

The Armenian Genocide

9(566)
A-75

— first 20th century holocaust



1915

THE EVENTS IN
TURKISH ARMENIA
(1914-1916) AS
REPORTED IN *THE
NEW YORK TIMES*,
AND VARIOUS
PERIODICALS OF
THE TIME...WITH
SELECTED ENTRIES
TO 1922.



PERIODICALS

The Living Age
Literary Digest
The Independent
Missionary Review
The Outlook
The Survey
Atlantic Monthly
New Republic
Current History
Am. Review of Reviews
The World's Work
The Century
The Nation

The Assassination of Armenia

THE TURKISH PROGRAM OF ANNIHILATION DESCRIBED BY GOVERN-
MENT REPRESENTATIVES, TEACHERS, MISSIONARIES, AND
OTHER EYEWITNESSES

Distributed by San Francisco Bay Area
ARMENIAN COMMEMORATIVE COMMITTEE

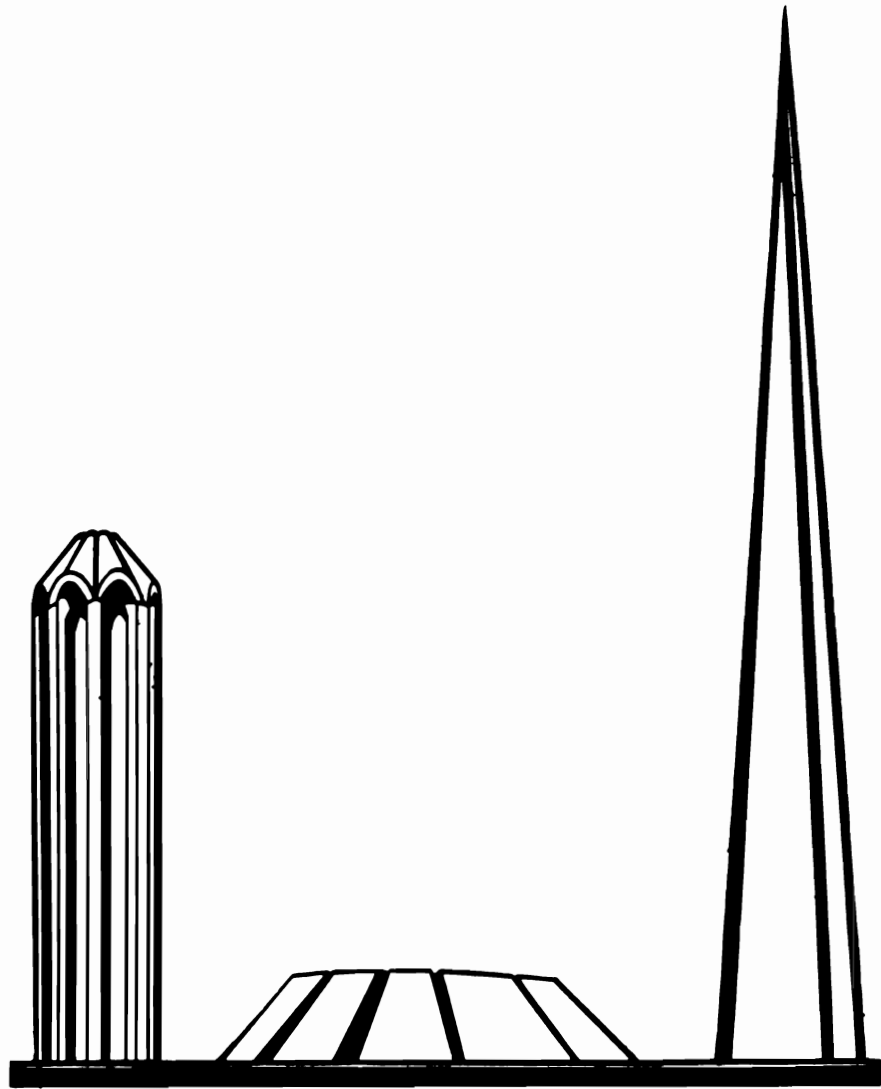
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65th Anniversary Memorial

1915-1980

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By-

Richard Diran Kloian

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Preface to the Second Edition

Expressions of enthusiasm and continued support from members of the Armenian community have made the second printing of this book possible. We are especially grateful to the **A.G.B.U. Alex Manoogian Cultural Fund**, the **Fresno United Armenian Commemorative Committee**, and the **Armenian National Committee** (Western Region), for their advance orders of substantial size, without which this second printing would not have been possible. It is also important to note that the **San Francisco Bay Area Armenian Commemorative Committee**, the primary distributor of this book, is a nonprofit organization dedicated to educating the general public about the Armenian Genocide. The executive committee of the **ACC** consists of representatives from the **Armenian National Committee**, the **Armenian Rights Movement**, the **Armenian Youth Federation**, various student organizations, as well as individuals from the Bay Area Armenian community.

The second edition includes a few corrections to the dates of the news entries from the *New York Times*. Also included are reference numbers from *The New York Times Index*, showing the page and column number of news entries. While every single news entry does not have a reference number, an effort has been made to include as many as possible. Thus, in each entry the date is given, then the number of the page, followed by a colon and the number of the column. The columns are understood to be numbered 1 to 8, from left to right. Therefore, October 7,(3:4), refers to the fourth column of the third page of the issue of *The Times* for October 7. Sections of the Sunday edition other than the first, or news section, are indicated by Roman numerals.

Also included in this second edition is an index to periodical literature, compiled by the author for use in selecting material for the book. All of this material was compiled from *The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and includes material from 1890 to 1935. This index can be found on pages 294 to 304. The author hopes that all of the changes and additions to the second edition facilitate the use of the book as a reference source, not only to students of Armenian history but to the general public as well.

65th COMMEMORATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

WHY WE COMMEMORATE

1915 - 1980

WE BELIEVE that our observance of the Genocide of the Armenians serves the following purposes:

- ... To remember and pay tribute to the one-and-a-half million Armenian men, women and children who were killed in the first major Genocide of the twentieth century — planned and executed by the Turkish government in 1915 as a brutal “final solution” to the “Armenian Question”.
- ... To give evidence of the continued vitality of the Armenian people, despite attempts to destroy us; and of our determination to continue our struggle to regain the territorial and national rights drowned in the blood bath of 1915-20.
- ... To protest against the continued indifference of the world powers who betrayed and abandoned the Armenians in return for economic and other gains promised by a brazen and unrepentant Turkey.
- ... To remind the militaristic, repressive regime in Turkey that, despite its pathological denial and distortion of the events of 1915-20, we — the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the victims — will not forget until justice is done.
- ... To help the world community to recognize that the toleration of Genocide and its acceptance as a “solution” to any problems leads only to its repeated use, just as the world’s indifference to the Armenian Genocide and its aftermath led Hitler to cite it as a precedent and justification for his own crimes.
- ... To remind the world and the government of Turkey that the Eastern provinces of what is today called Turkey were Armenian lands for thousands of years before the Turkish nomad armies even entered that part of the world; and that despite the murder and expulsion of the proprietor Armenian population, those territories remain no less Armenian today and must be returned to the rightful owners, the Armenian people.
- ... And finally, to remind the world that the use of Genocide as an instrument of national policy — by any nation at any time — is a crime against all Mankind, that it must be universally condemned, that there can be no statute of limitations on Genocide, and that the genocidist state should be denied the territorial, material, or political fruits of Genocide.

In February & March 1915 and for some months, thereafter, the Turkish Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, issued a series of directives to officials of Turkey’s eastern provinces that were to culminate, by early 1916, in the first real genocide of the modern age. By the time Talaat’s orders had been carried out, a number of Armenians variously estimated between 800,000 and two million had been slaughtered in the cruelest manner conceivable, and Turkey had solved what Talaat ominously called the “Armenian Question.”

Talaat’s directives to the government delegate in Adana, a city already infamous for previous atrocities against Armenians, express the intention “to exterminate all Armenians living in Turkey” with a minimum of delay and with no compassion whatsoever. They are thus the first modern record of an official policy of genocide, a genocide that has not yet had — and may never have — its Nuremberg. The orders for this crime could have had no higher authority, for Talaat, together with Enver Pasha, the War Minister, and Djemal Pasha, the Minister for Marine, shared absolute power in the Turkish dictatorship.

The consequences of Talaat’s directives were incalculable. The deaths of as many as two million people — many of them children —, the expropriation of their homeland, and countless acts of bestiality followed. The Armenians were indeed very nearly exterminated, for women, children, and men of sufficient youth to propagate the race were slaughtered with a systematic coldness not to be matched again until Hitler’s concentration camps.

In some ways, the Turkish action against the Armenian minority was a prototype of the Nazi genocide. Talaat even bears some resemblance to Himmler, for he insists that compassion has no place in the necessary work to follow, as Himmler exhorted the SS to be strong enough for the disagreeable tasks of the “final solution.” Like Himmler also, Talaat’s private personality gave little indication of his murderous singlemindedness in the public sphere.

These then are the documents that brought about for the first time in modern history the systematic destruction on racial and religious grounds of an entire people by the highest officials of a legally constituted government.

DIKRAN BOYADJIAN

“ARMENIA: THE CASE OF A FORGOTTEN GENOCIDE”

65th COMMEMORATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

PREFACE

Those who have heard about the Armenian Genocide and events in Turkey during the period 1914 to 1916 from friends, relatives, and a variety of written sources have also, no doubt, experienced conflicting opinions as to the reality of events which occurred. Doubt, confusion, and—finally—resignation follow too easily and the issue, and events, become subordinated to the rather ignominious and sometimes irrelevant role of “history.”

That an event of such monstrous proportions should be so relegated and so easily dismissed from the body of world opinion, and today even fall victim to increasing attempts to alter the facts and show that these events did not even occur must be abhorrent to all who truly understand the facts. It should be no less abhorrent to those who profess their active support for human rights today, not to mention those still alive who survived these events in body only to suffer in spirit continual attempts to extirpate from their memories the recurrent anguish and shock which only death can erase.

There is no question that the last sixty-five years has produced shocks to our sensibilities—horror upon horror, atrocity upon atrocity. It never ends, even today. We become so desensitized that the very words themselves used to describe such crimes lose their impact as they become more like clichés in common language rather than remain in the arena of blood, flesh, and tears. That, unfortunately, is perfectly natural, after all, we’re only human. But we do have a responsibility and an obligation to be humane.

Our sense of reality about the world and events occurring throughout the world comes to us through the media: newspapers, radio, television, periodicals, and books. Of these, newspapers are the most integral part of our daily lives, as institutional to many of us as our morning cup of coffee. The sense of immediacy they convey and the wealth of information they provide do more to provoke our thinking, inflame our emotions, and connect us to the world at large than any other media. Whether always accurate or not, they nevertheless do convey a fairly accurate picture of the world and events when a preponderance of uniform information is placed in context.

The inspiration for this book was borne out of a desire to recreate that sense of immediacy and to experience the news first hand, as it happened, and as it was reported day by day. It is hoped that by placing them in chronological order the daily unfolding of news events provides for the reader a sense of “living history” in which the past becomes more alive, more poignant, more telling, and far more interesting to read. There is, after all, a special kind of magic in reading old newspapers which transcends time and allows old events to acquire a new emphasis and a renewed meaning. It has the advantage too of placing on the stage of time all the actors who shined in the light of public attention, and who formed the crux of the story that was in later years to become the basis for...“The Forgotten Genocide.”

Comprising this book are approximately three hundred news entries from *The New York Times*. To be sure, there are many other newspapers around the country that reported the events, all of which I wish I could have included in this book, but the exigencies of time and space precluded such a possibility. I decided on *The New York Times* because of its generally accepted name and reputation and, most importantly, because of an indexing system which allowed retrieval of information from microfilm more feasible.

65th COMMEMORATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

PREFACE (continued)

Mention should be made of the regret that some of the news entries are not in better condition, and that in some areas the printing is barely legible. While care has been taken, and an effort made, to restore many of the faded areas to legibility, a complete restoration was not possible. Also suffering the ravages of time and, in some cases, merely from multiple copying is the quality of some of the photographs; for that, too, an apology must be expressed.

Even more interesting than the news entries themselves, perhaps, are the several hundred articles which appeared in dozens of different periodicals in this country alone during the period of the Genocide. Of these, I have selected sixty-eight separate articles from thirteen different periodicals and placed them also in chronological order to enhance an appreciation of the issues topical at the time. The one, however, that needs special mention is the series of articles which appeared in *The World's Work* magazine in 1918 under the title, "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story." Owing to Ambassador Morgenthau's special role in Turkey during the massacres, it would be remiss of me not to recommend that his story be read first. [page 196] Not only would his story aid in putting all the other material into context but would add color and depth to all the issues discussed and presented throughout the book, and were it not for the need to conform to the chronological style of the book I certainly would have placed his story at the beginning.

Here, I think it fitting—nay, necessary, that I dispel any impressions some may entertain that this book is intended by me to be a definitive study of written material concerning the Armenian Genocide. It certainly is not, for the plethora of material in hundreds of different sources would easily fill many books this size. As to the critiques and final analyses of the material and events, I shall leave those to the historians and other experts in whose domain are also found much, if not all, of the official documentation that is merely alluded to in many of these articles. This book is merely intended to be a general reader's guide to what I believed to be some of the most important material presented by the popular media bearing directly on the Genocide.

I further hope that none will infer, due to my restricting the news entries to a two year period, that the Genocide was an event which encompassed only two years—it was not, but I believed there was enough material presented in that two year period to amply show that the first stage of the Genocide, in which most Armenians were killed, was just as the Armenians have been claiming all along, perhaps—even—worse, and that no amount of justification can be found to mitigate in the slightest degree the action of the Ottoman government at the time.

There are some, of course, who will persist in contriving rhetoric designed to justify the action of the Ottoman Turks, and to explain away what happened. Such a perverse sense of logic that on the one hand tries to show why the accused had reasons for committing the alleged crimes, and on the other hand categorically denies that the crime ever happened is reprehensible in the very least, and any attempts to confuse the issues of the case against the Ottoman Turks by the use of such blatantly obfuscating rhetoric must be met by all who recognize the transparency of their aims with a firmness of purpose, and a renewed resolve.

There are still others who ask Armenians to forgive, and to forget. This is such wonderful advice, but more easily given than understood when the precondition to forgiveness, an admission of guilt—an apology—has never been posed by either the Turkish government or its people. Indeed, officially and unofficially, the Turkish government has consistently disavowed responsibility for the Armenian Genocide, and while it has never lost its hope that with the ensuing years the facts will become hopelessly mired in obscurity, it continues to ensure the resistance of public opinion to the Armenians' cause by muddling the issues and

65th COMMEMORATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

PREFACE (continued)

throwing the guilt back on the Armenians. How curious this must seem to us when we read of the Turkish court that condemned to death—in absentia—the Young Turk leaders as war criminals in July of 1919 [see page 258]. And how more strange it must seem when we go on to read of the Berlin court that acquitted a young Armenian for assassinating one of those Young Turk leaders when irrefutable evidence was presented in court to show that the plan of Genocide was indeed the official plan of the government [see page 269, 272].

As Americans, we have already become so sensitized to the plight of the Jews in World War II, and to the many details of their suffering, that when another war criminal is found, no matter what his age, we breathe a faint sigh of relief. Does anyone ask if the statute of limitations has run out for them? No, of course, not! It has been forty years since the horrors of Dachau and Buchenwald, but the presence of those horrors never leaves our consciousness so long as we continue to hear that some of the war criminals are still alive. And what of the Armenians? Is it not enough that they have already lost the hope of bringing to justice the hundreds of war criminals, since they are—to a man—probably dead by now? Can they not at least expect that history, and the world, allow them their justice, and long overdue vindication?

I, for one, fail to see the difference between the scientific dispatching of thousands of Jews daily in the gas chambers, and the herding of thousands of Armenians into barns or churches, boarding up the windows and burning them to the ground, or the herding up of the population of an entire town, taking them upon huge rafts on the Black Sea and drowning them all. What, I might ask, is the difference between the experiments of the Nazi “doctors” and the infamous “horseshoer” of Diarbekir, or the interesting “lampshades” of the Nazis and the disembowelling of thousands of women and children...for the sake of a few coins.

To forgive and forget falls on deaf ears when it is your parents who were killed, or your children who were mutilated. All those who seek to dismiss the relevance and import of these issues should first examine their own feelings and predict how they would respond to such advice if it were their very own loved ones today who were gone in the wink of an eye, and to be told many years later by the very descendants of those responsible that it never happened.

Anger cannot be repressed for the hoping of it, nor grief erased for the praying of it. For succeeding generations of Armenians who must endure the stories and tears of their fathers, mothers, and grandparents, the freeing by death from their memories does not lessen the anger of their children, nor diminish the inherited grief of their grandchildren, whose incense continues to be fueled by those who not only deny their historical culpability, but now insist...“it is merely a myth!”

June 1980
Richmond, California

Richard Diran Kloian





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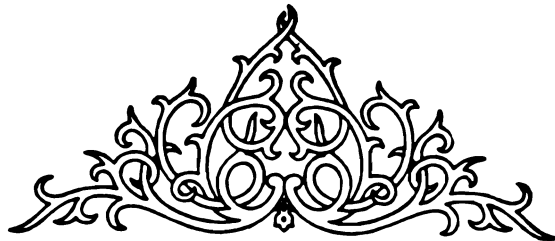
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AND YET MEN DIE

"And yet men die, and die never to return; and all forms of social order draw us nearer to death, in so much as they take something away from us and give back nothing in exchange. Claude Levi-Strauss, Tristes Tropiques

The most deplorable violations of human rights still exist today as they did sixty years ago; racial discriminations, apartheid and denial of self-determinations; massacres of racial, religious, and ethnic groups; executions, torture, and denial of due process against dissidents; and finally Genocide.

Because these violations went unheeded in the past, they persist throughout the World today, it therefore becomes the responsibility of all persons to aid the oppressed victims; to help them seek redress when they haven't the power to seek it alone.

Armenians have designated April 24 as Memorial Day, and each year they observe the anniversary of the Turkish crime of genocide that shocked the civilized world.

Therefore, April 24 is a day on which, each year Armenians remind the world community that the problems with which it has been plagued without end will remain insoluble so long as justice is ignored.

What events led Turkey to decide that "the only way to solve the Armenian Question is by eliminating the Armenians"? To find the answer we have to go back some 80 years.

the 19th Century marked the beginning in the Ottoman Empire, of continuous decline of power, social and economic decay, and European demands for reforms in Turkish-held Territories.

The Treaty of San Stefano, March 3, 1878, provided for reforms in Turkish Armenia. British and Austrian diplomatic intervention, however, resulted in a new treaty at the Congress of Berlin in which a number of significant trades were made. Ignored in this treaty was the fate of the millions of people whose national aspirations had been aroused by the promise and pronouncements of the European Powers. This was a diplomatic game which eventually cost the minorities a total of 4 million lives.

Realizing that the European Powers cared little for the Armenians and their fate and merely used them as a political tool, the Turkish Sultan decided that he solve the Armenian Question once and for all.

Armenians were a helpless and convenient scapegoat for the Turks whose empire had been carved by wars, revolutions and European "Diplomacy". There began a policy of systematic murders, culminating in 1894-1896 with the first of the great Armenian Massacres during which over 300,000 Armenians were killed.

Armenians were always treated as an oppressed race. They had to pay special taxes. For example, there was a hospitality tax which violated the sacred family institution, payable to all those who felt they represented the government. The evidence deposited by an Armenian against a Turk would not be accepted in judiciary court. They were never protected by the police and were not allowed to possess arms. These are only a few of the conditions that the Armenian lived under during the turn of the century.

In 1908 came the Young Turks and their revolution.

Sultan Hamid was overthrown, a constitution was established and equality of all Ottoman peoples was declared. The Armenians saw the dawn of a new day. Revolutionary aspirations born of the frustrations of European abandonments, and in reaction to Turkish persecutions were set aside and Armenians joined Turks in creating a new nation and a new state where justice would replace the sword.

In less than a year, however, their hopes were smashed, when in April 1909, there occurred the massacre of 30,000 Armenians in Adana, blamed on reactionaries by the Young Turks, but in reality planned by them to reinforce the old order and to assure Armenian obedience. Armenians were once again subjected to cruel persecutions and injustice.

What was the cause of these renewed persecutions of Armenians? The Young Turks felt that early Ottoman conquerors had made a fatal error in not destroying completely native populations in Bulgaria, Serbia and other countries. They reasoned that, had this been done, there would have been no possibility of these territories becoming independent, as they eventually did. They decided, therefore, to eliminate completely the possibility that Armenia might someday be wrested from them, by killing all Armenians. This of course would eliminate the Armenian Question.

To realize this goal, the Young Turks devised a plan of extermination. Armenian soldiers were being organized into labor battalions, ill fed, ill clothed, beaten, driven mercilessly, killed at whim. Next, on April 24, 1915, came the arrest and murder of 750 Armenian leaders, the cream of the intellectuals. Finally, the orders were issued by Talaat Pasha for the deportation of the whole Armenian population of Turkey. Many were killed on the spot; the ones remaining were driven south into the Syrian deserts, where they fell prey to the guards assigned to these caravans; and of course, disease and starvation took their toll. None were intended to survive these death marches. "Destination void" had been Talaat's reply to an official's inquiry in the interior.

By late 1916, in about one year, one million and a half Armenians had perished and hundreds of thousands were refugees, plagued by disease and starvation, in the Caucasus and in the Arab countries.

Accompanying the massacres, there was a senseless destruction of property. Thousands of churches, convents, monasteries, schools, libraries and other buildings, sculptures, and other irreplaceable monuments of the 3,000 year old Armenian Civilization were lost forever.

The Turkish Government cannot deny these facts, and cannot justify them. No provocation or misdemeanor on the part of individual Armenians could justify such a crime against the whole race. These in brief are the facts against the Turkish Government of 1915 and its predecessors in office.

The Armenian Question is one of the outstanding among the many cases in which international justice has been withheld. The world must be reminded that the unpunished Turkish act of genocide of the Armenians in 1915, in no small measure contributed to the genocide of the Jewish and Polish populations in World War II. Adolph Hitler in a speech at Obersalzberg on August 22, 1939, to his army commander ordering the ruthless murders of the Jewish and Polish peoples, said "Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians"?

by Levon Kirakosian

