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*file
Armenian American*

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

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

FEBRUARY 7, 1983

TO: President Ronald Reagan
Presidential Assistant Jack Burgess
Assistant Secretary Jack Burgess
Counselor Edward Derwinski
Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill
Assistant to the Speaker Kirk O'Donnell

FROM: ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
EASTERN UNITED STATES

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find a copy of the Armenian National Committee letter sent to Secretary of State George P. Shultz regarding the "Note" which appeared in the State Department Bulletin concerning the Armenian Genocide.

We encourage you to set aside the time to fully read our Memorandum and supporting materials.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Armenian National Committee
Eastern United States

Aram Kailian
Aram H. Kailian, Chairman



ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

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

February 3, 1983

Hon. George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
Department of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Shultz:

On January 25, 1983, we sent you a memorandum dealing with the "Note" in your August 1982 Bulletin which seemed to deny the Armenian Genocide ever occurred. The statement in question was made in the name of "The Department of State" rather than any individual or division within the Department.

We are aware that since then the Department has responded to complaints received from Speaker O'Neill and others on this matter and that the Department's recent letter to the Speaker, signed by the Assistant Secretary Hughes "on behalf of the Department" sets forth the Department's current "position" which is, in fact, just an avoidance of the issue and nothing more.

The letter to the Speaker refers to a September Bulletin disclaimer which was clearly restricted to the article by Andrew Corsun in the August issue, but did not specifically address and retract the objectionable "Note" on page 35. It goes on to present this alleged "clarification":

"Neither the August footnote nor the article represent an effort to present the official position of the Department of State. Publication of the article and footnotes represent no policy change by the Department of State."

If this is intended as a retraction or disclaimer of the offending statement, it is a peculiarly obfuscatory one. The mention of the "article" and of "footnotes" would seem to limit the Department's "clarification" to the footnotes directly related to the article by Andrew Corsun, i.e. his footnotes or footnotes supposedly his. While the use of terms like "alleged" by Corsun was objectionable, the article was a signed piece and clearly "not necessarily" a statement of Department policy. Corsun's article was never at issue, nor were his footnotes.

What we objected to and still strongly object to is the clearly separated "Note" added after the article (on page 35) by someone in the Department, presumably intended as an additional comment by the Department and very obviously not a "footnote" to the article. Indeed the "Note" in question is a statement which claims to be made on behalf of the Department: "The Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide

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against the Armenian people.

Without belaboring the point, it seems quite clear that the Department's responses to date have attempted to avoid direct response or responsibility for the "Note," which was of course, an indefensible denial of reality that can only prove to be an embarrassment to the Department and to our country.

We believe it would be assuming too much for us to interpret Mr. Hughes' statement to Speaker O'Neill as an affirmation of past U.S. policy - as articulated especially by Presidents and members of Congress - recognize that the Armenian people were subjected to a planned and systematic genocide by the Ittihadist Turkish leaders in 1914-17. Also, the letter to the Speaker could not serve the purpose of a clear, unambiguous and unequivocal retraction in the Bulletin (where the original mis-statement appeared), nor could it possibly undo the harm done by the "Note" in misleading Bulletin readers. Only a clear and specific, prominently displayed statement in the Bulletin would do that and would be the only fair resolution of this matter, which has brought so much frustration and anguish to so many Americans.

We are enclosing, for your further information, to supplement your already extensive Department archives, a fact sheet on the Armenian Genocide which should help you to understand the depths of our feelings as well as the gross error of the "Note." As Americans, we feel that the Armenian Question - of which the genocide is only a part - is an important international issue that deserves your personal attention. As such, we encourage you to set aside the time to read fully yourself our Memorandum of January 25, 1983, and the enclosed supporting materials.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Armenian National Committee
Eastern United States



Aram H. Kailian, Chairman

enclosure

"Facts on the Armenian Genocide"

c.c. President Ronald Reagan
Presidential Assistant Jack Burgess
Assistant Secretary John Hughes
Counselor Edward Derwinski
Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill
Mr Kirk O'Donnell



ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

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

January 25, 1983

TO: Honorable George P. Shultz, Secretary of State

FROM: Armenian National Committee
Eastern United States

SUBJECT: State Department Denial of Genocide

As an American branch of the major political organization among Armenians in the Diaspora, we are writing to seek corrective action on a matter of grave importance to the nearly one million Americans of Armenian background, to the seven million Armenians world-wide, and potentially to millions of other Americans and to other governments and their citizens.

The problem concerns our State Department taking a position which not only appears to deny an almost universally-accepted historic fact but also seems to condone genocide by joining the perpetrators in covering up the crime. Such an indefensible and insensitive position can only harm the United States' image and position. We are referring specifically to this "Note" which appears at the end of a report by Andrew Corsun on "Armenian Terrorism", in the August, 1982 issue of the State Department Bulletin:

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

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To label the genocide of the Armenians an "allegation" is as shocking and irresponsible as claiming that the earth is flat, or more appropriately, that the Holocaust of the Jews is a myth.

If the Armenian Genocide, probably one of the most extensively documented occurrences in modern history, is an "allegation", the Department of State might presumably also deny the realities of Black slavery in America, the internment of the Japanese-Americans during World War II and other such events.

Before proceeding, we should point out that the apparent delay in our writing to you is that the Armenian National Committee (ANC) has been involved in direct discussion on this matter with Mr. Michael Cotter and other State Department officers. We had expected that something so clearly wrong would not have gone uncorrected so long. Now we must follow up our earlier contacts (and letters) with this formal memorandum.

Secretary Shultz, you know, as we do, that there is nothing "ambiguous" about the "historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor" and that, except for the Turkish Government and a very small handful of their apologists or paid propagandists, no responsible person and certainly no expert on genocide or on that period of history has any doubts about what happened in 1915. Does the denial of the Nazi Holocaust by a few anti-Semites render the historical record "ambiguous"? Of course not. In this case, politically-motivated or psychopathic denials must not be confused with the "historical record". The fact that the massacres occurred and that the Turkish Government's plan was one of Genocide is more than adequately documented and is

universally-acknowledged (except for the Turks). The intent of the Turkish Government to destroy the Armenian people is attested to by orders that have been preserved, as well as the observations and records of prominent European and American individuals and agencies, including our own (U.S.) Ambassador to Turkey (1913-1916), Henry Morgenthau, and the U.S. Consular officials who reported to him. Indeed, the national Archives of the United States, including the general records of the State Department, include extensive documentation of the nature and scope of the Turkish crime against the Armenian people. The bibliography, The Armenian Holocaust by Richard Hovannisian, (NAASR, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978) devotes several pages to a listing of numerous files of the State Department from that period containing literally thousands of documents dealing with the horrible events of 1915, and the years that preceded and followed it.

Distinct from the total indefensibility of the statement as a denial of reality is the fact that it also runs counter to decades of American policy as voiced in the statements and actions of Presidents and of Congress. Even within the past decade, American Presidents, including both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, have recognized the fact of the Armenian Genocide and commented on it in rather strong and clear words, and there have been many instances of official and quasi-official recognition of the historical reality and significance of the Armenian genocide.

In a statement issued to our organization on October 22, 1976, Jimmy Carter said:

"The history of Armenia, extending over 3,000 years, is one of survival against overwhelming odds, victory over oppressors, and tragic human suffering."

"The Armenian people have consistently demonstrated an indomitable spirit and a dedication to the cause of freedom, as exemplified by the creation of a Republic following the 1915-1917 bloodbath.

"An estimated one and a half million persons were murdered during the first genocide of the 20th century, yet even though the tragedy of history has not been corrected, Armenians, wherever they are, continue to maintain their culture and strong desire for freedom."

Just the year before (1975), the U.S. House of Representatives adopted HJR 148 designating April 24, 1975, a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man", to remember "all the victims of genocide, especially those of Armenian ancestry who succumbed to the genocide perpetrated in 1915".

In encouraging the adoption of HJR 148, House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill co-signed a February 21, 1975 letter to all members of Congress which stated:

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

Speaker O'Neill used virtually the same words in a statement issued earlier to the Armenian Youth Federation.

On May 11, 1976 and August 30, 1976, the Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy Research and Development, of the U.S. House

Committee on International Relations, held a hearing on "Certain Past Instances of Genocide and Exploration of Policy Options for the Future." The May 11th hearing was devoted exclusively to the Armenian Genocide and the August 30th hearing to the Holocaust of the Jews. In both cases, experts and community spokesmen testified and the record of those hearings is available (U.S. GPO #77-888, Washington, 1976). It should be noted that there were also statements submitted for the record by such men as then - U.S. Representative Edward J. Derwinski, who began with: "Mr. Chairman, in this hearing on the subject of the suffering of millions of Armenians 61 years ago, we note what is properly regarded as the first Tragedy of deliberate genocide in the 20th century - the ruthless massacre of the Armenian people by the Ottoman government". He continued "The Turks set out to exterminate the whole Armenian christian population within its borders and called for the elimination of some two million Armenians in the Ottoman Empire through deportation, contrived famine, and large scale massacres."

In an April 15, 1980 letter to Hairenik, a Boston-based Armenian newspaper, Ronald Reagan made the following statements and promises, now directly contradicted by the State Department disclaimer and the total lack of meaningful positive activity by the U.S. to peacefully resolve the Armenian Question. Relevant portions of the Reagan letter are here quoted verbatim:

"Sixty-five years ago one of the greatest tragedies in the annals of recorded history occurred when one and half million innocent Armenian men, women and children were massacred in the shadow of Mt. Ararat."

"Their only crime was their century-old dedication to live their lives as free Armenians, professing their Christian beliefs, in a homeland that had previously dazzled Asia Minor with its prominence and power."

"The 1980's must be that period when the voices of Americans of Armenian ancestry are heard in the councils of government. It must be that period when Americans and its allies throughout the Free World resolve that the tragedy of 1915 never again be repeated."

"I join with the American Armenian community in solemn remembrance of the martyrs of 1915."

Since some might be inclined to dismiss the Reagan or Carter statements as campaign rhetoric, it is worth noting that, even after his election, President Reagan has acknowledged the Armenian Genocide. For instance in Proclamation 4838, issued on April 22, 1981, to proclaim April 26 - May 3 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of Holocaust", in which the precedental significance of the Armenian Genocide is clearly indicated by our President:

"Like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it and like too many other such persecutions of too many other peoples - the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten."

The same was true of President Carter. For instance, the Public Papers of the Presidents: Jimmy Carter, Vol. I (1978), records the following remarks by President Carter at a May 16, 1978, White House reception honoring Armenian-American business, industry, labor, education, civil and religious leaders:

"But it's generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916, there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest tragedies that ever befell any group. And there weren't any Nurenberg Trials."

"Well I feel very deeply that I, as President, ought to make sure that this is never forgotten. . ."

On Armenian Memorial Day, April 24, 1980, U.S. Holocaust Council Director Monroe H. Freedman, spoke in New York and in a subsequently distributed statement said, "Today, we recall in sorrow the million and a half Armenians who were tortured, starved and butchered to death in the first genocide of the twentieth century."

The 1980 edition of the semi-official Area Handbook on Turkey, prepared by American University (Foreign Area Studies) and published by and for the U.S. Department of the Army, is quite clear when it states that the Ottoman Government in 1915-16 "undertook to exterminate or forcefully remove the entire Armenian population in the area." Elsewhere in the same book, these experts on Turkey describe the "massive deportation of as many as two million Armenians" undertaken in 1915 and how "it shortly degenerated into a massacre." As to numbers killed, the Area Handbook says, "The most conservative estimates put the number of dead at 600,000, but other sources cite a figure well over one million."

Going back some 60 years, the official American Military Mission to Armenia, headed by Major General John G. Harbord, reported these findings to the U.S. Senate on April 13, 1920.

"Massacres and deportations were organized in the Spring of 1915 under definite system, the soldiers going from town to town."

"The dead from this wholesale attempt on the race are variously estimated from 500,000 to more than a million . . ."

"Mutilation, violation, torture, and death has left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages."

"Testimony is universal that the massacres have always been ordered from Constantinople."

We have, of course, no doubt that you and the Department are fully aware of the horrors that the Armenian people suffered in 1915-20 or that these unprecedented crimes were the result of a Turkish government policy of genocide designed to "solve the Armenian Problem" by eliminating the Armenians.

We suspect and fear that whoever is responsible for the Department's seeming cover-up of this century's first genocide may have acted out of a misguided effort to placate Turkey's military junta for strategic (basically military) reasons. We are, however, not convinced that officials at your level are fully aware of this "policy" or, if so, have thought through its moral and political implications and potential repercussions. Moreover, as Americans, we feel a sense of shame at such an apparent subversion of the truth by our own government and feel compelled to help you retrieve America's honor by somehow correcting this grave error.

It should be understood that, in our view, the seriousness of the Department's statement does not derive only from the inexcusable denial of a historic fact, but from its current effect of supporting and aiding the ongoing process of planned genocide.

Indeed, to us and informed observers, the Armenian Genocide is not just history but a continuous process which began in 1915 with the systematic mass killing (themselves the culmination of decades of rule-by-massacre), continued through the Kemalist assaults and massacres (including the destruction of the independent Armenian Republic), the dispersal of the survivors so that Turkish-occupied Armenia was left with virtually no Armenians (part of the racist geo-political "pan-Turkish" design), then the still-continuing destruction or misrepresentation of Armenian architectural monuments and the Turkification of place-names (all to destroy any vestige of an Armenian presence), and now to cover-up and denial. This most recent phase, which has intensified in the early 1960's, involves an active harassment and propaganda campaign designed to intimidate Armenians from publicly commemorating their martyrs and to pressure governments and others to either join in or tolerate Turkey's pathological cover-up that alternately denies that any massacre occurred or that it was a "planned" genocide, at times even claims Armenians massacred Turks (even "two million" has been claimed), or sometimes asserts Armenians never lived in "Eastern Turkey" or that Armenians never even existed! This cover-up, this denial of the existence of the crime or even of its victims, is unquestionably part of the final phase in the continuing Turkish crime against the Armenian people, and the U.S. State Department has (we hope unwittingly) become an accomplice in this continuing genocidal plan by assisting in the cover-up. Every time someone, especially the U.S. State

Department, refers to the Armenian Genocide as an "allegation" or a "claim" or even a "controversy", Turkey's diabolical scheme to bury, re-write or raise doubts about the truth, and thereby evade responsibility, is given undeserved credibility.

As Americans, we also find it frightening to contemplate the possibility that the Turks and even some of the more "cooperative" U.S. officials may in fact be attempting to provoke violent reactions to discredit the Armenian Cause. More specifically, we are particularly concerned that the "Note" denying the genocide on behalf of the Department may be part of an effort to deliberately provoke extremists into retaliating against American diplomats, thereby turning American public and legislative opinion against the just cause and aspirations of the Armenian people. These same people may be behind hyperbolic assertions that Armenian Terrorism is a threat to U.S. security and (perhaps self-fulfilling) predictions that U.S. diplomats may fall victim to Armenian extremists.

In connection, it is worth noting that "studies" and "hearings" on Armenian terrorism (which our tax dollars presumably pay for) fail to point out an important and easily documented fact: that the intensification of Turkish intervention in Armenian efforts to commemorate their martyrs, for instance by building memorials to the 1915 victims (e.g. in Montebello, California) and of the Turkish Government's propaganda campaign of denial and distortion actually preceded by more than a decade the earliest acts attributed to organized Armenian terrorists (1975). Indeed, statements issued by such

groups made it clear that their initial actions were in direct response to such Turkish provocation, particularly the 1974 effort to censor a U.N. Human Rights Commission sub-committee report on Genocide which accurately described the Armenian massacres as "the first genocide of the Twentieth century." Secretary Shultz, if the limited acts of a few individuals or small groups outraged by Turkish denials and avoidance of responsibility is "terrorism" (which it is), what word can possibly describe the present Turkish Government's cover-up 1.5 million murders, refusal to deal openly with its problems, or its harassment and intimidation of the survivors and their descendents, even in the U.S.?

In fact, in sharp contrast to modern Germany's atonement and its behavior toward the Jews and Israel, today's Turkey honors the memory of the arch-criminal Talaat Pasha with a monument, memorials, and the like. What would be the reaction of world Jewry or of others if present-day Germany so honored Hitler, denied the Holocaust, and committed other such crimes which Turkey commits today against its Armenian victims?

In summary, whether Armenian terrorists "use" the fact of Genocide to "justify in part" their actions does not justify the U.S. government ignoring the overwhelming historical evidence, unashamedly labeling it "ambiguous", and describing the planned and brutal murders of 1.5 million men, women and children as an "allegation".

If the intent of taking such an indefensible position, one so embarrassing to the credibility of the U.S., is to discourage

terrorism, the record shows that the opposite is true. If the intent is simply to placate the Turks for strategic reasons (NATO, etc.), becoming a willing accomplice in the cover-up of mass murder is too much to ask American citizens to accept as the price of Turkish blackmail.

We need not recite the record once more. The fact is that the Genocide of 1915 occurred. The events as well as the motivation and nature of those events are documented by a large number of non-Armenian and non-Turkish eyewitnesses and on-the-scene observers have provided us with a very reliable record. These include U.S. Ambassador Morgenthau, whose reports and later writings were based on U.S. consular dispatches. The U.S. archives themselves also provide extensive documentation. League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Nansen, the German Dr. Lepsius, Herbert A. Gibbons, Arnold Toynbee, Winston Churchill, and many others of that period also described the horrors of the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians.

Present-day experts on the Holocaust and on Genocide (Horowitz, Fein, Sachar, etc.) recognize the genocidal intent and nature of the Armenian massacres of 1915 and regard it as "the prototype of twentieth century genocide." As we have noted, President Reagan and virtually all U.S. presidents have spoken of the Armenian Genocide, and within the past decade, a U.S. House of Representatives adopted HJR 148 the honoring the 1915 Armenian victims of Genocide.

This is the first time, to our knowledge, that someone speaking on behalf of the U.S. Department of State has actually

taken the official position that the Genocide of 1.5 million Armenians did not occur.

However, having taken such a stand (or by allowing a statement to that effect to be published), the Department is obligated to go beyond a mechanical retraction. We expect, at the least, both a retraction and a clear, unequivocal statement acknowledging the Armenian Genocide as a historical fact, i.e. to fully correct the official record as reflected in the August "Note." The retraction should at least appear in the State Department Bulletin, as did the "Note". An affirmation of the historic facts - to counter the damage done by the "Note" - could be in the form of a statement by you, as Secretary, or by the President, and might also appear in the Bulletin.

As Americans, we are concerned that this total reversal and rejection of America's historic (past) role as a champion of the Armenian people and its rights will further strengthen the more recent perception of America as blindly pro-Turkish and indifferent to Armenian concerns, thereby pushing the world's six to seven million strategically-located Armenians further away from their traditional western orientation.

Finally and most important for all of our fellow Americans to recognize is that forces in the State Department and or the Defense Department may have succeeded in using misrepresentations and distorted notions of "national security" to in fact subordinate American interests to the whims of the Turkish military junta, for certainly America itself has nothing to gain from denying the Armenian Genocide.

Instead of joining Turkey in her psycopathic denial, American officials could serve the interests of the U.S. and its Turkish "ally" better by encouraging Turkey to face reality as the U.S. has done.

Affirmative action, for instance, is an implicit recognition of guilt arising from American enslavement of blacks and subsequent Jim Crow laws. Also, a special governmental commission has held hearings and is now recommending compensation for Japanese Americans interned is one of the darkest pages of our history.

Native Americans (Indians) are having their lands restored receiving compensation (reparations), and having old treaty rights recognized through American courts.

Americans have not hidden from the moral responsibilities inherent in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki or in crimes committed by American soldiers against Vietnamese civilians. Our history or sociology books do not ignore such episodes in American history as the Oriental Exclusion Acts, lynchings and other expressions of racism, anti-Catholic or anti-Irish riots, anti-Semitism, restrictive housing covenants (aimed at Armenians as well as blacks and Jews), and other such distasteful but very real chapters in our continuing evolution toward the still-to-be-realized ideal.

It would seem that the American example of acknowledging and coming to grips with the past and attempting to compensate for or correct it - should be shared with Turkish officials. Instead, it appears that American officials may have allowed themselves to

be drawn into a preposterous but ugly and clearly counterproductive uniquely Turkish denial of reality. (The same Turkish junta denies the very existence of some eight million Kurds in Turkey and to enforce this denial, considers it a crime to speak Kurdish, use Kurdish names, or even to say "I am a Kurd.")

Finally, a word should be said on the human cost of the State Department's denial. Any review of the eyewitness accounts in the official British "Blue Book" on the 1915 massacres or in the many other sources of such accounts would help Department officials to understand the horrors and brutalities to which our parents and grandparents were subjected and thereby, appreciate how painful the Department "Note" was to us as descendants and how particularly devastating it was to those elderly persons who are actually survivors of the Armenian holocaust. They call us, write to us, or stop us on the street and ask: "Do they think I imagined all of that? Were my parents not beheaded in front of me? Was I not left in the desert to die? And what of my scars?" How shall we answer them, Mr. Secretary?

Viewed in terms of international morality, the seriousness of this denial cannot be overstated. It must not only be corrected fully and clearly, without equivocation, but those harmed by it - harmed in terms of mental anguish and perhaps worse - deserve an apology that recognizes the seriousness of such insensitivity to the unprecedented human suffering which they and their parents or grandparents had experienced.

Mr. Secretary, whatever the State Department may or may not say about it, the Armenian Genocide is a fact. But, as Americans, we must insist that the Department reverse its untenable and callous denial of 1.5 million murders for the sake of historic truth and for the sake of America's integrity and genuine national interests.

We await your action and your written response and would welcome the opportunity to meet with you directly.

Sincerely yours,

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
EASTERN UNITED STATES

LEO SARKISIAN

Leo Sarkisian,
Public Information

jw
Enclosure

* Please Address Response to: Aram Kailian, Chairman at the address above.



THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: SELECTED STATEMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FACTS ABOUT THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

In Response to Turkish Efforts to Distort the Truth

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

U.S. AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NANSEN THE HUMANITARIAN

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

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

TOYNBEE THE HISTORIAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PRESENT-DAY EXPERTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WINSTON CHURCHILL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CARDINAL CUSHING

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

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

"This Armenian massacre was really 'genocide'; it was an attempt to extinguish an entire race of people, as such. The sole crime of the martyred people was that they were Armenians."

EYEWITNESSES TO HORROR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"In Harpoot and Mezre the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eyebrows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing horses. This is all done at nighttime, and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know their agony, soldiers are stationed round the prisons, beating drums and blowing whistles . . . Harpoot has become the cemetery of the Armenians."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us respond to Adolf Hitler's chilling question:

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

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

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

Stop the big lie!

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

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
EASTERN REGION, UNITED STATES
FEBRUARY, 1983

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

March 14, 1983

TO: FRED RYAN, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: FAITH WHITTLESEY

REQUEST: To receive His Holiness Karekin II

PURPOSE: To demonstrate the President's ongoing interest in the Middle East and strengthen his support among Americans of Armenian ancestry.

BACKGROUND: His Holiness Karekin II, Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church, will be visiting the United States in early June. Headquartered in Lebanon, he is the spiritual leader of free Armenians throughout the world (He has a counterpart, appointed by the Soviet government and headquartered in Yerevan, in Soviet Armenia).

In his travels through the U.S., he will visit Armenian communities where churches affiliated with his See, Cilicia, are located. These include most major Armenian communities.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None

DATE AND TIME: June 16, 17, 20, 21 DURATION: Ten minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: Karekin II plus 4 or 5 members of his official party

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: The President greets the Catholicos and his party in the Oval Office, poses for photos, and converses briefly per talking points.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House Press Pool

RECOMMENDED BY: Department of State (Derwinski), Senator D'Amato, Senator Wilson, Congressman Pashayan

OPPOSED BY:

PROJECT OFFICER:

Month ~ US & Canada - Melrose.

- head of church
- reg. Am. in hel.

trip for letter in 2 hr

World Council of Churches

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Addressing Pres. Ch. in Pthales

June 16-17

June 20-21

Arch in NY prior to this.

Dr. Maksaund, Arch. League

Amendments
1st edition to
body + Xmas

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Belarus Belorussia

- recap in it

Catholics - Am, N Syria, Cyprus, Greece,

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Pete Wilson
C. Bell
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EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
4TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

REPUBLICAN REGIONAL WHIP

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1401 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3961

DISTRICT OFFICE:
12236 SOUTH HARLEM AVENUE
PALOS HEIGHTS, ILLINOIS 60463
(312) 448-3500

TOLL FREE NUMBER
(800) 942-6057

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 22, 1983

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SUBCOMMITTEE:
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND
SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

SUBCOMMITTEE:
INVESTIGATIONS
EX OFFICIO MEMBER OF ALL OTHER
SUBCOMMITTEES

COMMISSION ON
CONGRESSIONAL MAILING
STANDARDS

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

TREASURER—U.S. GROUP
MEMBER—IPU COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM

TO : Senator D'Amato

FROM : Ed Derwinski

SUBJECT: Request by his Holiness Karekin II for an appointment
with President Reagan

His Holiness Karekin II, Catholicos of the See of Cilicia of the Armenian Apostolic Church, headquartered in Beirut, Lebanon, will be coming to the United States early in June on an official pontifical pastoral visit. He will travel to Armenian churches throughout the United States and will be received in most communities in this country where Armenian Apostolic churches affiliated with his See are located.

His Holiness has expressed the fervent wish that an appointment with the President be arranged. His Holiness' predecessor, Khoren I, met with President Nixon when he visited the United States in 1969.

His Holiness' will also be attending the Sixth World Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Canada during July and August. He is a member of the Governing Body of that organization.

The See of Cilicia, which His Holiness heads, is headquartered in Beirut where there is a substantial Armenian population. His Holiness has close personal ties with President Amin Gemayal of Lebanon. The Armenians have remained strictly neutral in the Lebanese factional feuding and will play a key role in the hoped-for reconstruction of that country. Thus, he represents a practical, properly positioned, segment of the Lebanese population in addition to the great respect in which he is held as a religious leader.

from

Congressman Ed Derwinski's office

Jack

For your information

ed

See page 2

- ARMENIAN
CATHOLICOSATE
OF
CILICIA
ANTELIAS-LEBANON



Nº 18/83

Antelias, 21st January, 1983

His Excellency
Congressman Edward J. Derwinski
House of Representatives
1401 Longworth Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

My dear friend,

I received only ten days ago your very kind letter of November 8, 1982. This in itself indicates that the public services, such as the postal system are still working slowly. But we hope that in due course they will become more regular as the situation gradually is improved.

Thank you so much for your kind consideration and deep sympathy. As the American saying goes: "Once a friend always a friend". I feel the same say.

It gives me very special joy to hear that you have become now Counselor of the Department of State. I congratulate you wholeheartedly and, indeed, appreciate those who asked you to assume this highly responsible position. You deserve it. I firmly believe that the State Department needs it. Your deep understanding of the world situation in general and of the conditions of the Middle East in particular, and your rich experience in international relations though your active participation in Interparliamentary conferences and other types of inter-relations can, indeed, be most valuable for U.S. international involvement which is so vital in this present world of communication and inter-dependence.

Let me also say that we have known you as one of the rare persons who fully understand the predicament of the Armenian situation and sympathise very much, indeed, with the ethos and posi-

'ARMENIAN
CATHOLICOSATE
OF
CILICIA
ANTELIAS-LEBANON



Nº 18/83

Antelias, 21st January, 1983

tive role of this small but vibrant nation now scattered around the world. I am sure you will continue your friendship with this people of mine that has been so close to your heart and, I am ~~sure you know it well, you have been so much loved by them.~~

I will be coming to U.S.A. this time officially for a pontifical pastoral visit to the East Coast, to Mid-West and to Canada. This will take place in early June. Our Diocesan Bishop, His Grace Mesrob Ashjian, will be in touch with you. I wish to visit the President as did Catholicos Khoren I during his visit in 1969. I am sure you will do your best to arrange such a visit and to help also arrange other meetins in Washington as our Prelacy in New York may plan. It will be a great joy to meet you and have long discussions with you. I have already spoken about my planned visit to Mr. R. Dillon, the U.S. Ambassador here in Lebanon.

Please convey my very best wishes to Mr. Bobelis whom I had the happy opportunity of ~~seeing here with you.~~ My heartfelt wishes also to Congressman Pashayan from Fresno, whom although I do not know personally but have heard so highly of him from you and other common friends.

May God's blessings be abundantly upon you and your work.

Prayerfully,

Karekin II

KAREKIN II
CATHOLICOS COADJUTOR



*file
Armenian Americans*

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

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

February 3, 1983

The White House
Mr. Jack Burgess,
Special Assistant to the President

Dear Jack:

We appreciate the opportunity to meet and are confident that you will do your utmost to assist us. Please keep us informed of your findings regarding the issues discussed and keep us in mind, concerning other areas of general or specific interest which may cross your desk.

If we can provide input at any time, please contact us.

Sincerely,

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Eastern United States

Aram Kailian

Aram H. Kailian, Chairman
(office phone (215) 576-7790)

AK/gab



*file
Armenian - American*

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

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

October 23, 1982

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

Dear President Reagan:

It has come to our attention through press reports that the Turkish Government has or is threatening to initiate "Turkish Hit Squads" to retaliate against attacks on Turkish diplomats with targets being the leadership of the Armenian diaspora. The source is attributed to General Evren, the Turkish military junta leader and high government officials.

As an American-Armenian political organization which has maintained a high diplomatic profile, we have already expressed our deep concern to officials within the State Department regarding this serious development.


With this letter, we wish to formally alert you also of our concern for the physical safety of leadership of the American-Armenian community and their organizations which have been visible and vocal in exercising their rights in order to combat Turkish propaganda and falsification of history and injustice concerning the Armenian Case. We must stress to you that the Turkish threats are to be taken seriously.

Regarding the safety of the Armenian community and organizational leaders, we request your assistance. This assistance should include, but not be limited to those leaders who desire means of self-protection; what government protection is available at the federal, state, and local levels for an individual and his family's safety; also for our churches, offices, community centers; who to contact and report any threats; what means

are available to monitor and alert us of the entry of questionable foreign nationals; etc.

At present, there have been no direct threats from Turkish Government groups, other than statements of Evren and other officials. This correspondence is a precautionary measure and the information you provide will be disseminated to our community.

We realize that our country's laws absolutely do not permit another nation's circumvention of those laws, but, prudence and countermeasures must be considered as a means of protection. The Turkish Government's propaganda shows clearly that they make no distinction between "Armenian Terrorism" and "Armenian activism". The latter being the exercise of political rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution to its citizens. Your prompt reply and action is requested without delay.

Sincerely,


ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Aram Kailian, Chairman

c.c. Jack Burgess, Special assistant
to the President for public liaison

*file
Armenian Assembly*

ARMENIAN ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA

1420 "N" STREET, N. W. • SUITE 101 • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • (202) 332-3434

November 15, 1982

Mr. John F. Burgess
Special Assistant to the President for
Public Liaison and Deputy Director of
the Office of Public Liaison
The White House Office
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Burgess:

Mr. Aram Kailian met with you recently and suggested that I forward the enclosed background information. The following issue briefs have been distributed to the White House, U.S. Congress, and U.S. Department of State:

1. Department of State Remarks on the Armenian Genocide.
2. United States Vote on the Armenian Genocide During a Debate of the United Nations Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.
3. World Press Reaction to Turkish and Israeli Intervention to Prevent Discussion of the Armenian Genocide During the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide.

This material was prepared in response to a statement made and subsequently reaffirmed by the Department of State in the August, 1982, edition of the Bulletin, which read, in part, "Because the historical records of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people." The Department's assertion is tantamount to U.S. denial of the Armenian Genocide.

This abuse of Armenian and American history is totally unacceptable to the Armenian Assembly and the entire Armenian-American community. Regardless of immediate political interests, the documented history of the Armenian people and the proud record of United States intervention and humanitarian assistance on behalf of the Armenians cannot be altered or ignored.

It is futile for free nations such as the United States to join with Turkey in its effort to change history. Documentation of the Armenian Genocide and the role of Turkey's central government in it is both exhaustive and overwhelming.

Mr. John Burgess
November 15, 1982
Page 2

The Armenian Assembly fully expects an unambiguous retraction in the next issue of the Department of State Bulletin. Towards that end, we would welcome the opportunity for consultations to the extent necessary to resolve this urgent matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Ross Vartian".

Ross Vartian
Executive Director

Enclosures

ARMENIAN ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA

1420 "N" STREET, N. W. • SUITE 101 • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • (202) 332-3434

ISSUE BRIEF

Subject: Department of State Remarks on the Armenian Genocide

1. The article entitled "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile" (Enclosure 1) which appeared in the August, 1982 edition of the Department of State Bulletin contains a footnote within which the following statement was made. "Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people."

2. This abuse of the historical record is totally unacceptable to the Armenian Assembly of America and the entire Armenian-American community.

3. The United States Archives are replete with material documenting the premeditated extermination of the Armenian people. A representative sampling of official State Department communiques is provided for your review (Enclosure 2). It should be noted that the Department's apparent refutation of its own archives impugn the efforts and reports of the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, acting on instructions from Secretaries of State William Jennings Bryan and Robert Lansing. These actions included organizing and leading protests by all nations, among them Turkey's allies, over Turkey's program of "race extermination" (Enclosure 3). The archives also demonstrate that the American people, through an organization known as Near East Relief chartered by an act of Congress, contributed some \$113 million between 1915 and 1930 to aid the Armenian Genocide survivors. In addition, 132,000 orphans became foster children of the American people and owe their lives to this effort. The Department's apparent denial of the Armenian Genocide, therefore, also serves to negate one of the greatest acts of philanthropy in American history. Finally, the fact of the Armenian Genocide was confirmed by another branch of this government in Senate Resolution Number 359 dated May 13, 1920. This resolution states, in part, "the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered."

4. Contemporary reaffirmations of the Armenian Genocide have also been numerous. Attached are statements by former President Carter (Enclosure 4) and President Reagan (Enclosure 5). In addition, during a 1979 United Nations debate on the Armenian Genocide, the United States voted to include the Genocide in a report entitled Study of the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Finally, on April 30, 1981, the United States Holocaust Memorial Council voted unanimously to include the Armenian Genocide "in a significant way."

5. Regardless of immediate political interests, the documented history of the Armenian people and the proud record of United States intervention and humanitarian assistance on behalf of the Armenians cannot be altered or ignored.

6. The Department of State may have made the decision in order to placate the current authorities in Turkey. This will be interpreted by the Armenian-American community as a manifestation of support for the Republic of Turkey's decades-old policy of distortion of the facts and, failing that, denial that the Armenian Genocide ever occurred. The Armenian-American community is prepared to act vigorously in defense of the record on this matter. The Assembly is awaiting the response of the Department prior to implementing a national campaign in response to this inexplicable action.

7. The Department of State may also have made this decision at Turkey's request in the name of combatting terrorism. Supposedly by denying genocide, terrorism would be discouraged. Regrettably, the exact opposite will occur if the Department's statement is not fully retracted. The leaders of the Armenian-American community have constantly and publicly spoken out against violence. At the same time, these leaders have attempted to explain to U.S. decision-makers that Turkey's non-recognition of the crime has created a level of frustration which has contributed to irrational deeds. By encouraging the Turkish government's campaign of distortion and denial, the Department is actually contributing to an increase in this level of frustration. Furthermore, the credibility of the Armenian-American leadership, who have attempted and championed peaceful means of conflict resolution, will diminish. Incredibly, the Department's article itself exacerbates the problem by stating, "Armenian extremists were able to accomplish in seven years what legitimate Armenian organizations have been trying to do for almost 70 years - internationalize the Armenian cause."

8. The Armenian Assembly fully expects an unambiguous retraction in the next issue of the Department of State Bulletin. Towards that end, we would welcome the opportunity for consultation to the extent necessary to resolve this urgent matter.

9. The Armenian people have already served as a prototype for modern methods of state-sponsored genocide. This government cannot allow the Armenian people to be victimized once again.

NOTE: The following enclosures are provided in addition to the items noted above:

Enclosure 6: The Armenian Holocaust - A Bibliography Relating to the Deportations, Massacres and Dispersion of the Armenian People, 1915-23, with a Preface by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge and Foreword by Chancellor Abram L. Sachar.

Enclosure 7: "Investigation Into Certain Past Instances of Genocide and Exploration of Policy Options for the Future"; Hearings before the Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy, Research and Development, May 11 and August 30, 1976.

Enclosure 8: "Fact Sheet: The Armenian Genocide," Armenian Assembly of America.

Prepared by: Ross Vartian, Executive Director, Armenian Assembly of America
Date: November 6, 1982



Armenian Terrorism: A Profile

by Andrew Corsun
Threat Analysis Group
Office of Security

Introduction

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

Enraged over the alleged massacre of 1.5 million Armenians by Turkey during World War I, and the loss of their homeland, Armenians unlike Jews tried and failed as propagandists to focus the world's attention on their grievances.¹ By resorting to terrorism, Armenian extremists were able to accomplish in 7 years what legitimate Armenian organizations have been trying to do for almost 70 years—internationalize the Armenian cause.

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

The Seeds of Conflict

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

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

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

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

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

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



(Camma)

September 24, 1981, Paris.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Terrorist Activities

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

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

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

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

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

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



FEATURE

Terrorism

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

JCAG and ASALA

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

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

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

ARMENIAN TERRORISM: INCIDENTS, BY YEAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



preparation for entering its second and current phase.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



FEATURE

Terrorism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTE

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

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

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

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