – the deputies of the Euro parliament just because of the sectarianism betrayed the interests of Europeans, that were trusted them, and put in danger the future of Europe.

They did not even disarm Armenian revolutionaries, what they supposed to do by means of endless concessions; the lasts just doubled their pretensions.

In the interview written by Guile Schneider and published on 15th of July, 1987 in the newspaper “Gamk” the organ of the revolutionary Armenian party “Dashnakt”, Anri Papazian one of the leaders of this party, states: “Armenians have the historical pretensions. Armenian nation has its historical lands, that are bordering with Caucasia...nowadays we have clearly expressed territorial pretensions.” And later he adds: “In the resolution of the European parliament it is clearly stated that there must be regulated the political dialogue between the government of Turkey and Armenian representatives. In the court process like that we are the taking side”.

That is! What the resolution of the europarlament served then while stating that the recognition of the genocide “cannot be the reason for the any pretensions on political, economical, or material character”? Then what is this – rashness or authors hypocrisy? In any case this is irresponsibility.

But fortunately, the governments of European counties reject to act in such a play.

The government of FRG immediately stated that, is adhering to the declarations that were accepted earlier, according which the

right of the elaboration of the position of the events that happened seventy years ago, is in historians but not political persons.

On 7th of July MFA of Great Britain declared that, has no relations with the resolution, accepted in Europarliament, that reflect only the opinion of the parliamentarians, that recognized it, but not the countries subjects of which they are.

The ministries of Belgium and Dane also made the categorical statements.

In France Michele Nuare the minister of foreign trade stated on the 3rd of July in the interview to the Turkish television: “the voting (of 18th of June) has no relation to the states and governments – the members of the European parliament...”

The attitude of France to the “Armenian issue” is quite clear¹¹⁵. The French government is not going to impute to the modern government of Turkey the guilt of the events, which happened seventy years ago.”

In the stream of the demagogical propaganada that attended the Armenian “case” the persons really authorized for the European politics can still keep the common sense.

But we must not let to be mislead: in any case, the real company of revenge and lie continues to develop, Armenian propaganada gets the new successes, which are inflated immediately, and at the result the attitude of the European countries which are traditionally friendly towards Turkey risk to become very hard, as they have to take into consideration their public opinion.

In the work that appeared in Great Britain in 1916 the loyal and objective English observer noted:

¹¹⁵ Minister considers here the declaration of mister Raymond the minister of foreign affairs of France, dealing with the “tragedy the victims of with seventy years ago was Armenian community, and which they now call genocide” (Journal “Ofosel”, the deputies in the National Assembly, the answer to mister Ducolone, on I session of 22nd of April 1987) Stated with the elegancy peculiar to him, Raymond states our point of view.

“Turks never condescend to explain their problems¹¹⁶ at the time when the elements tailored as Armenian try always to be on the privileged position, driving the public to the horror by means of endless repetitions and exaggerations of the numbers of victims, and actually, in right way evaluating an old eastern proverb: “let the lie last for 24 hours, and you’ll need 100 years to disprove it.”

Along with the growing concern we observe, that more frequently slips the tendentious parallel between the tragedy in 1915 and the genocide realized by Nazis against Jews. Those who lived this genocide do not support such statements at all. But such demagoguery has a success as one of the ways of propaganda is shocking the minds with emotional arguments.

Even the most penetrating public opinion hardly would find out in the speeches of the “avengers of the Armenian “case”” the realization of three methods that are from the famous Marxist dialectics:

- the rewriting of the history (which lets against all international norms to give the laws the contrary power);

- thesis about the secret conspiracy by the oppressed people (supposedly the most guileful ones who providently destroy the track of their dark plans, when these plans did not exist at least);

- the accusation of the opponent (which is pursued more in the name of Moral, willingly confusing Morality with the Truth).

For stopping this despotism of Armenian propaganda which risk to have for the future of Europe too hard results, the reaction of all common sensed people. And the aim of this book is to call for this reaction.

¹¹⁶ this was written in 1916, turks changes from that time.

CONCLUSION



Turkey was an Empire earlier and cannot understand the modern Turkey if we do not take it into consideration.

One cannot understand the island England of Madam Tetcher, not understanding that, the queen of England once was the empress of India. And the modern France became “hexagon” in the result of continuous wars with Italy, endless companies in Germany, Russia and Africa.

Also, the “rectangle” form of nowadays Turkey was once the kernel of the great country that reached in west Van, in north Crimea and in south Aden.

Since renaissance Turks were the first who formed an Empire in the continental Europe, but they suffered from their nomad life. They did not establish considerable colonies outside Anatolia. In comparison with Russian and especially with German imperialism. Turks tried to get in the conquered territories the administrative superiority, but not numeral one. So, soon, Turkish government faced the problem of saving under their subordination the territories inhabited by the foreign population.

In Islamic regions of Ottoman Empire after sultan’s getting khalifa title, the commonness of the religion was the connecting link among all the subject of the government though this link was quite fragile, if we judge due the rebellions by Albanians and especially Egyptians.

But in the regions with the Christian population, Turkish government even if for the first period was welcomed as in Hungary or in Crete, it was less stable; as the neighboring Christian governments did their bests for provoking the riot. “Eastern issue” did not stand in XIX; it appeared after the battle at Mohax (1526).

In these bordering provinces that were separate from the Constantinople, difficult to get, difficult in ruling, though the debugged

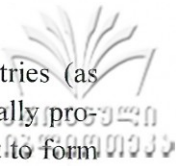
Ottoman administration, the local governors constantly faced the resistance of the Christian population.

And the neighboring countries: Venice, Austria, Poland during the four centuries insistently supported the rebellion soul of the Christians that lived in the borders of the Empire, who fell, as it was mentioned at that time into the "Ottoman yoke". Ottoman government had to hold endless struggle against the renewed rebellions of the population of these territories.

So, Turkey against its will became the first country that started the contra-partisan struggle that is so typical for our days. The scenario did not change during all the existence of the Ottoman Empire: because of any nonsense incident that happened in the result of mistake, or, because of the non popularity of the official man the riot flared up. The incident immediately would turn to the rebellion of the intractable peasant population, urged by the foreign agents and "supported" by the bandit groups. And what did Turkish government have to do? For not letting the rebellion to become wider it had to make the strong and hard local strike. And exactly this was needed to the bordering governments, which had been waiting for the long time the useful moment and which we informed by their agents that also were the agitators.

They started to cry about the massacres immediately. "Opinion" (then they did not use the "public opinion", but this is same), artificially used by the governmental machines of the neighboring with Turkey countries, accused Ottoman government in "barbarity" (then "genocide" was not used) and demanded the interference to secure the "innocent victims". Under the threat of diplomatic or military sanctions Turkish government gave all possible "assurances" to the neighboring powers about the security of its subjects.

So, gradually there was formed the interference of the international community to the internal affairs of Turkey.



As the incidents were repeated the bordering countries (as aiming to avoid the repetition of such rebellions, but actually provoking the secretly) demand from the Turkish government to form the “guarantee” in benefit of the oppressed nations. These guarantees naturally got the form of the foreign diplomatic missions in places or garrison troops.

Such process, maximally strengthening the centrifugal tendencies in Ottoman Empire, inevitably brought to the autonomy, and later “to independence”, of the bordering provinces, which as a matter of fact later were absorbed by the neighboring Empire.

This process in the different variants happened systematically, during two centuries in all border provinces of Ottoman Empire: in Crimea, and in Montenegro, in Serbia, and in Crete. And it at least was locked on Armenia, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed.

But Ottoman government as every peaceful, but conservative government, being devoid of the real allies, appeared in a trap, what perfectly used different revolutionary organizations that were ruled from abroad. There appeared a vicious circle: provoke – repression – revolt.

We are acquainted well nowadays, with this process, as it is universally used all over the planet by all revolutionary movements, which want to change the government. Artificially held companies of riots, the government crumbles with the moralized accusations, which prevent him to defend the persons on the head, call then “blood thirsty monsters”, compromise those who try to help them, and these all have the only reason to take their place.

The Ottoman government was the first victim of these methods. In the Christian Europe the public opinion was sure that Christian provinces of Ottoman Empire were just given to “unrighters”, “janissaries”, the bands that had an aim to empty them, to form there by means of terror the gray silence. This prejudice exists

from the very old times: when in 1806 Shatobrean visited Greece and Judaea, he was sure beforehand, that Ottoman functionaries just order the kill. Romanticists as Bayron, Hugo, Delacrua continued to popularize this cliché which influenced to the psychology of the majority of the statesmen of XIX century.

At the time when Turkey made desperate attempts to held a referendum by means of “tanzimat” for being accepted to Europe, to which this government always wanted to be related, the powers that surrounded her, used these means for demoralizing the Ottoman leaders, suggesting them that their actions are useless, as in provinces on the periphery are endlessly inflamed the revolts, which Turkish government is not able to stop. So knowingly, then they “tripped up” the leaders of this government which wanted to refresh and to become consolidated, throwing off itself the foreign supervision.

After the defeat in 1877, when it was too late, when the economical colonization made Turkey lose its international independence, sultan Abdul Hamid withdrew into the hatred towards all foreigners and absolute conservatism, unconsciously imitating – what was not by chance- the act of his contemporary, who lived on the other end of the world, - the empress Seu-Hi.

Then the Ottoman Empire vanish in the horrors of the world war.

And suddenly appears a person, who wants to address only to Turks, who gathered in their houses, - in Anatolia, and to tell, that they are free nation ; that though they are poor, but proud and can become European, if they want; that they do not have the be shamed for their past – only present has a meaning, as the history is made every day. This man returned to the Turkish nation his pride and hope.

And exactly in the name of this man the modern Turkish government, as Ataturk’s successor, with indignation rejects the Ar-

menian company of slander- the company for which there is no justification, and the aims of which are dishonest.

The only matter Europeans to understand it.



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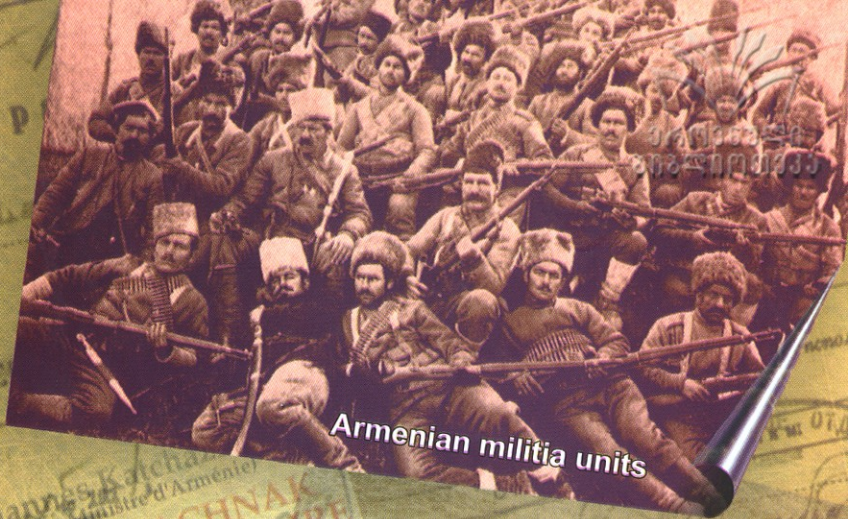


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Armenian militia units

Толсгр

16

Гювханнес Калчаджян
(Premier ministre d'Arménie)

LE PARTI DACHNAK
ÇA PLUS RIEN À FAIRE
Rapport à la Conférence du Parti en 1923

20. 11. 1923

В Уставе Коммунистической партии

Вопросы

снимать оружие и направлять оружие
просить о сотрудничестве
председатель армянской
дети партии Веракун
руководителем в 1923 г. за
за не 434 и рассмотреть
за, видимо, совсем не
напрямую, т. е. на первом
той Восточной Армянской
просеку выдана приговора
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ним с Уставом партии
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Mehmet Per
Aus der Sicht des
Staatsmannes
DER ARMENISCH-TÜRKEN

Armenian militia unit leaders -
Ruben, Vaqan and Papazyan in Turkey

