

A large, conical pile of human skulls is the central focus of the image. The skulls are stacked high, forming a pyramid-like shape. The background is a bright blue sky with several birds in flight. The ground is a dry, orange-brown desert. In the distance, there are some sparse trees and a low wall. The overall scene is one of desolation and horror.

# ARMENIAN FALSIFICATIONS

**TÜRKKAYA ATAÖV**

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## Introduction: A Method of Deceit

The blended puzzle frequently referred to as the “Armenian issue” accommodates piles of falsifications. The last nine or more decades, now almost a century, witnessed several alluring fables, bewitching fabrications, engaging fictions, artful frauds, and outright lies. This book presents some of such high profile deceptions. It aims to display only what is fake. I must add at once that the monograph in your hand does *not* include per se one-sided, prejudiced or inadequate information, no matter how faulty it may be. On the other hand, there are plenty of colouring, flights of fancy, misjudgements, overemphasis or pretensions in various books, brochures, dissertations, periodicals, encyclopedias, and even in textbooks. Some of these misleading but nevertheless daring activities allow for downgrading descriptions of other communities, the Turks in this case, as innately inferior or educationally undeveloped. Such behaviour ought to be branded as racist. However, this volume concentrates *solely* on striking falsifications, undeniably and unmistakably so.

“Falsification” is a broad term for any form of misrepresentation about the authenticity of a piece of work, document, an object of art and the like.<sup>1</sup> “Forgery”, the production or conception of a fake is a form of falsification.<sup>2</sup> It is a false creation, *malo animo*, for the purpose of fraud and deceit. The “usual” manner of forging is to prepare a piece of false writing and sign another's name to it: a fraudulent application of a true signature to a false instrument or *vice versa*!<sup>3</sup> This is what a circle of Armenian falsifiers did in the 1920s. Its effects are still visible. They have certainly printed false “statements” and indulged in misrepresentations with the intent to defraud. Affixing a signature to a false instrument, for instance, is prejudicial to others.<sup>4</sup> It is not even necessary that one should be actually injured;

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<sup>1</sup> Ralph Mayer, **A Dictionary of Art Terms and Techniques**, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1981, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> R. G. Reisner, **Fakes and Forgeries in the Fine Arts: a Bibliography**, New York, 1950; Burlington Fine Arts Club, **Catalogue of a Collection of Counterfeits**, London, 1924; British Museum, **An Exhibition of Forgeries and Deceptive Copies**, London, 1961; P. Eudel, **Trucs et truquers**, Paris, 1907; M. J. Friedlander, **Genuine and Counterfeit**, New York, 1930; A. Donath, **Wie die Kunstfälscher arbeiten**, Prague, 1937; Hans Tietze, **Genuine and False**, London, 1948; O. Kurz, **Fakes**, London, 1948; G. Isnard, **Faux et imitations dans l'art**, Paris, 1959; S. Schilder, **Forgers, Dealers, Experts**, New York, 1960; George Savage, **Forgeries, Fakes and Reproductions**, London, 1963.

<sup>3</sup> John Bouvier, **Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Concise Encyclopedia**, 3rd ed., Vol. I, Kansas City, Vernon Law Book Co., 1914, p. 1283.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel G. Kling, **The Complete Guide to Everyday Law**, Chicago, Follett Publishing Co., 1973, p. 433.



it is sufficient if the instrument forged is prejudicial.<sup>5</sup> "Forgery" is mostly used in connection with a copy or an imitation of something genuine. One who adds words (not in the original) to the copy of a document and offers it in evidence on the ground that the original is lost, has forged the document.<sup>6</sup> Both terms, namely "falsification" and "forgery", are inseparable from the intention of deceiving.

Since the tricky labour of some Armenians aims at the degradation of, not only a handful of individuals, but a whole nation and the followers of a leading religion, that kind of special pursuit is most serious in terms of its unacceptable and destructive effects. Persons coming from a gifted community such as the Armenians, who are ingenious especially in handicrafts, but also some of whom are responsible for such wrongdoing, have produced a number of various 'documents' and put seemingly appropriate labels under them. Moreover, their accomplices, allies, backers or patrons, all associates in varying degrees, Christian missionaries such as the American A.W. Williams and the German pastor Dr. Johannes Lepsius,<sup>7</sup> were notorious either in their out-and-out racism or crucial twists in documents. Third parties, who are neither Armenians nor Turks, have to be given a fair warning that all assertions of one of the sides to the controversy cannot be taken as straightforward and reliable. Such so-called 'documentation' is not worth a nickel. Furthermore, the declarations and resolutions of the executive or legislative decision-makers in some, not all, Western and Latin American political bodies are legally mediocre, historically valueless and morally unrewarding.

Nevertheless, this is what some Armenian falsifiers have done since the early 1920s. For decades, they resorted, without becoming worn down, to repetitious and brazen falsifications hoping to be amply rewarded by such snappy over-simplifications. The blueprints paid back instantly and lasted much longer than the green lights given on other occasions. Their effects are perceivable even in our time. With a certain end in their view, that is, the recognition of a 'genocide' of the Armenians, they created, invented, adjusted, lined up, and published over and over again so-called 'documents' and pictures, radically altering in the process the actual circumstances of the disputed events. This endeavour involved, not only

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 434.

<sup>6</sup> *Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Concise Encyclopedia*, *op. cit.*, p. 1283.

<sup>7</sup> For Lepsius's books: *Deutschland und Armenien; 1914-1918*, Potsdam, Tempelverlag, 1919; *Todesgang des armenischen Volkes in der Türkei*, Potsdam, Tempelverlag, 1930. These two books and other publications of the German missionary are notorious for their one-sidedness woven with racism and anti-Muslim prejudice.

betraying truth in all its dimensions, but also playing jokes on the generally poorly informed public and fooling them. One must admit, nevertheless, that the falsifiers have been ahead of the game and won supporters, some active and others merely compliant. The whole of Asia and Africa, and parts of Europe and Latin America are still indifferent. One may even assert that the sympathies of some Asians and Africans lie with the Turks, who, in their eyes, are not treated with justice.

But the new generations of Armenians capitalize on the gains of the former generations and reproduce most of the earlier frauds and moreover add new ones to the propaganda store. When the older generation passes a one-sided interpretation of past events to the younger one, the original “trauma” is already mythologized and historical truth replaced by emotional narrative. Some individual Armenians who perceived their group as victimized were drawn to terrorist activities and were instrumental, in the 1980s and a good part of the next decade, in the assassination of Turkish diplomats<sup>8</sup> and the attacks on Turkish-related targets. The same individuals expected homage and reverence from almost everyone in the globe, and furthermore, were totally indifferent to the actual losses of the other side. The “others” were outside their own group and were therefore opponents with whose traumas they were not concerned.

The assassination, on 27 January 1973, of two Turkish diplomats (Consul-General Mehmet Baydar and Consul Bahadır Demir) at Los Angeles (USA), by a 77-year old American-Armenian (Gourgen M. Yanikian) inside a Biltmore Hotel room activated in me an interest to do research on the history of Armenian-Turkish relations. The murderer, described by the Santa Barbara (California) Prosecutor (David D. Milner) as “a cold-blooded assassin”, had joined, in March 1915, the Armenian battalions in the Caucasus, under Armenian (Antranik Ozanian) and Russian (Gron) generals, to fight against the Turks. Although the assassin’s defence lawyers (Vasken Manasian and James F. Lindsay) disclosed some information on his background as an active participant in the First World War in order to portray him as a hero for his nation, the jury found him “guilty of first-degree murder”, and he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

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<sup>8</sup> For a two-volume appraisal of a historian, also a career diplomat, see: Bilâl N. Şimşir, **Şehit Diplomatlarımız**, 2 vols., Ankara, Bilgi Yayınevi, 2000, 1006 pp.

The assassin had lured the Turkish diplomats into an appointment in a hotel room ostensibly to present them a water-colour picture by the Italian painter G. Fureli, stolen from the Ottoman Palace, and a time-honoured banknote with valuable hand-written signatures on them. Immediately after the arrival of the two diplomats the meeting turned into a scene of murder. Such misfortune, which the whole of the international community later described as acts of brazen terrorism, repeated itself and continued for about a decade-and-a-half tragically shortening the lives of many other Turks.

Some historians note that those expert researchers who ventured into the reality of the Ottoman past are “immediately struck by the high degree of similarity between the stated aims, the choice of targets, the tactics utilized, and the rhetoric employed by the terrorists of both the 19th and the 20th centuries.”<sup>9</sup> There was certainly “threads of continuity” running throughout the history of armed Armenian violence. Political assassinations starting from the 1860s up to the First World War had taken the lives of scores of Ottoman officials and many Armenians who opposed terrorist methods. Likewise, the tactic of taking over public buildings and threatening to blow them up did not begin in Paris or Lisbon in the early 1980s, but in 1896 when a group of Armenian terrorists seized the Ottoman Bank headquarters in the Turkish capital. Much of the Armenian Church and the Armenian press in the diaspora extended at least tacit approval of such terrorist actions. In the eyes of the younger Armenian generations terrorists fit “role models” whose exploits were worthy of emulation.

Some qualified historians judged that Armenian terrorism was “rooted in a false view of history.”<sup>10</sup> Each terrorist needed a *raison d'être* for which to kill. The “cause” would turn murder into a ‘justifiable crime.’ The basis of Armenian violence was bad history. The Armenians were a small minority in eastern Anatolia, which they preferred to call a part of ‘Greater Armenia.’ During the First World War, many more Anatolian Muslims had died than Armenians. Although “Armenia” was written on many maps in the Western world, there was no “Armenia” throughout the long life of the Ottoman state. Even if all the Armenians of the world were to gather there, then and now, the Armenians would still be a minority. To what extent can one assert that the past events were always a one-sided history of massacres?

The murder in Los Angeles and the assassinations that followed induced me, in the

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<sup>9</sup> Heath W. Lowry, “Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Armenian Terrorism; ‘Threads of Continuity,’” **International Terrorism and the Drug Connection**, Ankara, Ankara University, 1984, p. 71.

<sup>10</sup> Justin McCarthy, “Armenian Terrorism: History as Poison and Antidote,” **ibid.**, p. 85.



late 1970s, to probe into the Armenian issue. Some of the victims were my former students, some colleagues, and some acquaintances. What struck me most and earliest, during my research that now embraces more than three decades, were a number of forgeries reaching unopposed almost all corners of the world. This circulation occurred immediately following the end of the First World War, which represented for the Turks a grim interval of virtual nightmare. Defeated, conquered and divided up, they faced the basic challenge of mere survival. As the world now knows, the Turkish struggle of more than three years led to a surprising regeneration and revival. But during the crucial years in between, it is now apparent that some Armenian circles resorted to falsifications, the unreliability of which must have been no secret to the decision-makers of the victorious powers. The latter did not bother to expose their deceitfulness simply because their circulation, no matter how unethical, helped to keep the enemy vulnerable. In the process, however, historical truth was distorted and public opinion misled. The same victorious powers had themselves resorted to forgeries, during armed hostilities, as channels of war propaganda.

I encountered many instances of falsifications during my investigation of the critical phase of Armenian-Turkish relations. I published some of them in foreign languages as short but separate booklets. This is the first time I am connecting the most significant and relevant ones and integrating them under the general title of "Armenian Falsifications." They include (a) a rather well-known Russian painting of the mid-19th century, dishonourably publicized as a 1915-photograph of Armenian skulls, (b) a group of forged 'documents' that were apparently fabricated and thrown together to blame the Ottoman leadership for massacre or genocide, (c) two so-called 'statements', never uttered by Turkey's Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk, and a photograph, the original of which shows him with four puppies and the forged one with the corpse of a child, presumably an Armenian infant, (d) a 'statement' attributed to Hitler by an AP correspondent, and (e) the facts behind the İzmir fire of 1922.

These are some striking examples of fabrications in a defamation campaign that have so far influenced the thinking of, not only uninformed men and women in the street, but also decision-makers in a number of Western parliaments. They were printed over and over again in the mass media of all continents, circulated in meetings and posted on public walls. Hence, the need to respond to such unethical propaganda. Such behaviour, whether political or not, has to be resisted. This book aims to expose the manufacture and the dissemination of the leading lies, which in general terms have a past of their own. The next short chapter hopes to remind the reader of falsifications which have been notorious in history.

## II. A History of Frauds

Falsification or forgery is ordinarily accepted as a state crime. The person or persons who alter or issue any writing, document or piece of art are guilty of the same. In the United States and Britain, these crimes are generally referred to as “felonies.”<sup>11</sup> According to **Black's Law Dictionary**, crime includes both the act of forging and the act of uttering as true and genuine any forged entity prejudicing, damaging or defrauding any other person or persons. Crime is committed when one makes or passes a false instrument with intent to defraud.<sup>12</sup>

Under early English common law, the only kind of forgery that was punishable related to the king's seal or money and reliance on a forged instrument in a court of law. An Act of Parliament in 1562 imposed severe civil and criminal penalties for forging certain writings. The scope of the crime was broadened still further by later statutes and by the common law courts. In 1830 the English law of forgery was first consolidated by an Act of Parliament. Although forgery is generally regarded as a common law misdemeanor in the United States, most jurisdictions have statutes defining the offence and prescribing penalties for it.<sup>13</sup> For instance, whoever makes or prints, or authorises to be made or printed any stamp, stamped envelope or postal card, forged or counterfeit in essence, is fined or imprisoned or both.<sup>14</sup>

A forgery is, of course, distinct from an imitation, which can be made by the master's pupils. Dishonest endeavours referred to above are distinguished from honest copies not intended to deceive, such as reproductions.

The earliest records reporting falsifications date from Roman times. Phaedrus (**Fabulae Aesopiae** V, prologue) mentions sculptors who affixed the names of Praxiteles and Myron to their own statues.<sup>15</sup> Little is known about the same in the Middle Ages. It appears to have increased in the Renaissance. An example of a Renaissance artist forging a work by a contemporary was the “Christ Healing a Lame Man,” a fake ‘Dürer’ painted by Luca Giordano.

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<sup>11</sup> **Encyclopedia Britannica**, Vol. 9, p. 621.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Campbell Black, **Black's Law Dictionary**, 5th ed., St. Paul, Minn., West Publishing Co., 1979, p. 585.

<sup>13</sup> **Encyclopedia Americana**, Vol. 11, p. 595.

<sup>14</sup> **United States Code Annotated, Title 18: Crimes and Criminal Procedure**, St. Paul, Minn., West Publishing Co., 1969, p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> **McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Art**, ed. Bernard S. Myers, Vol. 11, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1969, p. 420.

A great increase in forgery occurred in the 18th century coincident with the new interest in archaeology.<sup>16</sup> With the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, forged Roman paintings appeared. Famous in this connection was Giuseppe Guerra, who sold 72 forgeries to the Jesuits for their Moseo Kircheriano in Rome.<sup>17</sup> André de Pradenne divides such falsifications into two classes: those which consist of disguised archaeological objects (that he calls "frauds") and those newly created ("forgeries"),<sup>18</sup>

The height of archaeological forgery occurred in the 19th century when almost every major excavation was followed by a series of forgeries. Archaeologists were also victims of many of those frauds. The directors of the Berlin Museum acquired (1872-76) *terra-cotta* objects, which were supposed to have come from "Palestine". Luigi Palma di Cesnola "discovered" the supposed treasure of Kurion (1875-1885) and left it to the Metropolitan Museum. The Campana collection of antique pottery contained several forgeries, done by Pietro Pennelli. A renowned example of forgery was the *Tiara* of Saitapharnes, a solid-gold head dress with scenes from the *Iliad* and an inscription stating that it was a gift to the Scythian King Saitapharnes. The Louvre purchased it as an original work of the 3rd century, B.C. The controversy over its authenticity was settled in the 20th century when a resident of Odessa admitted that the *tiara* was his creation. One of the greatest forgers of the 19th century was Alceo Dossena, who was expert in fabricating Greek, Etruscan, Roman and early Renaissance sculptures. For many years, there were three colossal *terra-cotta* statues of warriors in the Metropolitan Museum. In 1961, Harold W. Parsons obtained in Rome a signed confession from one of the forgers of these figures. Some imitations of archaeological objects are made in Mexico, where dealers sometimes bury their forgeries giving the prospective victim the 'privilege' of watching the 'excavation' and purchasing the object right there.

Entire series of fine pottery, supposedly to belong to the T'ang dynasty in China (618-906) are constantly forged. Imitations have been made of the bronze statuary of the great periods of Indian art. This is also the case with Siamese and Indo-Chinese bronzes. In several fields of Oriental art, there are the works of copyists that largely fill the museums and collections of the world. Some young French artists manufacture 'African' art. The

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<sup>16</sup> Adolf Rieth, *Archaeological Fakes*, New York, Praeger, 1970; S. Türkel, *Prähistorische Fälschungen: eine Rundfrage*, Graz, 1927; Bernard Ashmole, *Forgeries of Ancient Sculpture*, 1961.

<sup>17</sup> *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Vol. V, New York, etc., McGraw-Hill, p. 338.

<sup>18</sup> André Vayson de Pradenne, *Les fraudes en archeologie préhistoriques*, Paris, 1932.

spokesmen of the aboriginal people of America have complained to the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs that some Japanese were making cheap reproductions of Indian handicrafts and that they had even gone to the extent of creating a small town called "Usa" to be able to stamp their imitations as "Made in USA". A workshop of primitive forgeries, especially of jade figures in the Maori style (New Zealand) existed in the Oberstein Idar area of the Rhineland.

The most publicised forgeries have been paintings. For instance, a work passed off as Lucas Cranach's was actually done by the German forger F. W. Rohrich (1787-1834).<sup>19</sup> The French painter Edouard Manet (1832-83) often revised his paintings; however, research reveals that some pictures were also reworked after his death.<sup>20</sup> The most famous of modern forgers was Hans van Meegeren (1884-1947), a Dutch painter, who claimed to have discovered several lost paintings by Jan Vermeer (1632-75). He sold them to German Nazi leader Hermann Göring (1893-1946) and was put on trial after the Second World War for selling national treasures. He established his "innocence" by painting another 'Vermeer' in his jail cell.<sup>21</sup> Artist David Stein is a convicted forger who served prison terms in New York and France in the 1960s for selling fake 'masterpieces.' He was caught when Marc Chagall (1887-1985) saw one of the three 'Chagall' water-colours that Stein had sold.<sup>22</sup>

There has also been literary forgery.<sup>23</sup> The fabrications have ranged from works of epic length to the falsification of a date on a title page, such as the Jaggard-Pavier Shakespeare Quartos published in 1619. The Epistles of Phalaris, the 6th century tyrant of Agrigento, stirred up a controversy among English scholars when they were edited in 1695 by Charles Boyle. They were demonstrated to be fraudulent by Richard Bentley, who noted that the dialect of the text was not proper to 6th century Sicily and that various towns mentioned did not exist at that time. Religious motives as "justification" for falsifying documents became prominent during the early Christian era. Much of such behaviour had its genesis in the desire to make a sectarian doctrine creditable. Enthusiasm for Shakespeare motivated William

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<sup>19</sup> **The New Columbia Encyclopedia**, eds., William H. Harris and Judith S. Levey, New York, Columbia University Press, 1975, p. 980.

<sup>20</sup> Charles F. Stuckey, "Manet Revised: Whodunit?" **Art in America**, 71/10 (November 1983), pp. 158-241.

<sup>21</sup> P. B. Coremans, **Van Meegeren's Faked Vermeers and De Hooghs**. Amsterdam, 1949.

<sup>22</sup> **Newsweek**, 24 January 1983, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> E. K. Chambers, **The History and Motives of Literary Forgeries**. Oxford, 1891; John Carter and Graham Pollard, **An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets**, London, 1934; Henry T. F. Rhodes, **The Craft of Forgery**, London, 1934; Wilson R. Harrison, **Suspect Documents: Their Scientific Examination**. London, 1958.

Henry Ireland in 1796 to attempt to put on stage his pseudo-Shakespearean play **Vortigern**. About sixty years later, a similar taste for Shakespeare explains the forgery by John Payne Collier, who falsified several 'documents.'

The forgers of our day are generally aware of the many techniques to detect forgeries. Forgeries are revealed in one of the two means: internal evidence or a critical analysis of the contents, and external evidence or chemical analysis, X-rays, ultraviolet rays and other forms of scientific examination. It is generally assumed that there is no forgery that cannot be eventually exposed. There is no need to utilize modern techniques to expose anyone of the Armenian falsifications that constitute the subject-matter of this book. They happen to be too obvious.

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### III. Old Painting or New Photograph?

The picture on the cover of this book depicts a falsification. In fact, it is one of the horrendous but recurring examples of a series of falsifications invented, nurtured and disseminated by certain Armenian circles. The canvas in question has been printed in several places with the false attribution that it shows a heap of skulls, presumably those of “massacred Armenians” during the First World War. Either the date of 1915-17 is explicitly stated in the legend underneath or the same is suggested in one way or another. It has been publicised as such, fraudulently and irresponsibly, on the cover of a book, to accompany an article, inside a propaganda folio, or as a post card, distributed with the intention to deceive.

Actually, however, it is a painting entitled “The Apotheosis of War” (*Apetheos Vayni*) and done in the third quarter of the 19th century by a Russian master called Vassili Vereshchagin, who was born in 1842 and died in 1904. Hence, the canvas, whose subject is *not* the Armenians, was done some 44 years before the alleged events of 1915, the artist himself passing away a decade prior to the outbreak of the First World War.

I personally remember seeing the painting at the celebrated Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, which houses some of the finest examples of Russian painting from the time when the Russian state emerged to the present day. As it can be observed in several catalogues of the same gallery, this is a collection of artistic works, which tell about the cultural history of a nation. It is a contradiction in terms that some others misuse one of its masterpieces for a deliberate falsification.

As the date of the picture has been calculatingly changed (in print), the intention to deceive is evident. The reproduction of the falsification in this instance has the specific intention of deceiving others as to the period and hence the subject matter of a particular material. The falsifier tries to deceive others for his own advantage. Therefore, the act is dishonest and immoral, cheating and deceitful, corrupt and evil.

It is unfair, not only to the Turkish people, but also to the Armenians as well. No one should be allowed to have the “right” to represent the Armenian people in a series of what may only be termed as falsifications. An overwhelming majority of the Armenians in the world certainly do not approve of such ‘methods.’



Falseness exists when it is intended as such. It does not inhere in the object itself. Falsity is an aspect of judgement concerning the relation of the object to a particular idea or intention. Hence, neither the Tretyakov Gallery, nor the artist Vereshchagin, nor the canvas itself, loses any value because of the falsification resorted to by others.

One may now focus on the latest Armenian falsification in respect to the Vereshchagin painting. The second edition of **Der Prozess Talaat Pascha**,<sup>24</sup> originally offered to the German reader by a certain Armin T. Wagner, was reprinted in Göttingen and Vienna in 1980 under the new title of **Der Völkermord an den Armeniern von Gericht** (The Armenian Genocide on Trial). The Vereshchagin painting appears on the very cover of this German book. Talât Paşa's (Pasha's) photograph is inserted in the upper left hand corner. The German publication 'confidently' announces in the inner pages that the cover photograph shows "Turkish barbarism" (*Türkische Barberei*), supposedly depicting "a pyramid of skulls in western Anatolia, 1916-1917" (*eine Schadelpyramide in Westarmenien, 1916-1917*). I may here, once again, remind the reader that Vereshchagin painted this canvas in 1871 and died in 1904.

It appears that some Armenian circles during the time of Mohammed Reza Shah (1941-79) supported the publication of a book in *Farsi* (the Persian language) entitled **Katlami Ermenian** (The Massacre of the Armenians). It was authored by a certain Ismail Rain, printed by the Emir Kebir Publishing House (Tehran) in 1352 copies in the year 1979 (*Shahinshahi* year 2537). This Persian book as well published (in black and white) on pages 151 and 273 the same photograph with the trivial trick of printing the same in different focus and once from the right and then from the left, to give the impression that they are different photographs. In other words, one photo is just the reverse of the other, the skulls and the crows having changed places proportionally. The former has an Armenian and the latter a *Farsi* legend underneath. They both present it as if the picture depicts massacred Armenians. For instance, the *Farsi* legend specifically states that the subject matter of the photograph is the "events of 1917." It clearly says: "*Serha-yi eramene-i ke katliam shudend der sal 1917*" (or "the skulls of Armenians massacred in the year 1917").

The Persian book also printed three so-called "documents", offered to the reader as "proof" of Ottoman "orders" to exterminate the Armenians. All three are forgeries. They were

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<sup>24</sup> Berlin, **Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte**, 1921.

originally published by the Armenian author Aram Andonian<sup>25</sup> and proved to be falsifications by Turkish scholars. They are falsifications in terms of dates, numbers, fake signatures and contents. It is apparent that Andonian was a very poor falsifier. Nevertheless, he has been able to deceive the uninformed and the prejudicially inclined circles or individuals. Andonian apparently offered forged 'statements' to help disseminate the opinion that the Ottomans were out to obliterate the present and the future Armenian generations. His message must have reached some Iranians via the support of the leadership of the Armenian community there. The criticism of this group of Armenian falsifications are dealt with below in Chapter 4 of this book.

The Persian author, who has absolutely no critical approach to the subject, has merely recited the information handed to him. He has published the Vereshchagin paintings not once, but even twice in his book, connecting it with the events of the First World War.

A certain "Committee for Support to Max Hrair Kilnjian"<sup>26</sup> (*Comité de Soutien à Max Hrair Kilndjian*), based in Marseille (France), printed cards for distribution, on one side of which the same Vereshchagin picture appears. Such a drive for reproduction and posting shows that such falsifications reach the level of an 'industry', as a result of the zeal of certain Armenian quarters in France.

Further, the daily *Nova Svetlina* of Bulgaria, dated 23 April 1985, published an article entitled "Tragic Memories" (*Tragichni Spomeni*) and signed by an Armenian, M. Sofian. It reproduced the same Vereshchagin painting with the following legend: "The terrifying traces of barbaric massacres of the Armenians in Turkey in the year 1915." (The original Bulgarian reads: "*Potresavashchite sledi ot barbarskoto klane na armentsi te b Turtsiya prez 1915 godina.*") With such a forgery, author Sofian's powers of persuasion would normally dwindle with the editors. The Bulgarian editors, on the other hand, may easily check and compare the information given here with the original of the Vereshchagin painting at the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow.

Let us come to the *Gosudarstvennaya Tretyakovskaya Galeriya*, or the Tretyakov Gallery itself. Founded in 1895 and opened to the public three years later, it houses one of the best collections of paintings and sculptures by Russian artists, and a large number of drawings

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<sup>25</sup> Aram Andonian, *The Memoirs of Naim Bey: Turkish Official Documents Relating to the Deportations and Massacres of Armenians*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1920; *Documents officiels concernant les massacres arméniens*. Paris, Imp. H. Turabian, 1920.

<sup>26</sup> Probable correct spelling: Kilimdjian (meaning; son of a *kalim* -small rug- merchant).

and prints, works of applied art and folk art of early Russia. The Museum's collections cover a period of nearly a thousand years, from the 11th century to the present day. They begin with Russian icons and include outstanding samples of artistic achievement, including those by A. Ivanov, P. Fedotov, V. Perov, I. Repin, I. Shishkin, A. Benois and others --certainly including Vasili Vereshchagin.

On page 12 of the Novosti publication on the Tretyakov Gallery, there appears a paragraph on painter Vereshchagin and his celebrated work. I prefer to quote *verbatim*:

“Impressed by the glory scenes of war in the Balkans and Central Asia, Vasili Vereschagin (*sic.*)<sup>27</sup> created on his canvases an image of the soldier as hero and martyr. His imagination was stirred not so much by 'great' battle episodes as by the bloodshed, the misery and suffering brought by war. Perhaps his most striking picture on the subject is *The Apotheosis of War*, which shows a pyramid of skulls. It is a painting that has much to say to our own day and age. The artist expressed his indignation by dedicating this picture to 'all the great conquerors of the past, present and future.’”

Not a word about 1915! Or 1916! Or 1917! Not a word about the Armenians! Or the Turks, Kurds or other Muslims! This massive catalogue is an official and a reliable Novosti publication, in page 12 of which Vadim Olshevsky, who wrote the “Introduction” to the book, says the following in the concluding paragraphs of his manuscript: “Let us now look at the date of the paintings.” So, let us look at the date of the Vereshchagin painting: It says in page 24 that the painting in question was done in the years 1871-1872. How can this be tied up with 1915? Such a falsification can throw dust only into the eyes of the mentally retarded. How can what is done in the early 1870s portray 1915? Especially when one remembers that the painter himself passed away in 1904! The gallery or the descendants of the painter may wish to demand damages for slander of title.

Coloured postcards, printed by the Aurora Art Publishers (then) in Leningrad and selling (in the 1970s) for five *kopeks*, naturally also indicate that the painting entitled *The Apotheosis of War* was done in 1871 by Vassili (spelled there as Vasily) Vereshchagin (1842-1904), that it is an oil on canvas (*holst, maslo*), measuring 127 x 197 cm. and hanging at the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. What a difference from the postcard disseminated in France!

Obviously, we are confronted with an important falsification. To paraphrase William Blake, this beats all the lies one can invent. Doubtless, this is a fraudulent manipulation of an object, a deceitful arrangement of things, not once but several times, in such a manner as to

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<sup>27</sup> A better spelling in the Latin script should probably be Vereshchagin (instead of Vereschagin).

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create an erroneous impression or a false inference in the minds of those who observe them. It aims to insult the Turkish people, to sow hatred between the Turks and the Armenians and deceive others. As Francis Bacon said, such lies sink and settle and hurt! Those who assist them get spread, even though ignorant of the deceit, are also accountable.<sup>28</sup> Not only the Turks, but the Armenians as well, should discourage such despicable behaviour.

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<sup>28</sup> **Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Concise Encyclopedia**, op. cit., p. 1283.

# Der Völkermord an den Armeniern vor Gericht

Der Prozeß Talaat Pascha



Neuauflage:

Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von  
Tessa Hofmann

im Auftrag der Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker

*Reihe pogrom*

The photograph of a painting (done in 1871) on the cover of a German book, with the inserted picture of Talât Paşa, the Ottoman Interior Minister in 1915. There is absolutely no connection between the Russian art work and the Turkish dignitary.



سرهای ارمنیای که قتل عام شدند در سال ۱۹۱۵



This Armenian-Persian publication used the same 1871 painting, printed several times from different angles and in varied focus, in order to convey the false impression that Ottoman Anatolia was crammed with such pyramids of skulls in 1915.



Peuple martyr, tu mérites le respect.  
 Peuple martyr, ton sang, tes souffrances,  
 tes pleurs et tes larmes,  
 ton immense patience même,  
 méritent le respect. Ta patience  
 qui t'a servi de bouclier durant  
 les jours maléfiques, ta grande foi  
 dans la victoire du bien contre le mal,  
 méritent le respect.

*Sur le chemin de la liberté*  
 Avétis Aharonian  
 (écrivain et homme politique arménien,  
 1866-1948)

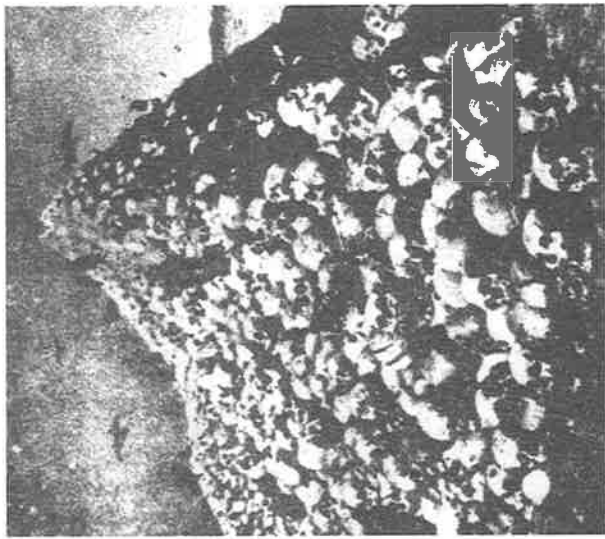
J'exprime mon entière solidarité à Max Hrair Kilindjian.

NOM TÜRKS, HORS  
 ADRESSE D'ARMENIE

A adresser sous enveloppe  
 COMITE DE SOUTIEN A MAX/HRAIR KILINDJIAN  
 68, rue Sainte - 13001 Marseille - France



Consulat de  
 Turquie  
 36 Avenue du Prado  
 13003  
 Marseille



Libérez Kilindjian

A postcard, mailed to the Turkish Consulate in Marseille (France), on one side of which the same deceptive picture is printed.

70 ГОДИНИ ОТ ТУРСКИЯ ГЕНОЦИД НАД АРМЕНСКИЯ  
НАРОД

## ТРАГИЧНИ СПОМЕНИ

През 1915 г. турското правителство организира нечува  
по клане и изстребление на живеещите в Отоманската  
империя арменци. МАКРУХИ ПАРСЕХЯН, очевидка на  
погрома, разказва:

Родена съм в село Товгъ-  
нер, областта Ерзинга (днес  
Ерзинджан — б. р.), близо  
до Кемах, край брега на Еф-  
рат. Бях съвсем малка. Един  
ден заптиетата вдигнаха цяло  
то село. Поведоха ни с вол-  
ски кола в пеш — цял кер-  
вал. Вървах, хванала баба за  
ръка, без да разбирам защо,  
накъде ни водят. Мама по-  
сеше на ръце малката ми сес-  
тричка. Пред нас и зад нас  
вървяха страшни заптиети.  
Вървахме все покрай Ефрат.  
Ридания и вопли изпълваха  
долината. Привечер спряхме  
на една поляна. През нощта  
заптиетата ни нападнаха вне-  
запно с оголени ножове. На-  
стъпна страховтна паника. Ти-  
чахме ужасени насам-натам —  
никакъв изход в тъмната  
нощ. Мнозина паднаха посе-  
чени, газехме в кръви. С по-  
лиците бяха нахлули и юр-  
ди-баддети. Кляха с брадви,  
грабиха, отлеха ни колите и  
добитъка, влячиха момите на-  
някъде. После те се връщаха  
разплакани, окървавени... Ни-  
кога няма да забравя тази  
нощ на ужасите...

На сутринта продължихме  
пътя оголели, обосели. По  
околните ниви зеленееха жи-  
тата, достигнали човешки  
ръст. Който успя да се из-  
плъзне, се скри в тях. Звер-  
ствата на заптиетата нямаха  
край. Накараха ни да из-  
копаем голяма яма, навър-  
ляха в нея много деца и ги  
заровиха живи... Когато пъ-  
тят минаваше през тесни или  
сурд, до самата река, заптие-  
тата ни блъскаха към водата.  
Мнозина изчезнаха в бесияте  
вълни, ляната се обгаря в  
алено... Убиха и дяло.

След няколко дни стигнах-  
ме до високия и тесен мост

Егникъпрюсю. Придошлите  
води прелъзваха през него.  
Вълните се блъскаха. Заптие-  
тата обкръжиха нашия керван  
и започнаха да ни тикат към  
моста, като шибяха с камши-  
ци, бодеха с шикове. Писъци-  
те на давящите се раздираха  
себеето, но не можеха да оми  
лостивят нашите душевадия. Ре-  
ката се изпълни с трупове. Как  
сме оцелели — сама не зная,  
чудо беше.

Когато ни подкараха от-  
ново, майка ми, изтерзана и  
изтощена, в отчаянието си  
хвърли в реката двегодишно  
то ми, полумъртво от глад,  
сестриче. На следния ден рух  
на и тя. Безсилна, обръка-  
на, плаках безутешно. От на-  
шия голям род бяхме остана-  
ли само с баба, леля и кака.  
Малциня стигнахме до Хар-

пут. Туркините, наизлезли  
пред вратите, си взимаха слу-  
гнии. И мен ме хвана една.  
Баба й каза: „Да те пазя  
бог, а ти запази чедото ми!“  
Така се загубихме завинаги.  
По-късно научих, че те заги-  
нали в сирийската пустиня  
около Дер ес-Зор.

Пет години туркинята ме  
гледаше като свое дете, въз-  
питаваше ме. Наричах я „ма-  
мо“. Но после реши да ме  
омъжи за своя братов син.  
Пък аз — дете още, се упла-  
ших и избягах през нощта  
при една позната католичка,  
която ме отведе в сиропи-  
талището за арменчета. След  
някоя година турската власт  
започна да ни притеснява, от-  
не хубавото ни здание и ди-  
рекцията се принуди да пре-  
мести сиропиталището в Бей-  
рут... После съдбата ме от-  
веде в Гърция, оттам мянах  
в България, където открих  
баща си, заживях свободно,  
човешки...

Малциня са оцелели от пъкля на великото злодеяние  
и още по-малко от тях са живи днес — след 70 години.  
Но никога не трябва да се забравя кървавото престъпление  
на турската власт, извършено в началото на цивилизования  
XX век, което отне живота на милион и половина невинни  
жертви.

Запис: М. СОФИЯН



Потресаващите следи от варварското клане на арменци  
те в Турция през 1915 година.

This article in Bulgarian, written by an Armenian (M. Sofiyán), brings into play the same misleading picture.  
Note the false date (the year 1915) in the caption.

## IV. Forged ‘Documents’ or Ottoman Orders?

A comparatively recent (1983) publication by the Turkish Historical Society, written by Şinasi Orel and Süreyya Yuca, as a scholarly evaluation of the so-called “Talât Paşa telegrams” is most important for the proper assessment of the “Armenian issue.”<sup>29</sup> This momentous book of painstaking and detailed erudition critically examines all of the so-called ‘documents’ produced in the English and French editions of the Aram Andonian book, which hitherto served as the basis of many arguments of some Armenians and like-minded foreign writers. That impressive volume, on the other hand, sheds light on a most important aspect of the topic in question. No commentator can now stand on solid ground without reading it and giving it due attention. I do not think that previous arguments, set forth by a group of Armenian publicists for the last eight or more decades, can be repeated. One judges it as a moral obligation to inform all concerned that it will no longer be possible to continue appraising the “Talât Paşa telegrams” in the same manner that they have been assessed before, without first seeing the weighty evidence offered in this volume of 344 pages.

Without going into minute but nevertheless meaningful details, I may summarise the evidence as pointing to the assertion that the Andonian ‘documents’ are *fake*. The ‘documents,’ first printed as early as 1920, have been used by certain circles as “proof” of deep Ottoman Government involvement in the loss of life of Armenians in 1915-16. Aram Andonian was a hitherto little-known Armenian who allegedly received those manuscripts (including the assumed orders of Talât Paşa) from a minor Ottoman official called Naim Bey, supposedly working in the Rehabilitation Office in Aleppo, Syria. The work based on them was published in Paris, London and Boston. The Turkish publication treats *each* and *every* so-called ‘document’ thoroughly in terms of both form and content and offers the suggestion that they are counterfeit. As the reader has been reminded in the previous chapter, the fabrication of fraudulent documents is not uncommon in history. The falsity of the ‘Hitler diaries’ was proven within a matter of weeks. The so-called ‘Zinoviev telegram’ that created a public stir in Britain in the early 1920s, is now judged as a forgery.

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<sup>29</sup> Şinasi Orel and Süreyya Yuca, **The Talât Pasha ‘Telegrams’: Historical Fact or Fiction?** Lefkoşa (Nicosia), K. Rustem and Brother, 1983. In French: **Affaires Arméniennes: Les “télégrammes” de Talât Pacha: fait historique ou fiction?** [France,] Triangle, 1983.

Andonian's work in English (84 pp.) includes 48 and in French (168 pp.) 50 such 'documents.' It is difficult to ascertain which portions of the book are part of Naim Bey's 'memoirs' and which are Andonian's own composition, because several pages in the English edition, presented as Naim Bey's reminiscences, appear as Andonian's writing. In spite of the fact that the book mentions the collaboration of an obscure Ottoman official, who may not have even lived, and the authorship of another uncelebrated Armenian, its publication in several languages was, most probably, a coordinated endeavour and not an individual enterprise, at a time (1920) when Turkey was involved in a struggle of life and death. The book takes care to condemn the whole Turkish nation, an effort sociologically unsound and academically invalid. While in the book and in a letter of 10 June 1921, author Andonian states that the "documents" were handed to him by the "humanitarian" Turk free of charge (Naim Bey supposedly turning down all suggestions of payment), the same Andonian in his letter, dated 26 July 1937, (addressed to a certain Mary Terzian, living in Switzerland) declares that the Armenians paid for every "document" that they got from him. In the latter, Naim Bey is described as an alcoholic, a gambler, a lover of money and entirely immoral. If the latter description is true, then why did Andonian wait for seventeen years to give a correct account? It may be that a realistic description would create suspicion on the very authenticity of the "memoirs" and "documents." Andonian was not trying to protect Naim Bey, but preserve the acceptability of 'his documents.'

Andonian offers two different dates as to when he got the 'documents' from Naim Bey. In his book it is *after* the British occupied Aleppo, and in the 1937 letter *before* the British entry. He also suggests inconsistent motives in respect to why Naim Bey happens to possess such 'documents.' In the book he suggests that they were under Naim Bey's hands and that he was searching ways and means of averting personal responsibility, but in the 1937 letter he asserts that Naim Bey stole them to turn the latter into money. A (1981) French Dashnag publication (based on the same 'documents') mentions, in addition, that after the British entry into Aleppo, an Armenian delegation asked the Turkish authorities for permission to see the archives on the transfer of the Armenian population. It is difficult to understand why the Turks were approached for permission since such requests could then be made to the occupying power with greater ease. The Dashnag publication probably wishes to attribute more "authority" by adding, after 61 years, Turkish officials. Further, Andonian writes that he met Naim Bey at the beginning of 1916. But he also says that Naim Bey was dismissed from office again in the initial months of the same year. Aleppo fell to the British in October 1918. But Andonian had mentioned that the 'documents' were under Naim Bey's hand. How

can that be if he was dismissed long ago or how can he later “steal” them, especially when the same Andonian argues that the Ottoman Government “did away with all the documents pertaining to the Armenian massacre”? Following Andonian's logic, while all documents pertaining to this issue were destroyed, a dismissed junior bureaucrat enters a government office and steals highly secret “documents”!

Andonian says that the ‘documents’ in question are authentic. Not stating why and how the reader should accept them as such, he nevertheless feels this omission and in a letter dated 10 June 1921, and addressed to the lawyers of Soghomon Tehlirian (who assassinated Talât Paşa in Berlin) he gives “guarantee” of having seen the originals of these ‘documents’ and that some ‘documents’ had been countersigned by Mustafa Abdülhalik Bey, the Governor of Aleppo.

It is necessary to state initially that, in contradiction to what some foreign circles believe to be true, these ‘documents’ do *not* bear any order to massacre, hand-written or signed by Talât Paşa. Andonian tries to explain such involvement indirectly through the “notes” and “signatures” of Governor Mustafa Abdülhalik on ‘documents’ allegedly given or sold by a man called Naim Bey in Aleppo. A question that comes to mind is the authenticity of the signature. Andonian replies to this by claiming that its authenticity was established by the Armenian Society in Aleppo. Knowing that Aleppo was occupied by the British and then transferred to the French and that both were then hunting the ‘guilty’, several Ottoman officials already having been arrested, why did Andonian and the Armenian Society in Aleppo not include British and French representatives in this “committee of experts” and receive the timely solid backing of both in this most important ‘discovery’? This was exactly what the victorious powers were looking for! But may be such an investigation never took place because it could never take place. Under the circumstances, the question of the authenticity of the ‘documents’ was mentioned in the very first meeting with Tehlirian's lawyers in 1921 in Berlin. The Armenian circles relied on the opinion of a certain Dr. W. Rössler, who was appointed Germany's Consul to Aleppo during the First World War with the support of Dr. Johannes Lepsius, known for his deep sympathies for the Armenians.<sup>30</sup> But

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<sup>30</sup> Dr. Lepsius's last book (**Deutschland und Armenien: 1914-1918**), printed after the war (1919), was even more subjective than his previous publications. Not only his choice of ‘documents’ were not representative of the whole affair, but he also mistranslated, possibly intentionally, some crucial words in the documents, altering their meaning. For criticism of such conduct, see the following doctoral dissertation: Mustafa Çolak, “Alman Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Almanya İmparatorluğu'nun Doğu Politikası Çerçevesinde Kafkasya Politikası: 1914-1918,” (The Caucasia Policy, Within the Oriental Approach, of the German Empire, According to the German Archive Documents), unpublished doctoral dissertation, Samsun, 1999, p. 46.

even Dr. Rössler said that although the “documents”, within the general contents of the book, give the “impression” of being authentic, it was very difficult to say the same for the individual telegrams, not knowing how the authenticity of such documents might be established and realising that the author is under the spell of his emotions and not objective.<sup>31</sup>

Even Andonian himself admitted, in his letter of 26 July 1937, that Dr. Rössler found his book devoid of objectivity. He admits that he is correct in many respects. But Andonian adds that his product is not a historical work, but a *propaganda piece*. The Armenian Bureau in London and the Armenian National Council in Paris have made use of his manuscript freely as they wished. What Andonian says in this connection, years after the printing of his book, shakes the very foundations of his publication and the ‘documents.’

Further, many foreign circles take it for granted that the German Court which tried Tehlirian, Talât Paşa's assassin, accepted or even endorsed at least some ‘Andonian-Naim Bey documents’ as authentic. But the minutes of the court proceedings show that the Court neither accepted them as evidence, nor judged them as authentic. Tehlirian's lawyer Adolf von Gordon withdrew them, and the Prosecutor said that the use of false documents cannot mislead him and that he knew how so-called documents carrying the signatures of high dignitaries were later proven to be fabrications. One can assert at this particular point that the ‘documents’ still preserve the status of being Andonian's personal production, especially when it is established that the originals are nowhere to be found. In his 1937 letter, Andonian says that they are probably lost.

One of the key witnesses during the Tehlirian trial was the German General Otto Liman von Sanders, who was invited to the court by the counsellor of the accused. General von Sanders, who had been sent to the Ottoman capital in 1913 as the head of the German Military Mission, spent five years in high commanding positions.<sup>32</sup> He acquired first-hand knowledge and experience of a number of events. For instance, he was the commander of the First and the Fifth Turkish Armies, and later the group commander of the “Lightning Forces.” His account during the trial was in no way in favour of the Armenian assassin. In fact, his

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<sup>31</sup> A recent piece of outstanding erudition on the life of Talât Paşa: Hasan Babacan, **Mehmed Talât Paşa: 1874-1921**, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005. A new edition of Talât Paşa's own memoirs: **Talât Paşa'nın Anıları**, ed. Mehmet Kasım, İstanbul, Say Yayınları, 1986. The date of the former book by the same publisher was 1946.

<sup>32</sup> For the German general's memoirs: Liman von Sanders, **Fünf Jahre in Türkei**, Berlin, 1920. English: **Five Years in Turkey**, Annapolis, Maryland, United States Naval Institute, 1927. French: **Cinq ans de Turquie**, Paris, Payot, 1923.



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statements cleared Talât Paşa of responsibility for the events of 1915. His answers, comments and interpretations were closer to historical truth than any other statement made in the same court.

Governor Mustafa Abdülhalik, whose signature is supposed to appear on several ‘documents,’ was one of the deported to the Crown Island of Malta by the British after the war. When the victorious British armies occupied the Ottoman capital and other key parts of the defeated former enemy, a total of 144 Turks were arrested and initially incarcerated in the notorious Bekir Agha dungeon in İstanbul but later (29 May 1919) loaded aboard the HMS “Princess Ena” heading for Malta.<sup>33</sup> The arrested group of notables included the former Ottoman Grand Vizier Said Halim Paşa), the Speaker of the Parliament, the *Şeyhülislâm* (Chief of *İlmiye* institution, Chief Juristconsult), the Chief of General Staff, Cabinet members, army commanders, professors, editors, and journalists. Some other “first class” Turkish prisoners were added to the list. They were accused of three categories of ‘offenses,’ one being the treatment of the Armenians.

In accordance with Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920), the victorious powers “reserved to themselves the right to designate the tribunal” which was to “try the persons accused,” the Turks undertook “to recognize such tribunals,” and the İstanbul government were to furnish to the foreign powers “all documents and information of every kind which would be considered necessary to ensure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts and the persecution of alleged offenders.” The latter was already in the hands of the British, who also controlled the state archives. They found no legal evidence to support their claims and asked Washington if the Americans could produce any acceptable evidence against the internees. Correspondence, dated 31 March, 27 May and 13 July 192, informed the British Government that a number of His Majesty’s Embassy personnel in the U.S. capital were “permitted to see a selection of reports from United States Consuls” but there was “nothing therein which could be used as evidence against the Turks...”

The charges against the Turks could not be substantiated in a Court of Law. British intra-office communication by writing emphasized that there was no prospect of success of

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<sup>33</sup> For a well-informed and penetrating analysis of the Malta episode, see: Bilâl N. Şimşir, **The Deportees of Malta and the Armenian Allegations**, Ankara, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003. In French: **Les Déportés de Malte et les allégations Arméniennes**, Ankara, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, 1998. A prominent Turkish journalist (and with a Ph.D. from Columbia University, NYC), who was also incarcerated in Malta, later wrote: “We had been arrested and sent there, during an armistice, contrary to all established rules of international relations.” Ahmed Emin Yalman, **Turkey in My Time**, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956, p. 100.

prosecuting the Turks. Moreover, it was regrettable that they had been confined as long without charges being formulated against them. The British authorities could not anticipate any useful result from bringing the Turks to trial. They admitted that they were continuing an act of technical injustice in further detaining them. The British waived all claims, and the Turkish deportees to Malta duly embarked on board HMS "Chrysanthemum" and RFA "'Montenal" on 25 October 1921, reaching İnebolu in Turkey six days later. Before embarkation, they refused to sign clearance certificates and stated that they intended to make indemnity claims against the British Government.

The British Foreign Office had left no stone unturned. The Turkish capital being under Allied occupation, all Ottoman archives were then accessible to the British. The Armenian issue happens to be a part of Ottoman history, and as such, Turkish source materials must be deemed of primary significance.<sup>34</sup> Since the question involves the Ottoman policies in respect to the Armenians, Turkish sources must be considered, first and foremost. The question is not how some Armenians and some Turks have suffered. Had it been so, then the accounts of personal experience of the individuals of both sides would have been of import. But the issue was to determine the official government policies. Hence, the British desperately searched the Ottoman archives that were wide open to them. The U.S. Department of State was also unable to assist the British Government. That is why all claims against the Turks were waived.

The ex-Governor Mustafa Abdülhalik, whose fake 'signature' is put on a number of Andonian 'documents,' was also *acquitted*. Abdülhad Nuri, another Ottoman official whose signature seems to appear on the Andonian 'documents,' was not even sent to Malta. Can we be correct in attaching importance to certain 'documents' that the occupying British, in the heated atmosphere of immediate post-war days, did not take them seriously? Can it be that at least some of the 'originals,' especially prepared by Andonian and his friends, were destroyed to prevent their later detection as fake?

Further, did Naim Bey, the hero of the 'documents', ever exist? Search of the Prime Minister's Archives (*Başbakanlık Arşivleri*) in İstanbul, among the Order Files (*İrade-i Seniye Dosyaları*) and the Official Gazette (*Resmî Gazete*) gives no evidence of the appointment of a man by that name to the Rehabilitation Office in Aleppo. However, one can locate in the same archives some of the names that Andonian mentions. It is quite possible that Naim Bey never

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<sup>34</sup> For the arguments of Professors Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, see: "The Authors Respond," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9 (1978), pp. 388-400.

lived. If he has, he must have been a very minor official, for Andonian also states that he was “entirely unimportant.” But how can such an unimportant person have access to such significant and *top secret* (!) material?

Andonian's ‘documents’ are full of various factual mistakes, omissions and contradictions that give him away. One of such blunders stems from his ignorance concerning the difference between the *rumî* (Julian) and the *milâdî* (Gregorian) calendars. To change from the former to the latter, one adds 584 to the years and 13 to the days, so that the *rumî* date 3 September 1331, becomes *milâdî* 16 September 1915. (Up until the *rumî* year 1316 or *milâdî* 1900 only 12 days were added). The *rumî* year starts on the 1st of March. Since January and February are the last two months of the *rumî* year, the correct number for the year of these two months can only be found by adding 584 + 1 or 585, so that, for instance, 5 January 1331 becomes 18 January 1916. In the Ottoman calendar system, the first day of the New Year was the 1st of March --until 1917. A law, adopted in February 1917, did away with the 13 days of difference, but kept the difference between the years. The *milâdî* year system was adopted in 1925 during the Republican era (1923-to the present), and the year 1341 became 1925.

Not knowing the intricacies of this system, Andonian committed serious errors in putting “appropriate” dates on the “documents”. His first “document” bears the date of “18 February 1331.” But in the *milâdî* calendar, it is *not* 18 February 1915; it should have been 2 March 1916 (February 1916 being 29 days). If Andonian wanted the ‘document’ to have been written in 1915 the *rumî* date needed to be 18 February 1330. The ‘document’ with 18 February or 2 March 1916 as the date fails to serve Andonian's purpose since he quotes this ‘document’ to prove premeditation or a government *pre-plan* of the transfer of the Armenian population. To serve Andonian's purpose, the letter ought to have been written before the transfer of the Armenians, but with the date it has on it, it looks as if it was written *nine months after* the transfer had begun. One is led to think that if Andonian or his helpers had known such complexities, they would have put a much earlier date.

The second “document” bears the date of 25 March 1331. But since the first “document” is dated 18 February 1331, it can only be 25 March 1332. While referring to the first “document”, the date is “corrected” as 18 February 1330, but Andonian has already given himself away. This must be the reason why Andonian leaves out the “original” of the first “document” from the English edition of the book and mentions only 15 November 1915, as

the date of the second document.’ Ottoman officials in the higher echelons do not commit such mistakes.

In an attempt to attribute pre-planning to the Ottoman Government, Andonian asserts that the Armenians never thought of insurrection. He emphasises that such a thought never passed through their heads. But abundant genuine Turkish documents and many Armenian sources show the contrary. For instance, Boghos Nubar Paşa, the Head of the Armenian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, in a letter dated 30 November 1918 to the French Foreign Ministry, simply states that the Armenian military detachments fought against the Ottomans as *belligerents*. There exist abundant materials, written by the Armenian commanders themselves or their own military analysts, who confess with pride or ascertain objectively that their form of struggle was massacre with weapons.

In both documents, a *besmele* (in the name of *Allah*) sign appears on the top. This was customary in those days. But the first so-called document misses the long letter of “*sin*” and the dot for the “*b*” ought to be on the right, not in the middle. Both signs are bigger than usual, and the sign depicting “*Allah*” is falsely written. It is of course not unusual for an Armenian, who is not a Muslim, to write out such a clumsy *besmele*, not having written it before.

The English and the French texts of the same ‘documents’ have conspicuous differences in wording, with several omissions or additions. For one, dates differ. A paragraph that starts with “Dr. Nazım Bey writes” in the French version cannot be found in the English publication. Some sentences change places, for instance, going from the sixth paragraph to the second. Omissions or additions are too many to be considered typographical errors. The ‘documents’ are poor in Turkish grammar and language. They are full of expressions referring to the Turks as if they are blaming themselves. In some cases, the English or French version of a ‘document’ is printed without the supposed ‘original’. The copies of these “telegrams” do not exist in the Prime Minister’s Archives in İstanbul. One may suggest that the copies might have been destroyed. The matter is not as simple as that. Signatures on the ‘documents’ are also fakes. For instance, the genuine signature of Mustafa Abdülhalik Bey is different from his supposed signatures in the Andonian books. Further, the Cipher Books at the official archives disclose that no such telegrams were sent on such prescribed dates. In some cases, two fake ‘telegrams’ bear the same number, which is impossible. In one of the French ‘documents’ the number of the dead Armenians is quoted as 95,000; in its English translation, the number goes up to 100,000. Some of the ‘documents’ could not have been signed by

Mustafa Abdülhalik as the Governor of Aleppo, simply because he was *not* the governor then. This post was occupied by Bekir Sami Bey, the former starting duty on 27 September 1331 (or 10 October 1915). Not knowing this, Andonian apparently had Mustafa Abdülhalik 'signing documents' previous to his taking up duties in Aleppo. There are genuine documents, for instance the one dated 22 September 1331, in the Turkish archives signed by Bekir Sami as the Governor of Aleppo. Mustafa Abdülhalik could not have signed a fake document, dated 3 September 1331, as the governor of the same city, 19 days prior to that date (that is, on 22 September 1331).

There are also cases, in which Andonian's 'documents' match the copies in the archives only in terms of dates, but not the number, nor the subject matter. For instance, the cipher telegram dated 3 September 1331 ought to have been numbered 78 and *not* 502. And its subject matter is the need to dig artesian wells in several places in the Sinai Peninsula. Some of the writings are on the kind of paper used in foreign schools or easily available from the local P.T.T. offices; such papers were not used as official records. Andonian also forgets that with each "1st of March" as the New Year, official correspondence began to be numbered from "1". Andonian's numbering, however, continues, frequently adding to these further blunders of date. One of his common errors is that he *never* adds 13 to the days of the month to find the *milâdî* dates. Not knowing the actual cipher used by the Ottoman Government, he frequently made up his own, which does not correspond to the cipher system available in the archives.

The two "telegrams" that are frequently referred to and attributed to Talât Paşa are the ones numbered 819 and 1181 in Andonian's book. The former is dated 7 March 1332 (or 20 March 1916). No such telegram was sent from the Ministry of Interior to the Governor's Office at Aleppo on that day. The only telegraph which bears this date is nevertheless numbered 9, and its subject matter is the Armenians in Antep. Andonian has again erred, having forgotten that documents begin being numbered with "1" starting with the 1st of March. It is unreasonable to think that 819 telegrams might have been sent from İstanbul to Aleppo within a short span of seven days. Moreover, on that very day, a different kind of cipher was being used for official correspondence than the one apparently made up by Andonian.

As to the second notorious telegram it is suspicious that number 1181 does not appear in the French and the English "texts". The Turkish and the English "texts" bear 16 September 1915 as the date while the French version is dated 15 September 1915. Here, Talât Paşa

ostensibly “refers” to the total destruction of all Armenians and “uses” a style of language that is meant to be a ‘confession.’ On that day, a telegram was indeed sent, but it was numbered 84, not 1181, and its subject was the postponement of the transfers of the Armenians working on the railroads. Andonian's cipher system again fails to correspond with the system used then. Andonian was slanderously careless with the numbers of his ‘documents.’ The one we are dealing with now bears “1181,” but his other ‘document’ dated 3 September 1331 is numbered 502, and still a third dated 29 September 1331 is identified as 537. How can a document, squeezed in between these two dates, allegedly written on 16 September 1331 be registered as 1181?

Two French writers, in their widely circulated book state that the Andonian “documents”, if authentic, have particular importance.<sup>35</sup> This is how authentic they are! Incidentally, the first photograph that these two French writers offer their readers (p. 147) as depicting Enver Paşa is of course incorrect; the picture is of Cemal Paşa --just to give an idea how reliable some documents (in that case, offered by the two French writers) may be!

The Governor of Aleppo, who seems to figure prominently in Andonian's book, was exiled to Malta by Britain on 7 June 1920; his exile number was 2800. The British searched the Ottoman archives, used the Armenian Church reports, resorted to witness accounts and finally applied to the Government of the United States requesting the latter to provide them with evidence. Official replies on 1 June 1921 and 23 July 1921 expressed regret that they could not find proof to convict any of the detainees at Malta.

But these momentous developments did not prevent **The Daily Telegraph**, for instance, from publishing, in its 29 May 1922 issue, some of the Andonian ‘documents.’ After all, Turkey was then in the midst of a national liberation movement. It was a time of life and death, and the Turks faced more important challenges that demanded a higher priority of their attention. But many Westerners, especially the British, the Americans and the French, were the most gullible and the most thirsty for atrocity stories, as if the Turks had greater predisposition to crime than other people.

Had these ‘documents’ not been concerned with the Turks and the Armenians, no historian, writer, correspondent, politician, or any commentator would have even touched

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<sup>35</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Yves Ternon, **Le Génocide des Arméniens**, Paris, 1980, p. 136. This effective book totally ignores Turkish sources, Armenian massacre of Muslims and many other facets of truth but relies on wartime propaganda and racially as well as politically motivated ‘investigation’ reports. For the book’s English version: **The Armenians: from Genocide to Resistance**, London, Zed Press, 1983.



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them. It is obvious that, objectively speaking, there is enough doubt, to say the least, as to their authenticity. Authors Orel and Yuca have reproduced several authentic documents, which further destroy whatever remains of Andonian's made-up telegrams.



دفعه تقاضای مجبورانه ایالتی در تاریخ ۲۰۰۸  
شماره نشر افتاد سند محاسبی

این سند مذکور مخفی بوده و به حاله درگاه استخفاف صورت  
این سند طبعاً بر وجه اعتباری شناخته شده و شماره  
اعزامی ایالتی  
دفعه پنجم  
مستند

محمد رضا...

۱۵  
Mustafa Abdülhalik

The 'signature' of Mustafa Abdülhalik, the Ottoman Governor of Aleppo (later the Speaker of the Republican Parliament) is a fake one. There are discrepancies between the number of this forged 'document' (830) and those of the two following ones (809 and 820).



عبد ورتشه

الحائضات

الحائضات

۱۲  
 ۸. «... که در این وقت که در دست است...  
 بدانند که در این وقت که در دست است...  
 که در این وقت که در دست است...  
 که در این وقت که در دست است...»

تصمیمات طب و ارتش  
 ۱۲  
 تاریخ نامه

محمد

۱۲



This authentic document provides financial resources "from the funds for the immigrants." It orders that "the Armenians be given food and that special care be taken to protect them from attack."

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## V. Confession or Fabrication?

The propaganda machine of certain Armenian circles also stepped up the claim that Mustafa Kemâl, later Atatürk (1881-1938), the founder of the Turkish Republic, had “confessed Ottoman state responsibility for the Armenian genocide.” There are references to such an alleged “statement”, condemning both the events of 1915 and the leading members of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihad ve Terakki*), not only in several Armenian-written announcements, but also in other foreign (notably French) publicity material and propaganda.

This chapter aspires to prove that the declaration, attributed to Mustafa Kemâl is false, probably initially stemming from confusing the celebrated Mustafa Kemâl Paşa (the founder of modern Turkey) with another Mustafa Paşa (also referred to as Mustafa Kemâl Paşa in some Armenian publications), nicknamed “the Cruel” (*Nemrud*), the latter having served for sometime as the judge of the İstanbul Military Court No. 1 in 1919-1920.

This error, which might have started as an oversight, a mere misunderstanding or a simple *lapsus linguae*, was later repeated in print and in word (as the Paris trial of the four Armenian terrorists on 24-31 January 1984, in which I personally took part in the capacity of *témoin d'autorité*, has substantiated), with the hope of strengthening a case by ‘quoting’ against the Turks no less an authority than the founder of their state. In actuality, this was only window-dressing for a lie. While fancy escalated, falsity itself developed from misapprehension to fraud and trickery, since some Armenian authors, to be referred to below, have already printed articles calling the story a “fiction” and requesting that “this fable die.” If certain Armenian spokesmen still present this “fable” as truth and if some French reporters, who will be quoted below, print it, or if the European Assembly pronounces it in a cursory manner, in spite of proof to the contrary, then, their behaviour may be described as fraud, deceit, or simple lie.

I shall offer here a summary of the origins of this apocryphal episode, tracing its growth through some Armenian and foreign sources, quoting Atatürk as well as the Armenian writers who have established the fallacy. I shall reproduce a few sample Armenian documents, genuine Mustafa Kemâl letters and photocopies of scandalous French “reporting” to clarify several points surrounding the untruth in question.

Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk, as an outstanding statesman of the Twentieth Century, is known well enough not to be mixed up with anyone else. His achievements, so resplendent within the short span of two decades, have inspired a great and growing volume of literature in his own country and abroad. One must be content here by referring to bibliographical books on him. For instance, a near-to-complete (foreign and Turkish) bibliography has been collected by the former Director (Muzaffer Gökman) of the Beyazıt Library in İstanbul. This is a three-volume compendium of about 3,000 pages, prepared for the Turkish Ministry of Education as **Atatürk ve Devrimleri Tarihi Bibliyografyası** (Bibliography of Atatürk and the History of His Revolution). A new, annotated bibliography, in two volumes, was published in 1981 by a distinguished editor (Türker Acaroğlu), who treats the best 500 Turkish and foreign books.<sup>36</sup> There is a bibliographical book, merely listing the title of the articles written on him during the first 51 days after his death, that is, between November 10 and December 31, 1938.<sup>37</sup> In none of these or other bibliographical compilations can one find any remote reference to the one he is supposed to have made on the Armenian issue.

As to the original works by Atatürk himself, one may classify them as follows: (a) the great **Speech** (**Nutuk** or **Söylev**); (b) talks, statements, declarations, telegrams and announcements; (c) memoirs; (d) treatises (and translations) on military affairs; (e) reports on the Gelibolu (Gallipoli) campaigns; (f) private letters; (g) hand-written and dictated notes; (h) unsigned articles. The six-day **Speech** reveals the activity of the speaker from the time when he felt himself called upon to lead the nation from threatened ruin to independence. The Institute of the History of Turkish Revolution has published selected speeches and statements of Atatürk in five volumes. Several individuals, foreign as well as Turkish, brought out their own selections before and after the Institute's compilations. Several newer publications include hitherto unpublished speeches by Atatürk. Many of his talks have been printed by different government and party organs as well as by private publishers or individuals. His great **Speech** and selected addresses appeared in several foreign languages. His memoirs and diaries have also been published. Original writings on military affairs have also circulated often enough. His private letters were likewise collected. Even his book on geometry is printed. This summary is, of course, a very brief résumé of his published works. The point is that none carries any reference to the statement attributed to him on the Armenian episode.

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<sup>36</sup> **Açıklamalı Atatürk Kaynakçası**, Ankara, Türkiye İş Bankası, 1981.

<sup>37</sup> Sami N. Özerdim, **10 Kasım-31 Aralık 1938 Günlerinde Türk Basımında Atatürk İçin Yazılmış Yazıların Bibliyografyası**, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1958.

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To condense Atatürk's life-work within the compass of a few paragraphs would be a presumptuous attempt. A standard Turkish biography, translated into several foreign languages, was published by the Turkish Branch of the UNESCO.<sup>38</sup> One may be content here with Atatürk's own inimitable summary: "A ruined country overlooking a precipice, bloody engagements, long years of war, and then a new society, a new state, brought to pass by incessant reforms, which have won esteem both at home and abroad..."<sup>39</sup> (Characteristically, no reference to himself.) Challenging the most cruel and unjust indictment made against Turkey in history, Atatürk asserted the rightfulness of the Turkish nation, his stentorian voice penetrating, with undiminished momentum, the conscience of the world. He dedicated himself to the vindication of the rights of the Turkish nation. After driving the forces of occupation out of the country, he aimed to transform the society into a modern state.

The victors of the First World War saw Turkey only as a space on the map from which others might be compensated and new concessions obtained in return. The Entente Powers were committed to several secret agreements, albeit disclosed by the new Soviet regime, stipulated during the war as bribes or spoils for participating in it on the 'right' (that is, the winning) side. They planned to dismember Turkey in Asia,<sup>40</sup> just as Turkey in Europe had been carved up about a decade before.<sup>41</sup> The first of these secret agreements gave the capital city of the Ottoman State, Eastern Thrace and the Turkish Straits to Russia, in return for a British sphere of influence in Iran. The Soviet Government having renounced the Tsarist claim, this plan of plunder had to be pushed aside to make room for the Entente occupation of İstanbul and its environs. The second or the notorious Sykes-Picot Agreement partitioned the greater part of the Arab world and south-eastern Anatolia between Britain and France. The third and fourth assigned to the Italians large portions of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor, with much hinterland. This colonial partition reduced the Turkish State to a few provinces in northern Anatolia, leaving a substantial share of other parts to imperialist France and Italy. Professor Laurence Evans, among others, well explains

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<sup>38</sup> **Atatürk: Biography**, Ankara, Turkish National Commission for UNESCO, 1981 (French: **Atatürk: Vie et Oeuvre**; German: **Atatürk: Sein Leben und sein Werk**).

<sup>39</sup> Nimet Arsan, ed., **Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri**, Vol. 1, 2nd pr., Ankara, Türk İnkilap Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1981, p. 380.

<sup>40</sup> For the imperial ambitions of the foreign powers and the tide of nationalism, see: Justin McCarthy, **The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire**, London, Arnold; New York, Oxford University Press, 2001.

<sup>41</sup> For a history of the deportation and death of millions of Muslims, mostly Turks, in the Balkans, the Crimea (and its vast hinterland) and Caucasia, see: Justin McCarthy, **Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims: 1821-1922**, Princeton, New Jersey, The Darwin Press, Inc., 1995.



the division of the Ottoman Empire in his book, entitled **United States Policy and the Partition of Turkey**,<sup>42</sup> based on the State Department files at the National Archives as well as the Wilson, Lansing and House Papers in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

A decisive ingredient in this whole scheme of expansionism, dismemberment and exploitation was the developing 'Grand Idea' of the Greeks. Irrespective of the fact that Aristotle was the creator of the **Organum**, Thucydides a great historian, or Aristophanes an outstanding playwright, the Greek generation of 1919 indeed sought expansion on lands that did not belong to them. It was no other than Lord Kinross, a former British diplomat, author and journalist (previously writing as Patrick Balfour), who described Lloyd George's support of this Greek ambition as serving British interests in the protection of imperial communications with India.<sup>43</sup> Despite the opposition of many, including President Wilson on the very grounds of self-determination, the British Prime Minister had chosen to support Greek claims in Asia Minor. This was the end of the "peace terms" the Entente Powers were planning to impose on the Turks.

Such was the prospect that awaited Mustafa Kemâl when he returned to the Ottoman capital. On 19 May 1919, only four days after the Greek troops, despite warnings and protests, landed at İzmir (Smyrna) setting up, in Churchill's words, "their standards of invasion and conquest" on the shores of the Aegean, Kemâl set his standard of resistance and liberation at Samsun on the shores of the Black Sea. Well-known is the epic story of the military, political and diplomatic battle for Anatolia, which opened a new chapter in the history of the Turkish people, fought by the patient, long-suffering and stubborn peasantry of Anatolia, neglected by their Ottoman rulers but nevertheless who had given the Empire its backbone and now led by the great Mustafa Kemâl, that seasoned campaigner who possessed the necessary over-all grasp of all domestic and foreign conditions, a peculiar amalgamation of calculating reason and a clear-sighted vision, as well as irrepressible toughness and driving energy along with intellect and imagination, willpower and, of course, deep love for the country.

Lord Kinross, in the opening page of his celebrated standard biography, portrays him in the following manner: "...It was a restless mind, nurtured on those principles of Western civilization which had influenced Turkish liberal thought since the 19th century, continually

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<sup>42</sup> Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965.

<sup>43</sup> **Atatürk: the Birth of a Nation**, Nicosia, K. Rustem and Brother, 1981, p. 140.

refuelled by the ideas of others, which he adapted and adopted as his own; but always grounded in a common sense mistrustful of theory...”<sup>44</sup> A writer-diplomat from Argentina describes him, in the Prologue to the first English edition of his book, in the following words:

“Within the framework of world history, the great figure of Kemâl Atatürk has imprinted his indestructible profile upon the broad history of political thought...The whole world...was left stupefied by the apparently impossible: the victory, all-subduing of a people in arms with poor weapons and bottled up in Anatolia, over the truly formidable armies with which the Allies attempted to impose their unjust law. Decades have passed since then, and we can now see that the victory was not merely a local triumph...it was the sign of the deliverance of all the oppressed peoples of the East and Africa, the beginning of the end of colonialism...Atatürk belongs not only to Turkey, but to Humanity...”<sup>45</sup>

Indeed, Mustafa Kemâl is more than an outstanding leader, “more than a national hero.”<sup>46</sup> As a pioneer of many of our present universal ideas, he is still our contemporary. The living generations may consider many principles today as a synthesis of the most progressive achievements of the international community, such as the right to resist subjection and occupation, the recognition of political independence, and the quest for the equality of states. One has to cast a glance back to see the road covered, the progress made. We have to remind ourselves, in this connection, of the epoch-making heroes who have initially laid the foundation stones of ever-broadening movements that have later become significant factors in international affairs. It is appropriate here to underline, without any need to go into details, that Turkey's Atatürk, whose Centennial (1881-1981) celebrated not only in Turkey, but on an international scale, is a great name in our times, linked with the anti-colonial revolution and the quest for a better world.

If the national liberation struggles of peoples is one of the essential historical tendencies of modern times, one may recall the name of that great Turk in this connection and perceive that had he failed or not exerted such a significant influence, the independence and freedom of nations would have come much later and in a more restricted manner, and hence the rift dividing the world would be even deeper today than it already is. It is true that the process of decolonization, political and social self-determination, the idea of the equality of peoples and the need to create new international relations on democratic foundations arose from the

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

<sup>45</sup> Original Spanish: Jorge Blanco Villalta, *Kemal Atatürk: El Constructor de la Nueva Turquía*. Buenos Aires, Claridad, 1939; 2nd pr., 1945; English ed.: *Atatürk*, tr. by William Campbell, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979, pp. xi-xiii.

<sup>46</sup> Türkkiye Ataöv, “Atatürk--More Than a National Leader,” *Darshana International*, Moradabad, India, XXII/1 (January 1982), pp. 16-20.

specific conditions of the post-World War II period. Mustafa Kemâl had come to the scene just in time for the Turkish people, but perhaps he was too early for the world movement of equitable relations between states. Still, for the peoples of Asia and Africa, then chained to colonialism, the Turkish Revolution signified the victory of the have-nots. Mustafa Kemâl considered the Turkish defence of Asia Minor “not only as honouring a duty pertaining to its own life, but also serving as a barrier to attacks directed at the whole East.”<sup>47</sup>

There is ample and persuasive evidence in terms of scholarly works, documentaries, testimonies, citations, poetry and witnesses that Mustafa Kemâl's point of view was shared by many leaders and writers of the globe, especially the spokesmen of the “Third World.” Among the plentiful publications on this very point, one may refer to the most recent academic works, such as Dr. Muhammed Sadiq's brilliant **The Turkish Revolution and the Indian Freedom Movement**.<sup>48</sup> It is not only his conviction, but the considered judgement of several academics of his country, nay his continent, that Mustafa Kemâl is:

“...one of those great men, who changed the destiny of their peoples and left an abiding impression on the process of freedom from colonial rule...The message of his mission spread far and wide beyond the limits of Turkey and provided inspiration to all those who were groaning under colonial captivity. He was the harbinger of a new awakening, the herald of freedom in Asia: under his leadership the liberation movement of Turkey sounded the death-knell of colonialism in Asia.”<sup>49</sup>

A published doctoral dissertation by another Indian scholar demonstrates how Mustafa Kemâl's ideas and deeds influenced Mahatma Gandhi.<sup>50</sup> While many Indians named their newly-born sons “Mustafa Kemâl,”<sup>51</sup> the Urdu-language poet Muhammed Iqbal and the Bengali Muse, Nazrul Islam have composed long epics in praise of his emancipating role.<sup>52</sup> The Afghani writer Sardar Iqbal Ali Shah described his deeds as an example to the whole of

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<sup>47</sup> *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> Delhi, Macmillan, 1983.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>50</sup> R. K. Sinha, *Kurtuluş Savaşı, Devrimler: Mustafa Kemâl ve Mahatma Gandhi, 1919-1928*, İstanbul, Milliyet, 1972.

<sup>51</sup> I personally met Kashmir's Health Education Minister Mustafa Kemâl Paşa, a son of Kashmir's first Premier Sheikh Abdullah. For my article on the Kashmiri Minister and the adoption of his name: Türkkaya Ataöv, “Keşmir'de bir Bakan: Adı Mustafa Kemâl Paşa,” *New Perspectives Quarterly Türkiye*, 5/3 (2003), pp. 43-45.

<sup>52</sup> For my article on Nazrul Islam's epic poem entitled “Our Kemâl Pasha”: Türkkaya Ataöv, “My Early Introduction to the Poet and His People,” *Brahmaputra, First International Nazrul Conference Issue; 12-13 June 2005*, Dhaka, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 2005, pp. 76-81.

Asia.<sup>53</sup> Jomo Kenyatta surprised a group of visitors when the Kenyan leader spoke, in considerable detail, on Mustafa Kemâl's role in the history of peoples' struggle for emancipation.<sup>54</sup> One may add here, albeit in one sentence, that the folk artists of Algeria, a country subjected to 132 years of occupation and blood-bath of French imperialism, were drawing Mustafa Kemâl's pictures and that their sisters were spinning his image on canvasses to decorate homes and public places, at the beginning of their own national struggle.

As a matter of fact, the works of earlier French authors on Atatürk may now be read with great interest: René Marchand,<sup>55</sup> Marguerite Bourgoïn,<sup>56</sup> Jacques Kayser,<sup>57</sup> Willy Sperco,<sup>58</sup> Jean Melia<sup>59</sup> and others. The French writer Berthe Georges-Gaulis,<sup>60</sup> for instance, knew that the emergence of the Kemâlist movement also meant the awakening of Asia. Authors of other nationalities shared the same conclusions as to Atatürk's uniqueness and inspiration: British,<sup>61</sup> Czech,<sup>62</sup> Yugoslav,<sup>63</sup> Rumanian,<sup>64</sup> Greek,<sup>65</sup> Bulgarian,<sup>66</sup> Egyptian,<sup>67</sup> and the like. Several foreign diplomats, such as Charles H. Sherrill<sup>68</sup> or August Ritten von Kral<sup>69</sup> have published their own accounts, based on personal talks with the hero and on the spot observations of his time. Right in the third paragraph of his work, the German writer

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<sup>53</sup> **Kamal: Maker of Modern Turkey**, London, H. Joseph, 1934.

<sup>54</sup> For reference to this talk, see: Türkaya Ataöv, "Atatürk: Pioneer Against Oppression," **The Standard**, Nairobi, Kenya, November 2, 1981, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> **Reveil d'une race: dans la Turquie de Mustafa Kemâl**, Paris, Nouvelle Société d'Édition, 1927.

<sup>56</sup> **Turquie d'Ataturk**, Paris, E. Ray, 1935.

<sup>57</sup> **L'Europe et la Turquie nouvelle**, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1922.

<sup>58</sup> **Moustapha Kemal Ataturk: Createur de la Turquie moderne**, Paris, Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1958.

<sup>59</sup> **Mustapha Kemal ou la renovation de la Turquie**, Paris, Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1921.

<sup>60</sup> **Nationalisme ture**, Paris, Plon, 1921.

<sup>61</sup> For instance: Bernard Lewis, **The Emergence of Modern Turkey**, London, Oxford University Press, 1968.

<sup>62</sup> Karel Pravec, **Kemal Ataturk**, Praha, Nakladatelství Svoboda, 1967.

<sup>63</sup> For instance: Zoran Tomic, **Kemal Ataturk: Tvorats Nove Turske**, Beograd, Planeta, 1939.

<sup>64</sup> Petre Ghiata, **Ataturk**, București, Editura Enciclopedica Romana, 1975.

<sup>65</sup> For instance: Thomas A. Vaidis, **Kemal Ataturk: O Demiourgos tes Neas Tourkias**, Atenai, Akropolis, 1936.

<sup>66</sup> For instance: Stefan Velikov, **Kemalistkata Revolutsiya: Bilgarskata Obştestvennost, 1918-1922**, Sofya, Institut po Balkanistika, 1966.

<sup>67</sup> For instance: Aziz Hanki, **Etrak va Ataturk**, El-Kahire, 1939.

<sup>68</sup> **A Year's Embassy to Mustafa Kemal**, New York and London, C. Scribner's, 1934.

<sup>69</sup> **Das Land Kamal Ataturk's: der Werdengang der Modernen Türkei**, Wien-Leipzig, W. Braumüller, 1935.

Johannes Glasneck characterized him as “a history-making personality.”<sup>70</sup> Professor Herbert Melzig described him as “the voice of the nation.”<sup>71</sup> Some foreign books, such as Dagobert von Mikusch's celebrated **Gazi Mustafa Kemal Zwischen Europa und Asia**<sup>72</sup> (Between Europe and Asia) have seen ten consecutive printings and have been further translated into several other European languages.

This is *the* Mustafa Kemâl, universally known as “the Father of the Turks”, who created a compact Turkey from the wide-strewn fragments of the Ottoman State, who gave the nation a new political system, and who created a new generation with self-respect. There were, of course, others named as “Mustafa” or “Kemâl” or both, not only during Atatürk's life-time but since the Turks' adoption of Islam as their religion. It will be recalled that an extraordinary historical figure famed as “Muhammed Mustafa” was the Prophet of Islam, and his name appeared in all Muslim countries as frequent as “François” in France.

The “Mustafa Kemâl” whom several Armenian and some foreign writers or spokesmen mix up, on account of lack of proper knowledge or sufficient good will, with the founder of the Turkish Republic is a namesake. The “error” may initially be traced to a French author, a certain Paul du Véou, who in his **Le Désastre d'Alexandrette**<sup>73</sup> (The Alexandretta Disaster) wrote, in a footnote, that “Mustafa Kemâl” had appeared before a tribunal in İstanbul on 27 January 1920, and had made a statement that placed responsibility on the shoulders of the Ottoman State for the “Armenian massacres.”

It was common knowledge then, as it is now, that Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk was already in Samsun on 19 May 1919, and was ordered to return to İstanbul as early as June 23 of the same year, an order which he disobeyed, resigning from the army on 8 July 1919. The Nationalist Congresses of Erzurum and Sivas were held under his presidency, in August and September of 1919 respectively. Mustafa Kemâl established his headquarters at Ankara on 27 December 1919, about three weeks short of the ‘statement’ he is supposed to have made at the İstanbul tribunal. Soon, the Turkish Grand National Assembly met in Ankara. He was later condemned to death by the Sultan's Government in İstanbul, curiously enough by the same tribunal before which he is supposed to have appeared as a witness. Mustafa Kemâl was certainly in Ankara on 27 January 1920. How could he be in the Ottoman capital, especially

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<sup>70</sup> **Kemal Atatürk und die moderne Türkei**, Berlin, VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1971.

<sup>71</sup> **Kamal Atatürk: Untergang und Aufstieg der Türkei**, Frankfurt/Main Societats Verlag, 1937.

<sup>72</sup> Leipzig, P. List, 1935.

<sup>73</sup> Paris, Editions Baudinière, 1938, p. 121.

under the circumstances now known to the whole world? The chronology of events may easily be traced in several foreign subsequent studies as well, such as Professor Gotthard Jaeschke's **Die Türkei seit dem Weltkrige: Geschichtskalender, 1918-1920**<sup>74</sup> or the **Documents on British Foreign Policy: 1919-1939**, First Series, issued by the Foreign Office.

The “error” was repeated in a book entitled **Les Memoires de Mgr. Jean Naslian** by an Armenian Catholic Bishop. There is a reference on page 43 in the first volume of that publication, printed in Vienna in 1951, to a statement by “Mustafa Kemâl”. Bishop Naslian might have been misled by Paul du Véou's book or better by reference to a “Mustafa Pasha statement” in **Le Bosphore, La Renaissance** or other Armenian newspapers printed in İstanbul in 1919 and 1920. **Le Bosphore** was published by the occupying authorities in the Ottoman capital to further Armenian interests. Likewise, **La Renaissance** was a French-language paper, under the editorship of Hagopian Chaian, an Armenian, to serve the same interests. These papers and perhaps several others referred to a statement by “*Nemrud*” Mustafa, Bishop Naslian, however, confused him, unvoluntarily or intentionally, with *the* Mustafa Kemâl. Armenian author G. Guerguerian advised Bishop Naslian to correct his memoirs before publishing them; he never did. Moreover, it was translated into Armenian by Haik Stephanian as **Arhi Hovhaness Arkyebiskopos Nasliani Housheruh**.<sup>75</sup> The same error was reproduced in the Armenian version. It kept being repeated, for instance, by Jean Mécérian in his **Le Genocide du peuple armenien**.<sup>76</sup>

Author G. Guerguerian (referred to above), an American cleric with residence at Forest Hills (New York), might have been the first to correct this “error” with his article in the weekly **Massis** (1967) published in Beirut. The warning, however, went unnoticed. Armenian author Leon Surmelian, in his Preface to Andonian Shiragian's **The Legacy: Memoirs of an Armenian Patriot**, wrote: “The present Turkish Government and press seem to forget Mustafa Kemâl Pasha's testimony before the Turkish war tribunal in Constantinople on 28 January 1919.” He categorically adds: “The founder of the Turkish Republic spoke as an eyewitness of the Armenian horrors he personally witnessed.”<sup>77</sup> On the heels of Surmelian, let me quote another Armenian, publisher Tashjian: “...There is no evidence at all in any source other than the suspect Naslian-based passage that he [Mustafa Kemâl Paşa, the founder of

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<sup>74</sup> Berlin, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, 1929.

<sup>75</sup> Beirut, Armenian Catholic Press, 1960.

<sup>76</sup> Beirut, 1965, pp. 50-51.

modern Turkey] attended, testified or even addressed a memorandum on the Armenian case.”<sup>78</sup>

Picking from sources like Naslian, the same error was repeated in Soviet Armenia. G. Arutyunov and G. Episkoposov, for instance, (the former a full Professor of History and the latter a Ph.D.) in a letter to the **Novoye Vremya** of 4 December 1981, published in several languages, once more quoted the same statement, falsely attributed to Atatürk. Further, the article of Mari Kochar, from the Yerevan State University (then, the Armenian S.S. Republic), which appeared in the 15 January 1982 issue of the **Krakan Tert** (Literary Paper), has been extensively used in the Armenian press abroad. Yet again, Jon Kirakosian, from Soviet Armenia, repeated the same error in the April 1982 issue of the monthly **Sovetakan Haiastan**.<sup>79</sup> The same article is reprinted in many Armenian-language reviews all over the world, for instance, in the **Baykar** of Boston, June (*Hûnis*) 1982.<sup>80</sup> A book, entitled **The First Holocaust** and edited by Hagop Terjimanian, an Armenian, carries the same false statement.<sup>81</sup> The error, at times, stretches to sections of the Greek press as well.

Samples above in terms of “*historicisme a l'Arménienne*” may be sufficient. It was another Armenian writer, James H. Tashjian, the Editor of **The Armenian Review**, published in Boston, Mass. (U.S.A.), in a letter printed in the 20 March 1982 issue of **The Armenian Weekly**, again brought out in Boston, who wrote that Mustafa Kemâl “never appeared before such a tribunal, nor did he render such a statement.” He called this an “astonishingly hard dying disorder” caused by “similarities in the names” and “questionable scholarship.” Informing his readers that this matter would be subject of a corrective paper in his own journal, he urged that interested parties abstain from attributing to Mustafa Kemâl Paşa the statement on the Armenians. Neither this announcement, nor his 18-page article (pp. 227-244) in Vol. XXXV, no. 3-139 (Autumn 1982) issue of **The Armenian Review** prevented the lawyers of the four accused Armenian terrorists at the Paris trial (January 1984), nor their associates in the French press, from presenting it to the Court or to public opinion as a

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<sup>77</sup> Boston, Hairenik, 1978, pp. xii-xiii, Emphasis mine.

<sup>78</sup> James H. Tashjian. “On a 'Statement' Condemning the Armenian Genocide of 1915-18 Attributed in Error to Mustafa Kemal, Later 'The Atatürk',” **The Armenian Review**, Boston, Mass., XXXV/3-139 (Autumn 1982), p. 230.

<sup>79</sup> Yerevan, No. 1 (April 1982), pp. 14-15.

<sup>80</sup> The article 'amusingly' entitled “Badbutyan Pasteri 'a la Turc' (or History-Writing in the Turkish Fashion) itself reproduces a false statement.

<sup>81</sup> Pasadena, California, Siran Editions, 1982, p. 4.

“document.” (For the first page of publisher Tashjian's article, see the accompanying document.)

Author Tashjian determines that on 20 January 1920 (and not on 28 January 1919), “*Nemrud*” Mustafa, an entirely different person read or submitted a memorandum to the very tribunal, where he was previously the chief but later replaced by a certain Esad Paşa. If *Nemrud* Mustafa has ever submitted such a memorandum to the summary court, he is supposed to have accused, according to Tashjian, some people of atrocities. Tashjian states that *Nemrud* Mustafa, now a defendant, was later absolved of charges and reappointed as chief of the same court. What should interest us here is that Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk was condemned to death in May 1920 by the same court, presided over by *Nemrud* Mustafa, with whom the founder of the Turkish Republic is so free-handedly “confused.” Tashjian, who describes the disorder as an “unhappily durable fiction,” states that the aim of his paper is “to clear up this confusion once and for all.” As to the other points that publisher Tashjian is trying to make in the same article, he may profitably read, by way of introduction, the books on Atatürk mentioned above.<sup>82</sup>

Corrections even by Armenians have failed to move other Armenians, who opportunistically placed their hope on slander, forgery and false propaganda. An example is the reference to it on 24 January 1984, by a certain M. Aslanian, a member of the Paris Bar Association, during the trial of the four accused Armenians, guilty of carrying arms and explosives, attacking the Turkish Consulate-General in Paris, invading its premises, taking hostages, wounding a Turkish diplomat and killing another. Aslanian's statement was apparently shared and approved by the other lawyer-associates, who expected a cheap reward from a fallacy. Endeavouring to defend the four accused, M. Aslanian addressed a question to me in the court room, where I happened to be present as a “Witness of Authority,” as to what I had to say to that “statement by Mustafa Kemâl, the founder of the Turkish Republic.” When I replied that this statement was being wrongly attributed to the first President of our country, that even an Armenian source such as **The Armenian Review**, published in the U.S.A., recently carried an article ascribing it to another person by the same first name, and that I was in a position to submit the particulars of that article to the court, an uproar was heard from the defence bench, attempting to impress the judges and the members of the jury

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<sup>82</sup> Apart from his serious misconceptions and misjudgements, Tashjian has committed various factual errors as well. For instance, Halide Edip, Turkey's leading woman intellectual at the time, was not the wife of Ziya Gökalp, but of Dr. Adnan Adıvar. (See Tashjian, *op. cit.*, p. 242, fn. 24).



that the Turks were “denying” even such an authority as Mustafa Kemâl. But I happened to be right and soon submitted a written statement to the court, quoting the author, title, date, number and pages of the Armenian article in question. It will be remembered that this article, as well, described the allegation as “fiction” and “confusion” and pleaded at the very end: “Let this fable die.” I am reproducing my letter, addressed to M. Guy Floch, the President of the Court, who read it aloud to the defence lawyers. The counselors of the accused Armenians subsequently read in private a letter meant for them all, in which I expressed readiness to tender my resignation from the university if the statement in question belonged to Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk, but that one would expect M. Aslanian to do the same and resign from the Bar Association, if the same was not made by Atatürk, for submitting forgeries and trying to mislead justice.

But this was not the end of the counsellor’s ‘acrobatics’ in the French court. Witness Yves Ternon also used the same fake ‘statement’ for his own ends. More importantly, not only the columns of several French papers preferred silence in terms of such corrections but some referred to an Atatürk ‘statement,’ pretending as if it had not been proved false. A certain Charles Blanchard of **Le Matin** apparently chose to rewrite history, in his article on 28 January 1984, for the satisfaction of his associates when he continued to attribute the same false statement to the father of modern Turkey. Some ‘erudition’, some ‘reporting’! Antoine de Rivarol’s dictum inevitably comes to mind here: “*Ce qui n’est pas clair n’est pas Français.*” Blanchard categorically but misleadingly stated: “*Oublié tout cela.*” But he demonstrated undeniable “forgetfulness” when he was reminded by letter of the particular facts of his material error. I have also enclosed a copy of the communication pertaining to this point and addressed to the President of the Court, which was publicly disclosed by the latter. Reference to reporter Blanchard’s professional conscience having failed to move him, I have ventured to send to the gentleman another letter, assessing his “methodology” of writing. To make an understatement, in no textbooks of journalism are such distortions and evasions described as truthful reporting.

The “error”, nevertheless, still continues. An article by Nishan Nercessian, entitled “Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk and the Armenian Genocide,” published in **The Armenian Observer** on 29 February 1984, refers to the same statement, allegedly made by “the hero of

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the Gallipoli campaign.”<sup>83</sup> The error occurs in the fleeting decisions of some European parliaments, which are obviously no places for declarations on historical events. Such repetitions, hopefully to come to an end, nevertheless, expose the prejudice, lack of erudition and sometimes even deceitfulness of the responsible individuals or bodies.

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<sup>83</sup> See the center-spread of **The Armenian Observer**, Los Angeles, California, XIV/14 (Wednesday, 29 February 1984).

# the ARMENIAN REVIEW

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VOLUME THIRTY-FIVE, 3-139

Autumn, 1982

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## On a 'Statement' Condemning the Armenian Genocide of 1915-18 Attributed in Error to Mustafa Kemal, Later 'The Ataturk'

JAMES H. TASHJIAN

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IN A RECENT COMMENTARY devoted to the subject of Neshide Kerem Demir's work *Turkiyede Ermeni Meselesi* [The Armenian Question in Turkey], (Ankara, 1976), Professor Mari Kochar, a member of the Faculty of Eastern Studies, State University of Yerevan, repeats<sup>1</sup> — and thus perpetuates — an unhappily durable fiction purporting that, on January 28, 1919, Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), later "The Ataturk", personally appeared as a witness before a Turkish military court convened in Constantinople, and that, we are told, Kemal there delivered a statement condemning both the Armenian atrocities of 1915-18 and those leading members of the Ittihad ve Terrake Party (CUP, Committee of Union and Progress, or "Young Turks") responsible for them.<sup>2</sup>

*However, Mustafa Kemal, then a Pasha, never appeared before such a Court, nor did he render such a deposition — nor could he have done so, in all logic and historicity.*

*And, it is equally a fact that the statement attributed to Mustafa Kemal — more actually in the form of a memorandum — was given NOT by THE Mustafa Kemal Pasha, but by his namesake, a Kurd, one Nemrud Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was sometime the Judge of that Court Martial Number 1.*

Clearly, the similarity in the names of two different men — and simply questionable scholarship — is responsible for this astonishingly hard-dying disorder.

This paper aims to clear up this confusion once and for all.

Now, Professor Kochar, and others, quote THE Mustafa Kemal as having told the Court:

The heading of the article by the Armenian author is self-evident.

THE ARMENIAN WEEKLY,  
BOSTON, MASS., U.S.A.,  
March 20, 1982.

In a recent commentary devoted to the subject of Neshide Demir's Turkish-language work *The Armenian Question in Turkey* (reprinted from *Krakon-Tad*, Yerevan, in *Hairenik Daily*, February 20, 1982 pp. 8-7 and 9), Mrs. Mari Kochar, a member of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, State University of Yerevan, repeats — and thus perpetuates — an unhappily durable fiction purporting that Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), later "The Ataturk" personally appeared before a Turkish summary court, on January 28, 1919, in Constantinople ostensibly charged with trying a number of officers of the Ittihad ve Terrake Party (Committee of Union and Progress — CUP, or popularly "The Young Turks") accused of authorship of, or high complicity in, the Armenian massacres of 1915-18; and that Kemal delivered on that occasion a statement condemning those atrocities and those responsible for them.

However, the fact is that Mustafa Kemal, then a Pasha, never appeared before such a tribunal, nor did he render such a statement — nor could he, in all logic and historicity, have done so.

Moreover, it is equally a fact that the statement attributed to Mustafa Kemal — more accurately a deposition in the

This matter has been thoroughly researched and will be the subject of a corrective paper soon to appear in *The Armenian Review*. Until the publication of that paper, we urge scholarship to abstain from attributing to Mustafa Kemal Pasha the statement on the Armenian massacres attributed in error to him.

James H. Tashjian  
Editor  
*The Armenian Review*  
Boston, Massachusetts

PAUL DU VEOU

# Le désastre d'Alexandrette

1934 - 1938



ÉDITIONS LAUDINIÈRE  
27 bis, rue du Moulin-Vert - PARIS  
1938

This early (1938) French source claims that M. Kemâl, Turkey's President in 1923, appeared in an İstanbul court on January 24, 1920, and described the events of 1915-16. All students of Turkish history well know that he left İstanbul on May 16, 1919, reaching the Black Sea city of Samsun on the 19th, and returned to the former Ottoman capital only nine years later.

D'ALEXANDRETTE

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LE

pour le développement de la Turquie jusqu'à 62 p. 100 de ses entreprises bancaires, 46 p. 100 de ses entreprises ferroviaires, 67 p. 100 de ses ports. Les mines, les phares lui devaient la totalité de leurs capitaux. Les écoles françaises comptaient près de 120.000 élèves. Au début de 1914, la France prêta plusieurs centaines de millions à la Turquie; elle s'était offerte de surcroît et avait été agréée pour garantir de l'intégrité de la Turquie. C'est alors, pour se décharger d'un coup de cette dette et se libérer de ses minorités en les massacrant,<sup>1</sup> que, nous témoignant son amitié

traditionnelle, la Turquie servit à p canons qui coulèrent dans les. La Turquie vernement, mais les quand, de 191 Ourfu, à Kozanni, ar français, ligottant n les brûler vifs, les du ciel, dans le dés chien la tête du com avoir « mangé les M. Atatürk nous fa turque ».

(1) Déposition de Mustafa Kemal devant la Cour Suprême de Constantinople, le 24 Janvier 1920: « Les pechas qui ont perpétré des crimes innombrables et qui ont ainsi entraîné le pays dans sa situation présente pour assurer leurs intérêts personnels, en firent encore des troubles. Ils ont instauré toutes sortes de tyrannies, organisé les déportations et les massacres, brûlé avec du pétrole les enfants à la mamelle, violé des femmes et des jeunes filles en présence de leurs parents garottés et blessés, séparé les jeunes filles de leurs pères et mères, confisqué leurs biens meubles et immeubles et les ont exilés jusqu'à Mossoul dans un état lamentable, en exerçant toutes sortes de violences.

En 1922, les Ké truisirent ou brûlèrent qui comptaient 20 avait été assassiné fui la Turquie, don à la incendie. L'oc prit fin le 2 octobre

« Ils ont embarqué à bord des caïques, des milliers d'innocents et les ont jetés à la mer. Ils ont fait proclamer par des hérétiques la nécessité pour les non-musulmans fidèles au gouvernement ottoman, de renier leur religion pour embrasser l'islamisme; ils les ont contraints à cette conversion; ils ont fait marcher pendant des mois entiers

des vieillards affamés; i forcés. Ils ont fait jeter tolérance égoïste dans sans précédent dans l'hi

Paris, le 28 janvier 1984

Monsieur le Président,

A la suite de ma déposition du 26 janvier à l'occasion du procès des quatre arméniens inculpés dans l'affaire Guzejian et autres, l'un des avocats de la défense, en l'occurrence, Maître Arslanian, a lu à votre Haute Cour, un document faux dans lequel certaines paroles sont attribuées à Mustafa Kemal. Dans ce document falsifié il est prétendu que "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk a confessé que l'Empire Ottoman a organisé un génocide à l'égard des arméniens". Dans ma réponse à cette allégation j'avais précisé que cette prétendue déclaration n'appartenait pas à M. K. Atatürk et que cela a été bien confirmé par une revue arménienne "The Armenian Review". J'avais aussi souligné par la même occasion que je serais à même de fournir la date et le numéro de la revue en question.

Par la présente j'ai l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que dans un article signé par Monsieur James H. Tashjian, directeur de la revue précitée, et paru dans le numéro 3 (Automne 1982), Tome 35, pages 227-244, cette vérité se trouve être clairement exprimée. L'auteur, qui je le précise est d'origine arménienne, y déclare en effet, qu'on attribuait un faux document à Mustafa Kemal Atatürk et que cette erreur a été commise la première fois par un archevêque arménien de nom Jean Naslian en 1951. L'auteur assure également que depuis cette fraude se répétait tant oralement que par écrit, mais qu'en fait Mustafa Kemal n'avait jamais fait une pareille déclaration. Monsieur James H. Tashjian spécifie dans son article qu'il l'avait rédigé pour mettre fin, une fois pour toute, à cette confusion et fiction.

Je profite de cette occasion pour vous faire parvenir aussi la traduction en français de mon article sur les télégrammes forgés relatifs aux soi-disant "instructions" de Talat Pacha, dont je vous avais soumis le texte en anglais lors de ma déposition devant votre auguste tribunal, en date du 26 janvier 1984.

Je vous prie, Monsieur le Président, d'agréer l'assurance de ma très haute considération.

Türkkaya ATAÖV  
Professeur à  
l'Université d'Ankara

Monsieur Guy FLOCH  
Président de la Première Cour  
d'Assises  
Palais de Justice  
Boulevard du Palais  
35004-PARIS

## VI. Interview or Tall Tale?

This chapter aims to expose yet another Armenian falsification, which attempts to make use of the name and reputation of Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk. **The Los Angeles Examiner** of 1 August 1926, published an article announcing simultaneously that it was written “by Mustafa Kemâl Pasha” and that it was also “an interview with Emile Hilderbrand, a Swiss artist and journalist, on June 22.”

Some Armenian circles have been resorting to this article, expecting others to believe *a priori* that the words have fallen from the mouth of the Turkish leader. They provide no evidence at all, in support of their assertion, except stating (in obvious contradictory terms) that the composition is an article by the Turkish President and also an interview with a “Swiss artist and journalist,” about whom no information is offered.

It is actually the responsibility of the Armenian circles to prove the factuality and the relevance of the so-called ‘article,’ but because the Armenians demonstrate utter disregard of such accountability, the Turkish side has taken the initiative, nevertheless, to exhibit serious doubts about the text and finally to prove the falsity of the statement.

A Turkish proverb goes as follows: “A mad man throws a stone into a well, and it takes forty wise men to get it out.” The whole ‘article’ or ‘interview’ pretends to be the Turkish leader's outburst(!) against his domestic rivals --in reaction to an attempt to assassinate him in 1926. Further, in a section of the text, the Turkish leader is ‘quoted’ as acknowledging the loss of Christian lives on account of the acts of the Ottoman Government.

The alleged text enjoys wide-scale distribution by groups of Armenians and their supporters. Some of them print this ‘statement’ over and over again, distribute it to politicians and public opinion leaders, including some members of the U.S. Congress and others as evidence of their claims that even this well-known Turkish leader had accepted the ‘genocide.’ Had this ‘interview’ been trustworthy, this could have been a persuasive argument!

It appears that the falsifiers who put this text together aspired to include a short ‘statement’ on the Armenians as well--although the writing as a whole only goes to expose the authors' prejudices, their ignorance on several scores and a rhetoric totally alien to that of M. Kemâl. But endlessly repeated polemics eventually take on a life of their own in Armenian

hands. They make use of them in their quest for universal recognition of their own self image as innocent victims.

The authenticity of this alleged 'interview' in a minor Hearst newspaper, printed way back in 1926 in a far away corner of the world, should certainly be questioned. Those who wish to refer to it in one way or another have to investigate whether or not it is fact or fiction. But the Armenian propagandists and their supporters are not known for meticulousness when it comes to a fact that can diminish their "cause."

However, various legitimate questions have to be posed in regard to the purported 'interview.' For instance, the whole fraud is based on the assumption that M. Kemâl wrote the article or granted the 'interview' in immediate response to a plot of a small group of individuals to assassinate him in the summer of 1926. A certain Nishan Nercessian, an American-Armenian who is known to have lived in Westminster, California, reprinted that page of **The Los Angeles Examiner** with his own inserted article, stating categorically that M. Kemâl wrote this article "in 1923." This "Nercessian version" is doubly absurd since the text contains references to the assassination attempt in 1926, that is, three years later.

Mustafa Kemâl granted several interviews to a number of foreign correspondents, and the Turkish texts of these pronouncements have always appeared in more than one national publication. However, he is not known to have signed his name to articles appearing in the foreign press. Moreover, **The Los Angeles Examiner** was printed in the State of California, known for a high concentration of American-Armenians. Further, a small note at the bottom of the third column states that the copyright of the text rests with the "World-Wide News Service, Inc. of Boston." That city happens to have the second largest concentration of Armenians in the United States. The fact that this publication appeared in one of the two leading focal points of Armenian assemblage and that the copyright is entrusted to a corporation in the other one immediately brings to mind a plot to serve an interest as exemplified by the present wide distribution of this 'statement.' Incidentally, **The Encyclopedia of American Journalism**<sup>84</sup> does not cite a news agency by that name. Had this encyclopedia been listed the World-Wide News Service, it would have appeared on page 524.

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<sup>84</sup> Donald Paneth, **The Encyclopedia of American Journalism**, New York, Facts on File Publications, 1984, p. 524.



The assassination attempt was a stirring event for Turkey in the mid-1920s. There is considerable truth in the pronouncement that some individuals are faithless even to their own emancipators. Mustafa Kemâl was an almost legendary folk hero, who led a people to safety. He was liked, respected and admired. He was also envied by some. The years of 1925 and 1926 had been eventful. On 13 January 1925, Halit Paşa, one of the bold commanders of the National Liberation War, was murdered. This incident was still a part of public memory. Political reaction, though not widely spread, mounted while progressive reforms followed one after another. The closing of the Dervish Convents was a blow to diehard conservatives. Some considered the adoption of a new calendar, a new time system and the wearing of the European head-gear a "calamity." To them, these were evidences of outright "atheism." Turkish women began to appear at dances. Foreign firms were also nationalized. Turkey entered 1926 amidst the waves of progressivism, on the one hand, and of political reaction, on the other. It was in the first months of that year that the reformed Swiss Civil Code was adopted. A revised Italian Penal Code was now the canon for justice.

A young, reckless ex-Member of Parliament, who had lost in the previous election, found hired killers as well as a big-wig from the '*ancien régime*', who paid for these adventurers. They planned to assassinate the President of the Republic. Mustafa Kemâl, who was on a tour of the country to determine the pulse of the people. He had left the capital unpretentiously on 7 May 1926. He was greeted with esteem in every town *en route*. He reached the Marmara Sea region in the first days of June. After a short repose in Bursa, he meant to pass to Izmir, which had come to signify for the nation "the day of deliverance," since it had been here, on 9 September 1922, that the degrading foreign occupation and military aggressions had reached a conclusive end. There had been warm receptions and speeches in Bursa and Balıkesir.

But just before the move in the direction of İzmir, he received a most urgent telegram from the governor of that city that a plot against him had been discovered. The plan was disclosed to the police by a certain Şevki (originally from the near-by Greek island of Crete), a boatman who was supposed to arrange the escape of the criminals to one of the neighbouring islands after the assassination. One must pause for a moment at this point to underline the fact that there was no doubt who the informant was. That person was Şevki, the boatman, not a lady, as **The Los Angeles Examiner** article claimed. It is unthinkable that Mustafa Kemâl would not know what the whole nation then had learned, namely, who the informant was. Not only the President of the Republic was given all the information on the

plot, but this fact was in all the papers. This error alone is sufficient to prove that the whole 'statement,' attributed to Mustafa Kemâl, is a forgery.

The confessions of the boatman established that Ziya Hurşit, the reckless ex-deputy, had planned the whole affair. He was at once arrested in a hotel room, where guns and bombs were hidden. Three hired killers, who were no more than vagabonds previously convicted, were also apprehended immediately. Ziya Hurşit's confessions led the police to other collaborators, some of whom were notorious as adventurous gunmen.

Mustafa Kemâl reached İzmir the next day and behaved as if nothing had happened. He was received enthusiastically by the people. With the unmasking of the event, he issued the first statement to the nation, which ends as follows: "My humble human body will, one day, certainly turn into earth. But the Republic of Turkey will endure forever, and the Turkish nation will march forward unhesitatingly on the road of civilization, equipped with principles guaranteeing its security and happiness." This is a modest statement that exalts the nation, the newly-founded Republic and the principle on which the state rests. Mustafa Kemâl has never uttered the kind of words that Emile Hilderbrand or **The Los Angeles Examiner** pretended that he said. Instead, he made the following statement to a delegation of the residents of İzmir: "If I die, I am confident that our nation will not deviate from the path we have been pursuing together. I have absolute trust in that. The desperate actions of our adversaries cannot put out the fire of reforms within us." These are the expressions of a self-confident statesman assured of his correctness and success.

The President's meeting with Ziya Hurşit, the planner of the plot, upon the former's initiative, is instructive in terms of perceiving the personality and the qualities of statesmanship of Mustafa Kemâl. This leading ringleader was "a swash-buckling adventurer."<sup>85</sup> Addressing the criminal in a courteous manner, Mustafa Kemâl asked: "Haven't we worked together for a long time --for a common purpose?" Hurşit replied: "Yes, sir." "Then, why this attempt? You even being one of the chieftains." "That's true, sir. I had come here to assassinate you, but couldn't do it." Mustafa Kemâl emotionally commented: "This is the last thing I would expect from you."

It was Ziya Hurşit, who wanted to see him again the next day. He seemed very much impressed by the President's gentleness and tolerance. When Hurşit was granted the audience, he expressed his satisfaction for the clemency shown in the first meeting. He repeated the

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<sup>85</sup> Lord Kinross, **Ataturk: the Rebirth of a Nation**, Nicosia, Rüstem, 1981, p. 425.

same confessions he had already made. He even wanted to take shelter under the President's kindly wings. Mustafa Kemâl, refined and courteous as ever, could only say: "I am not a revenge-seeking man. But the affair is now in the hands of the court. There is no other solution than waiting for its outcome. I have no powers to interfere." Absolutely, no trace of arrogance, no indication of severity, no sign of arbitrariness!

Mustafa Kemâl is also known to have summoned one of the hired assassins, who did not know the President personally. He inquired: "But how could you kill a person you had never seen? You might have picked the wrong man!" The would-be assassin explained that the President was to be pointed out to him before he fired. Mustafa Kemâl gave his own revolver to him and said: "I am Mustafa Kemâl. Take this revolver and shoot me." The man sank to his knees.<sup>86</sup>

The same person cannot use the wild and heedless phraseology attributed to him by **The Los Angeles Examiner**. Foreign scholars of Turkish studies as well as the Turks themselves know that Mustafa Kemâl possessed a distinctive elegance in speech and in writing. He had an overall manner and smartness peculiar to himself, so evident in all his conversations, oral communications and written words. The famous six-day **Speech** and other published writings provide ample proof of his exceptional courtesy and modesty as well as his eloquence and articulation.

An expression that can be termed as "extreme" in his own limits is the adjective "decadent" (*mütereddi*) which he is recorded to have used once in relation to Sultan Vahdettin, who had fled İstanbul aboard a foreign battleship and whom the Turkish Grand National Assembly deposed as caliph the next day.

Similarly, he never referred to the political career of Enver Paşa (1881-1922) as "criminal ambition," as so put by **The Los Angeles Examiner**. Although Enver Paşa, a member of the Committee of Union and Progress triumvirate ruling the Ottoman Empire after 1913, was known to be a man of different reasoning and character, Mustafa Kemâl never uttered a word about him that could be considered degrading. He was always quick to praise Enver's qualities; he only saw him as inadequate to the tasks required to perform. For instance, during the Tripolitanian War with Italy (1911) Mustafa Kemâl, with his hard-headed logic, thought of Enver as prone to wishful thinking. The two had differed fundamentally over the defence of the country and the role of the German generals during the First World War. In

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428.

spite of these and other disagreements on policy, dissimilarities in character and understandable competition between the two, Mustafa Kemâl was never heard making a humiliating remark about Enver Paşa.

Other thoughts expressed as well as the style of the whole text do not remind one of the great Atatürk at all. I would like to draw the attention of the reader to the following **Los Angeles Examiner** phrases: "I shall not stop until (all) have been hung from the gallows...I put the axe...I sent into exile... I crushed them with an iron hand and, for example, had over sixty of their leaders hanged at dawn...I am about to deal with ruthlessly...suppress it with exemplary ruthlessness." These phrases are in no way analogous to statements that we know to belong to him.

Probably no statesman, least of all Atatürk, would ever express the preceding thoughts or the following ones, as so expressed in the Los Angeles paper, about his adversaries: "I would have more respect for them had they planned an armed revolution...taking the field in a manly fashion." He is not known to have said the following on any occasion: "I...prayed...and my prayers were to be unanswered." Unlike some foreign politicians, including at least a couple of former U.S. presidents, M. Kemâl never pretended to have such communions.

In connection with the assassination attempt, the "Court of Independence" (*İstiklâl Mahkemesi*, as it was then called) started its deliberations on June 27 and pronounced its verdict on July 13. Those who had participated in the plot were given death sentences, but the political opponents of the government, that is, the founders and the leaders of the Progressive Republican Party, who had been temporarily put under custody on account of the suspicion that some of them might have cooperated with the would-be assassins, were acquitted. Mustafa Kemâl had even invited one of them, Ali Fuat Paşa, to dine with him and had treated him with utmost kindness. Ali Fuat was later elected a Deputy of Konya with Atatürk's support.<sup>87</sup>

The trial of the would-be assassins over a new trial of some former members of the Committee of Union and Progress opened up in Ankara. Close to forty accused were acquitted for lack of connections with anything that might have been termed as crime. The "Courts of Independence" themselves had been liquidated on 7 March 1927. The 150 individuals, whose citizenship was revoked, were later pardoned during Atatürk's time, with the special law

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<sup>87</sup> For the political parties in the Atatürk era: Kemal H. Karpat, **Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System**, Princeton, N.J., 1959; Walter F. Weiker, **Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey: The Free Party and Its Aftermath**, Leiden, 1963.

number 7527. These are the events on the historical record in respect to Mustafa Kemâl's relations with his political rivals.

Thus, the ideas and their wording as produced in **The Los Angeles Examiner** text could not have poured from the mouth or the pen of Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk. But there is more definitive evidence pointing to the falsity of the supposed interview.

None of the books and articles written on the life, achievements, speeches and interviews of Mustafa Kemâl refers to a "Hilderbrand interview." Not a single scholarly or official publication cites this article. First, if the supposed interview had taken place on 22 June 1926, it would inescapably have appeared in several official and semi-official organs of the Turkish Government.

It does not appear, for instance, in the **Ayn Tarihi** (The History of the Month), a very important official monthly issued regularly since 1923 by the (Turkish) Department of Press and Broadcasting. (One may see the issue for the month of July 1926 and the pertinent pages covering the assassination attempt.) Not only does the text of such an interview not appear in the pages of this significant register, but there is also no mention of a Swiss journalist having come to Turkey and requesting an audience with the President.

**Ayn Tarihi** published news and articles on domestic and world events, giving an overall picture of life in Turkey and abroad. It certainly devoted space to the policies, activities and the pronouncements of state leadership. The news concerning the assassination attempt is on pages 1433-1435 of volume 9, no. 26 (July 1926). There is no information about a certain Swiss artist or journalist or about an interview granted to him. There is no such reference in the previous pages up to the events of 16 June 1926, the day the assassination plot was uncovered or in the pages leading to 1 August 1926, the date on which the supposed interview was printed in Los Angeles. It is inconceivable that the founder of the state and the President of the Republic consented to an interview with a foreign correspondent on a host of important issues without even a mention of the event by the Press and Broadcasting Department.

After all, the same publication devoted pages for the months of June, July and August of 1926, to home and international news. Here are some highlights: Foreign trade monopoly in the Soviet Union, trade agreements with foreign states, state and private economy of the Soviets, religious and political evolution in Islam, Italy's imperial program, the United States and the Lausanne Convention, revolutionary committees in Syria, events in Ethiopia, financial crisis in France, assassination attempt on the Spanish King, the future of Abd al-Qasem in Morocco, the frontier dispute between Bulgaria and Rumania, dictatorship in Greece,

reception at the Turkish Embassy in London, General Pilsudsky's statement, the question of the Iraqi frontier, the Briand Cabinet, the Pan-American Congress in Panama, bloodshed in Mecca, flood caused by the Elbe and the Oder, the resignation of the Canadian Prime Minister, the Italian experiment of taxing capital, the French Mandate in Syria, the visit of the British Conservative MPs to the Soviet Union, the text of the Italian-Spanish Agreement, communal clashes between the Hindus and the Muslims in India, the expulsion of Zinoviev from the Soviet Politburo, religious laws in Mexico...

News about Turkey as well covered almost all moves of the leading statesmen, even including the departures of the Cabinet members from Ankara and their stays in various provinces. Their moves to the different corners of the country were duly recorded. Mustafa Kemâl's activities were certainly entered. There were all sorts of information, dispatches, communications, bulletins, cables and reports on the domestic scene, ranging from the economic picture of Adana to the mobile exhibition touring the country...Not a single word about a Swiss journalist (or artist) and his supposed encounter with the President.

Let us show the same scrutiny in connection with the relevant issues of the **Hakimiyet-i Milliye**, a daily paper which at that time was much more than a semi-official gazette printed in the new capital. Its pages were frequently devoted to the proclamations of the Turkish Government and its leaders. It carried information, speeches, interviews and texts of laws and treaties as well as editorials on national and international issues.

I read all the news items, the feature articles and the editorials of that paper, from the headlines to the advertisements in the last pages, starting with 17 June 1926 (No. 1777) down to 1 August 1926 (No. 1819). The first is the date on which Mustafa Kemâl made his well-known announcement in respect to the plot, and the second is the day when the Los Angeles paper printed the so-called 'interview.' If the interview had really taken place, it would have been somewhere between these two dates. The Los Angeles paper cites "June 22" as the date of the interview. I have taken notes on each and every issue, encompassing a span of a month-and-a-half. Allow me to say at the beginning what I have to repeat at the end: There is not even a faint reference to a "Swiss artist and journalist" or to the imaginary interview.

Let us remember again that these were the days when an attempt on the life of the Turkish President was planned. The plot was discovered on 16 June 1926. The papers devoted editorials and articles to that important event and also printed news items on other domestic and international occurrences, ranging from amendments to the Polish Constitution or the coal strike in England to Turkish mosaics or the new trade act.

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Since **The Los Angeles Examiner** states at the very beginning of the text and right underneath the name of "Mustafa Kemâl Paşa" that the interview had taken place on "June 22", one might as well start with summarizing the contents of this important paper right from the issue of the previous day. The editorial of 21 June 1926 is entitled "An Attempt to Assassinate." The article to its left has the following title: "Let Us Console Ourselves." The news-item further down announces that the Prime Minister has left for İzmir, where the criminal act was supposed to take place. Other items of interest are Italy's relations with the League of Nations, the growing tension between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, the Congress of the Turkish teachers of Kütahya, etc.

The next issue of the paper was published not on 22 June, but on 26 June 1926. The fact that there has not been an issue in between the two may be ascertained by the number of the issues printed in each case on the very upper left corner of the first page. For the 21 June issue the number is 1781, and for the 22 June issue it is 1782. The paper, then, resumes normal daily publication, the 27 June issue bearing the number 1783.

Had the interview taken place on 22 June, it would have appeared in the 26 June 1926 issue of the paper. There is absolutely no reference to it at all. The editorial on the first page is again on the assassination attempt; next to it the President's and the Premier's statements are printed. The paper announces that the trials of the criminals are to start that very day. There is also a message of sympathy from M. I. Kalinin, the Chairman of the Praesidium of the Soviet State. Page 2 is devoted to sentiments, expressed on the event and reactions abroad, as well as news on the arrest of suspects. It also carries news on the Little Entente, Brazil and the formation of the French Cabinet. Page 3 is mostly devoted to the confessions of Şevki, who disclosed the plot, with some coverage of the Turkish Ambassador in Warsaw, the Disarmament Conference, a statement by the British Colonial Office, Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations and developments in Spain. Page 4 is a full page commentary on the plot, equating the attack on the President with an attack on the nation itself. Pages 5 and 6 are devoted to advertisements.

There is no reference to the Swiss writer in the 27 June issue or later. Some editorials center on the Attorney's demand, and some issues refer to further confessions. Some still devote space to the foreign reactions to the plot. Although I have extensive notes on all the issues, I do not think that it is necessary to summarize all the news. The issue for 29 June, however, quotes from an exclusive interview with the President, who says (in part): "Human beings should always move towards high, magnanimous and sacred ideals. Only such

preoccupations may satisfy a man's conscience, thought and human concepts. Such men are exalted, no matter how great the sacrifices are, and such actions need always be in the open..." He adds that the followers of such actions are necessarily honest, tolerant and sincere. He contrasts such people with others, who think, feel and act in secrecy, resorting to concealed ways and means.

Further, the issue for 3 July speaks about the impressions of an American Journalist who apparently visited Turkey at that time. The paper quotes the American journalist as having said that the Turkish leader was modernizing his country, that the evolution was rapid and that the impact of one man was most obvious. There is no mention of a Swiss newspaperman.

The issue for 5 July carries, among other things, a translation of a **New York Times** article which underlines Turkey's rapid progress in the last few years. It also discloses the confessions of a certain Sabit Bey, one of the accomplices... The issue for 6 July concentrates on the tribute of the people of İzmir to the President... As days pass by, space is still devoted, but in somewhat diminishing degree, to the trials.

The succeeding issues do not refer to any interview between a Swiss and the President. There are, however, translations of several articles written by foreigners on Mustafa Kemâl. For instance, the issue for 10 July reproduces the Turkish version of an article printed in a leading Albanian paper describing the Turkish President as an outstanding hero of contemporary times. Likewise, the issue for 12 July gives a summary of an article by two American professors who draw a picture of Turkey as a country recognizing no force beyond its own will of sovereignty but also respectful of international law. There are frequent references to the same article in the later issues (15 and 17 July 1926). In the last mentioned the American authors are quoted to have said that the Christian missionaries, in the past, had deliberately exaggerated certain events to be able to collect as much in financial contributions as possible.

It is of great importance to note that there is a reference to the visit of a **Pravda** correspondent Kalitsov (22 July), who apparently came to Turkey but did not have an interview with the President. It is inconceivable that the paper devoted space to a mere visit of a foreign journalist and never mentioned another, assuming for a moment that the latter had also an audience with the leader of the country. It is instructive to remember at this point that Mustafa Kemâl's interview with Clarence K. Streit, a correspondent of **The Public Ledger** of Philadelphia, was published not only in the American paper (21 March 1921), but also in the **Hakimiyet-i Milliye**, the daily I have examined above. A leading Turkish librarian devoted



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an article to that interview.<sup>88</sup> So many sources acknowledge this interview because it actually took place. Apart from the English version that appeared in the Philadelphia paper, we have in our hands the Turkish text as well, each word authentically belonging to the interviewed person.

I shall give the direct quotations from the original English text in the next chapter.<sup>89</sup> In this authentic account, Mustafa Kemâl underlines the conspiratorial nature of Armenian armed aggressions and the bloodshed caused by them, a fact endorsed by a visiting American general (James G. Harbord). The direct quotation sharply refutes the falsification that the Armenian circles in Los Angeles and Boston apparently wanted, then, to ascribe to the Turkish statesman.

All this evidence brings to mind the suspicion that a “Swiss artist and journalist” by the name of Emile Hilderbrand might have never come to Turkey. I have already indicated that there is no information about him in the official **Aym Tarihi** and the semi-official **Hakimiyet-i Milliye**. Moreover, there is no mention of him in the reliable **Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Kronolojisi: 1918-1938** (The Chronology of Atatürk and the History of the Turkish Republic) by Professor Utkan Kocatürk, printed by the Turkish Historical Society. This chronicle records all similar events giving dates and a few words of explanation in each case. Had such an interview taken place, it would have been mentioned in page 458 of this important work.

There is no such entry in any of the three volumes of **Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri** (Atatürk's Speeches and Statements), printed several times by the Turkish Historical Society. The collected texts range from Mustafa Kemâl's talks in several towns to speeches in the Turkish Grand National Assembly or from his evaluations of the elections to the amendments proposed for the Constitution. Had there been a reference to the supposed interview with the Swiss journalist, it would have appeared before page 330 in the first volume, before page 242 in the second volume and after page 80 of the third volume.

One must emphasize that the third volume of these collected statements includes twenty-one interviews with foreign reporters. The interviewers, the dates and the pages in which they appear are as follows: **Chicago Tribune**, 10 May 1920 (p. 14); United Telegraph Agency, 17 January 1921 (p. 15); Lawrence Shaw Moore of the **Christian Science Monitor**,

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<sup>88</sup> See: Özerdim, *infra.*, fn 94.

<sup>89</sup> In his interview, Mustafa Kemâl used the word “transfer,” not “deportation.”

August 1921 (p. 27); **Entransigeant**, 11 January 1922 (p. 30); **Petit Parisien**, 23 January 1922 (p. 30) ; Reuter News Agency, 25 September 1922 (p. 43); **Daily Mail**, 26 September 1922 (p. 44); **Chicago Tribune**, 26 September 1922 (p. 45); Richard Danin for **Le Figaro**, 13 October 1922 (p. 46); United Press News Agency, 24 October 1922 (p. 48); **Petit Parisien**, 2 November 1922 (p. 49); Paul Herriot for **Le Journal**, 25 December 1922 (p. 55); **Neue Freie Presse**, 27 September 1923 (p. 63); Maurice Pernot, 29 October 1923 (p. 66); **New York Herald**, 4 May 1924 (p. 74); **Times**, 11 December 1924 (p. 74); **Le Matin**, 8 March 1928 (p. 81); **Le Matin**, 12 March 1928 (p. 82); **Vossische Zeitung**, 21-24 March 1930 (p. 84); Gladys Baker, 21 June 1935 (p. 97); and the Yugoslav journalists, 29 October 1936 (p. 100). This list does not include an interview with a Swiss journalist.

Similarly, Mustafa Baydar's **Atatürk'le Konuşmalar** (Interviews with Atatürk)<sup>90</sup> is a volume specifically devoted to such encounters. For instance, it includes interviews with Turkish writers (Ruşen Eşref, Falih Rifki, Yakup Kadri, Celâl Nuri, Hakkı Tanık, Ahmet Şükrü, Yunus Nadi) and the following foreign personalities, papers or news agencies: General James G. Harbord, Paul Herriot, Grace Ellison, Maurice Pernot, Madame Titaina, General Douglas MacArthur, Gladys Baker, Ion Antonescu and the correspondents of the United Press, **Daily Mail**, **Chicago Tribune** and **Petit Parisien**. There is no mention of an interview with a Swiss journalist in this important collection as well.

Several photographs showing Atatürk with foreign visitors have been published since the early days of the Ankara Government. They include, not only political figures (such as the Kings of Afghanistan, Iraq, Rumania, Transjordan, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, the Shah of Iran, the Royal Princes of Japan and Sweden, the Greek Premier, the Soviet Marshal Kliment Y. Voroshilov, the U.S. General D. MacArthur and the Ukranian representative Mikhail V. Frunze), but also various personalities such as French authors (Claude Farrère and Paul Herriot), German archeologists (such as Professor Giesses), several historians and linguists from various countries or a group of American fliers who had come to Turkey. Mustafa Kemâl is seen with each and every one of them and with many more visitors. There is no such photograph of the Swiss journalist --not that its non-existence is conclusive by itself, but this fact as well is one of the constructive evidence supporting the very critical suspicion that he was most probably never in Turkey, to begin with.

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<sup>90</sup> Printed in several editions. For instance: İstanbul, Varlık, 1967.

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All these premises legitimately bring to mind another doubt. Did someone by that name ever live? He may or may not have. But research in the leading Swiss reference books such as annuals, almanacs, journals and other records as well as official replies received from the National Library in Switzerland have not been able to produce any evidence that a man by the name of Emile Hilderbrand (as so spelled by **The Los Angeles Examiner**) or approximate spellings such as "Emil Hildebrand" or "Hildebrant" has lived in and around 1926. **Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse**,<sup>91</sup> printed in 1928, has no entry for him. Had he been included, he would have appeared in pp. 96-97. He does not appear in the **Lexicon der zeitgenössischen Schweizer Künstler**,<sup>92</sup> devoted to the Swiss artists. Had he been in that publication, his name would have appeared in pp. 167-168. Both of these volumes are principal Swiss reference works.

I applied to the Swiss Embassy in Ankara, first to inquire whether it had any information in back files (1926) on a visit to Turkey by a Swiss journalist. The oral reply was that there was no record of such a visit. A written communiqué from the Swiss Ambassador in Ankara further informed me that a Swiss diplomatic mission was established in Turkey in 1926. I have also requested the same to ask the "*Bibliothèque nationale suisse*" (*Schweizerische Landesbibliothek*, the Swiss National Library), on my behalf, as to whether there is any information on a certain Emile (or Emil) Hilderbrand (or Hildebrandt) as a journalist or an artist. Two replies from the Swiss National Library, dated 31 July 1985, and 8 August 1985, as well as the answer of the Swiss Journalists' Union (Zurich) indicated that they had searched several dictionaries, biographies, annuals, reviews, reference cards and the like and that they were unable to identify someone by that name (see the accompanying documents).

One of the letters I received mentioned a journalist by the same name, but born in 1941 (fifteen years after the supposed interview). I have, nevertheless, written to him (then working for the **Tages Anzeiger** of Zurich), inquiring whether the "elder" Hildebrand might be his father or grandfather. He replied that his forefathers bore the same name, but neither were journalists and none had been to Turkey.

I have also continued my inquiries with Mrs. Leman Karaosmanoğlu, the surviving wife of H.E. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, one of Turkey's leading men-of-letters, who had also

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<sup>91</sup> Tome Quatrième, Neuchâtel, 1928, pp. 96-97.

<sup>92</sup> Frauenfeld, Stuttgart, Verlag Huber, 1981, pp. 167-168.

served as his country's Chief of Mission in Switzerland, Iran and Albania.<sup>93</sup> Ambassador Karaosmanođlu having passed away in 1974, I consulted his wife whether they had met this Swiss journalist while on duty in Bern. She replied in writing that “during the rather long (twelve) years of stay there they had never met any writer or artist by that name although the Turkish Embassy had close and continuous relations with the intellectual circles of that country and certainly with those who had any affiliations with Turkey.” She specifically noted that had any Swiss writer the privilege of an interview with the Turkish leader, “the Embassy in Bern would certainly be in permanent contact with him.” She also added that the Karaosmanođlu family, also personally very close to Atatürk himself, had never heard of the Swiss journalist's name while in Ankara, nor of such an interview.

In view of the overwhelming evidence presented above, one should conclude that no such interview, as it appeared in the 1 August 1926 issue of **The Los Angeles Examiner** has ever taken place with Turkey's Mustafa Kemâl. There are numerous examples of similar alleged interviews with public figures in the American popular press of the 1920s, resting only on the publisher's imagination. But this does not stop the Armenian propagandists from making use of this fiction rather frequently.

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<sup>93</sup> For his memoirs as head of diplomatic missions, see: **Zoraki Diplomat**, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1984. For his experience in Switzerland: pp. 277-342.

World Topics  
Eminent Writers

# MARCH OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Los Angeles Examiner

LOS ANGELES, MONDAY, AUGUST 1, 1920

## EX-MAYOR HILAN TELLS OF MONEY GIANTS FOR CONTR

### KEMAL PROMISES MORE HANGINGS OF POLITICAL ANTAGONISTS IN TURKEY

### FEARLESS AND TRUTHFUL

President Says He Will Forgive  
Woman, Once His Friend, Who  
Joined Conspirators

By **Mustafa Kemal Pasha**

(The Boston Herald, an authorized article by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, a  
former friend and ally, on June 12.)

**I**RAIL not stop until every guilty person, no matter how high his rank, has been hung from the gallows as a grim warning to all would-be plotters against the security of this Republic. Show the eyes long of its conspirators in the open coated body of the Republic; any nation has endured treason, no other nation has ever experienced.

When we were fighting external enemies, no enemies whom we were certain were sympathetic with foreign intrigues, no one of our population were unambiguously, even instinctively, united to deliver the nation from the multiple foreign yokes that would have had the nation ground its neck to its foreign detractors than set in a stagnant, inert in the old school of political doctrine, known to show their faces. We were free to face with a courage to the life of the republic from two elements.

One was the group who, named religious fanaticism and ignorance with political ineptitude and who in the past, under different sultans had seen to be sure that the state was an organism to be exploited through religious, corruption and heavy bribery for personal ends. I put the rest in the final rank of destroying the Khalif and the Sultan. I saw into the future to when this theory of government by adherents of this school of politics attempted to intercept us as an obstacle, and, under the eye of religion, began to in-



Mustafa Kemal

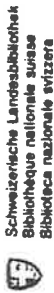


EX-MAYOR JOHN F. HILAN of New York in his struggle to keep public interests.

Turkey's Mustafa Kemal neither wrote an article for this Los Angeles paper, nor granted an interview to a Swiss reporter to be published in it.

Top section of a newspaper page with multiple columns of text and several photographs. The text is in Turkish and includes various news items and commentary. A large, bolded section is visible in the middle, possibly a headline or a significant article. The layout is dense with text and images.

In none of the Turkish papers is there a reference to an interview with the President by a Swiss journalist.



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M. J. Frey 15  
Tel. 051 31 11  
Telex 375 98 sbec ch

Berne, le 8 août 1985

S.E. Monsieur André Maillard  
Ambassadeur de Suisse

A n k a r a

Monsieur l'ambassadeur,

Malgré des recherches dans de nombreux dictionnaires, biographiques, annuaires, revues, fichiers, etc. nous n'avons pas pu identifier ce journaliste Hildebrandt. Même réponse, malheureusement de la part des deux associations de journalistes. Nous le regrettons, car la question était fort passionnante.

Nous vous prions de croire, Monsieur l'ambassadeur à l'assurance de notre respectueuse considération.

Régis de Courten



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Tel. 051 31 11  
Telex 375 98 sbec ch

Berne, le 31 juillet 1985

Question intéressante.

Nous n'avons absolument pas découvert qui pourrait être ce journaliste Emil HILDEBRANDT.

Si vous pouvez nous mettre sur la voie, nous vous en serions fort reconnaissant.

Régis de Courten  
Bern  
BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE SUISSE  
Service d'Information, Bibliographique

Wir wissen auch nichts.

Schweizerische  
Journalisten-Union (SJU)  
Zürich

ST 1000

# Tages-Anzeiger

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Mr Zeichen  
Umsir Zeichen  
Zürich

19 septembre 1988

Monsieur le professeur  
Dr. Türkaya Atay

Ankara (Turkey)

Monsieur le professeur

En réponse à votre lettre de fin juillet par laquelle vous cherchez des traces d'un certain journaliste nommé Emil Hildebrand et qui avait visité la Turquie en 1926 et fait une interview avec le président Atatürk, je dois vous dire ce qui suit:

Mon père ainsi que mon grand-père, défunte tous les deux, portaient le même nom que moi. Mais ni l'un ni l'autre n'ont jamais voyagé en Turquie ou travaillé comme journaliste. Ils étaient de simples ouvriers vivant à Zurich (Suisse). Je ne vois donc aucune relation entre ma parenté et le journaliste que vous cherchez.

C'est la même réponse d'ailleurs que j'ai donné, il y a un an ou plus, au service culturel de l'ambassade de votre pays à Berne qui me posait exactement les mêmes questions que vous. Je regrette de ne pas savoir mieux vous aider dans vos recherches.

Agitez, cher Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

*Emil Hildebrand*

Emil Hildebrand  
Bielestrasse 8  
8307 Tagelswangen (Suisse)

Question intéressante.

Mais nous n'avons pas découvert qui pourrait être ce journaliste Emil Hildebrandt.

Si vous pouvez nous mettre sur la voie, nous vous serions fort reconnaissants.

Régis de Courten  
BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE SUISSE  
Berne

Service d'Information Bibliographique

Il existe en effet un membre de notre fédération du nom d'Emil Hildebrand. Mais il est né en 1941. Il peut s'agir d'un parent du journaliste recherché par le prof. Atay ou alors d'un hononyme sans aucun rapport avec lui. Je vous donne son adresse: Bielestr. 8, 8037 Tagelswangen.

Salutations distinguées.

*Régis de Courten*

VERBODEN TOEGANG TOT DEZELVEN  
Postfach 2471  
3001 Bern

The only Swiss journalist, whose name is Emil Hildebrand was born in 1941, and neither his father or his grandfather was ever in Turkey.



## VII. False or Authentic?

Having established what Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk has *not* said, one may proceed to see what kind of thoughts he conveyed and what sort of judgements he made on the issue. To quote some important statements he disclosed to reporters or the written texts that he signed would be adequate. One of them is an interview on 24 February 1921, with columnist Clarence K. Streit of **The Public Ledger**, published in Philadelphia, in the paper's 27 March 1921 issue. The text of the interview may also be found in the archives of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was lately printed in the first volume of a Ministry of Culture publication, entitled **The National Foreign Policy of Atatürk**.<sup>94</sup> When asked his government's comment on the transfer of the Armenians, Mustafa Kemâl replied:

“After making allowance for the enormous exaggerations always made by those who accuse their enemies, the transfer of Armenians reduces itself to the following: The Armenian Dashnak Committee, then in the service of the Tsar, had caused the Armenian population behind our troops to revolt when the Russian Army began its great 1915 offensive against us.

“Obliged to retreat before the superior numbers and material of the enemy, we found ourselves constantly between two fires. Our convoys of supplies and wounded were pitilessly massacred, roads and bridges destroyed behind us, and terror reigned the Turkish countryside. The bands, which committed these crimes and which included in their ranks Armenians able to bear arms were supplied with arms, munitions and provisions in Armenian villages where, thanks to the immunities accorded in the capitulations, certain foreign powers had succeeded during peacetime in establishing enormous stocks for this purpose. The world which regards with indifference the fashion in which the English, in peacetime and far from the battlefield, treats the Irish nation, can not in all justice complain of the resolution we were obliged to take relative to the transfer of the Armenian population...The massacres and devastations caused by Armenian bands while the Russians were evacuating our eastern provinces are sufficiently known. The American General Harbord with whom I talked at Sivas and who after having visited these regions and having made edifying observations on the conduct of the Armenian bands, wrote to tell me that all I had related to him was true, is a witness from whom American opinion can usefully inform itself. The Dashnaks, moreover, continued their crimes in the zone of Kars and Oltu until the conclusion of the Alexandropol Treaty...”

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<sup>94</sup> **Atatürk'ün Milli Dış Politikası**, Vol. I, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981, pp. 257-276; **Hakimiyet-i Milliye**, Ankara, 8 Temmuz 1921; Sami N. Özerdim, “Kurtuluş Savaşımız İçinde Bir Amerikalı Gazetecinin İzlenimleri,” **Türk Dili**, Ankara, No. 22 (Şubat 1970), pp. 367-369.

The full quotation has been reproduced above on account of its authenticity and straight-forwardness. Mustafa Kemâl underlines the conspiratorial nature of Armenian armed attacks, the repetitive massacres and the sure bloodshed caused by them, accepted as facts by the visiting U.S. General Harbord as well. A contemporary British reference book on the First World War clearly reiterates that while the Turks were getting organized for general mobilization, the Armenians, who had formed fighting battalions with Tsarist Russian weapons, “slaughtered about 120,000 non-Armenians” in Eastern Anatolia. The same source adds that 2,500 armed Armenians revolted in the Ottoman city of Van in mid-April (to be exact, on the 15th) 1915 and “proclaimed a provisional government” there. The book further states that towards the later months of 1917 the Armenians killed “perhaps another 50,000 non-Armenians.”

Under such circumstances, well-known to the Turkish leader, when Mustafa Kemâl was asked about his opinion on the “Wilsonian boundaries” of Armenia, he retorted: “I find Mr. Wilson's project, tending to place several million Turks under the domination of several thousand Armenians, simply ridiculous.”

Mustafa Kemâl's reference to the Armenian massacres of the Muslim population is a reflection of a fact, an echo of the “other side of the coin.” The curious phenomenon of suppressing all publication and talk about the massacre of Turks by various Armenian bands is a monstrous one-sidedness that approaches the limits of racism. Publications devoted solely to the exposition of such Jim Crow ‘scholarship’ and ‘reporting’ should catch the attention of the world public interested in hearing “the other side.”

In the meantime, one may quote, within the general framework of this chapter, five original letters of Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk, some of which are not generally known. His telegram,<sup>95</sup> marked “very urgent”, dated 16 March 1920 and addressed to the representatives of the Entente Powers in İstanbul and to Admiral Bristol, the U.S. High Commissioner, well exposes the nature and the real causes of anti-Turkish propaganda based on alleged, new “massacre of 20,000 Armenians.” He states that the Turkish nation is “grieved to see the occupation, under various pretexts, of most important portions of its lands left over from the Mondros (Mudros) Armistice,” that it “expected modifications in accordance with our legitimate wishes and requirements of justice” but that “certain circles in Europe, which

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<sup>95</sup> T.C. Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Askerî Tarih ve Stratejik Etüd Başkanlığı, Atatürk Arşivi, K. 23, D. 1336/13-1, F. 32-1.

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consider the further ring of a negative drive as imperative for their own interests” now have “fabricated the hated and most unjustified lie that there has been a new massacre of 20,000 Armenians in Anatolia.” He further states that the Turks had found it “entirely unnecessary even to issue an official denial of this wholly untruthful falsification, on account of the presence of several persons and agents in the whole of Anatolia, representing the Entente Powers and the American Government.” He points out that “there had been loss of life among the Turks, the French and the Armenians participating with the French troops, during clashes in and around Maraş and Urfa.” He underlines, however, that “this was not a massacre of Armenians.” The Armenians brought to so-called Cilicia from outside and those armed local Armenians had “carried out unbearable acts of aggression, continually sought the enlargement, with no reason whatsoever, of the area of occupation” and that the commanders of the occupation forces had “tolerated the Armenian attacks on the Moslem population.” He continued:

“It is essential to add that, had the persons commanding the forces of occupation in and around Cilicia refrained from arming, conferring duties on and championing the Armenians, had they administered the various sections of the local population with justice and equity and had they desisted from expanding, with no grounds and remittingly, the territory, which was under the British control at the end of the Armistice, now changed and occupied, these unfortunate clashes, having led to the loss of life of so many people, would never have taken place.”

Mustafa Kemâl further adds that this was “the real nature of the lies about the so-called massacre of Armenians in Anatolia” and that “the declaration already made by the Armenian representatives and notables of the people of Maraş, supposedly massacred, absolutely supports this fact.” He asks the Entente Powers and the U.S. Government to assist in the formation of an “international supreme council to investigate on spot and at once this fabricated story of the Armenian massacres and illuminate the world...on the nature...of this propaganda...aiming to mislead public opinion.”

In another letter to the Ministry of War on 29 February 1919,<sup>96</sup> Mustafa Kemâl relates that a “British officer, accompanied by an Armenian interpreter, has come to Beyazıt from Iğdır and spoke to the Lieutenant-Governor there, telling him that Beyazıt and its environs have been assigned to Armenia under British custody and that 15,000 Armenian refugees, under the protection of regular Armenian troops, would be transferred to the *liva* (subdivision of a *vilayet* or province) of Beyazıt.” He adds that the Turkish Lieutenant-Governor informed

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, D, 167, F, 43-1.

the British officer that he had “not received any official communication from his own government in respect to measures pertinent in this case,” that “the number of the refugees ought to be 7-8,000” instead of 15,000, and that there was “no need for them to come under the protection of Armenian troops.” He also quotes the Turkish Lieutenant-Governor's figure as to “the Muslim population of Beyazıt being 80,000” and stresses that “a concession of even an inch of land to Armenia in the Eastern *Vilayets* is unthinkable.”

Mustafa Kemâl's letter of 5 June 1919,<sup>97</sup> written from Havza (No. 343451) and addressed to the Office of the Prime Minister, states, *inter alia*, that within the borders of the *liva* of Amasya, there had been “no Muslim attacks on the Christians,” but Christian bands have carried five consecutive raids on the Muslim population, that “certain Greek and Armenian provocateurs continue their policy and attitude to create events directed against the Islamic peoples in order to show the administration as defective, to invite occupation and intervention and especially applying directly to foreign officers and entirely bypassing the government, at places where such foreign army personnel may be found.” He emphasizes that the Muslim citizens, though regretful about it all, nevertheless, “keep quiet.” Underscoring that “the leaders of the Armenian and the Greek bands are spoiled by the British officers and some American personnel whom they invariably contact,” he adds that these foreigners are “misled and deceived.” He further states, in the last paragraph of his communication, that the Armenians are “active and in preparation” in Caucasia and in the east of Erzurum, Erzincan and Van.

In a letter to the General Staff on 25 May 1919,<sup>98</sup> Mustafa Kemâl informs that “three-hundred Armenians with three heavy machine guns and considerable explosives” have been penetrating from the north-east corner of Erzurum, that they were expected to become active in the interest of their “political objectives” as soon as the climate allows and hence that “the 15th Army Corps should not only be left intact, but even enlarged in accordance with circumstances.”

Still another authentic Mustafa Kemâl document is a draft of a telegram sent to the Italian representative at Alanya (south-western Turkish port in the Mediterranean), to be dispatched to the Paris Peace Conference, the Entente Powers, the U.S. Government and the diplomatic representatives of the neutrals. The statement refers to the “Armenian destruction of forty Muslim villages,” where a portion of the “civilian population was subjected to slaughter” and “belongings openly sold in the markets of Kars.” His report also informs the

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<sup>97</sup> Also printed in: T.C., Başbakanlık, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, **Atatürk ile İlgili Arşiv Belgeleri: 1911-1921 Tarihleri Arasında Ait 105 Belge**, Ankara, 1982, pp. 34-36, 138-140.

<sup>98</sup> Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüd Başkanlığı, **op. cit.**, A. 1/1, D, 164, F. 47-1.

foreign representatives that armed Armenian bands of similar make-up were preparing attacks on other regions to be followed by similar bloodshed. He forcefully protests against such aggression.

The above appraisal of affairs, chosen to be ignored by hawkish Armenians and consequently not properly acknowledged by the rank and file, is, nevertheless, shared by no less than Hovhannes Katchaznoui, the first Prime Minister of the independent Armenian Republic, a pillar of Dashnagtzoutiun and certainly someone who should know. His talk at the Convention of foreign branches of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, convened in 1923 in Bucharest, was also partly printed in New York in 1955 by the Armenian Information Service. Partially translated from the original by Matthew A. Callender, it is interestingly entitled **The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnagtzoutiun) Has Nothing To Do Any More**. Difficult to find copies of the book nowadays in the libraries of the world (from where they have probably been systematically eliminated and destroyed), I took the liberty to summarize in the form of a separate booklet, some of the ideas and evaluations in it, along with another important work, entitled **Patriotism Perverted** by another Armenian author, K. S. Papazian.

I do believe, however, that it is appropriate here to make brief references to a few statements of H. Katchaznoui (1867-1938). He was the head of government in Yerevan for thirteen months (1918-19). His long speech, which he described as a “manifesto” for the Dashnag Convention and which he delivered in Bucharest four years after he left office, is in part a review of events, or more or less an accurate commentary (except his personal debatable guesses about the future acts of the Ankara Government). But it is also a confession. He admits, for instance, that “[a]t the beginning of the Fall of 1914 when Turkey had not yet entered the war, but had already been making preparations, Armenian revolutionary units began to be formed in Transcaucasia with great enthusiasm and, especially, with much uproar.”<sup>99</sup> He admits that Armenian units started attacking the Turks.

That was before the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War. Although the Germans had crossed the frontier of Belgium on 4 August 1914, Russia declared war on the Ottomans on the 2nd of November of the same year, followed by Britain and France three

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<sup>99</sup> I published the following booklet on Katchaznoui’s printed speech, quoting or summarizing mostly his criticism of the mainstream biased Armenian opinions about the Turks. Türkçaya Ataöv, **An Armenian Source: Hovhannes Katchaznoui, Une Source Arménienne: Hovhannes Katchaznoui, Eine Armenische Quelle: Hovhannes Katchaznoui, Fuente Armenia: Hovhannes Katchaznoui**, Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1984; Sistem Ofset, 1985; Feryal Matbaası, 1989; Meteksan A.Ş., 1992. It is a summary in four Western languages and not a full translation, rendering into these four tongues only the pertinent parts of his talk but excluding his ideas on the inner workings of the party or his suggestion of measures for the future. My quotations are from my own booklet, beginning with p. 4 and f. A full translation of the whole speech was made (initially into Turkish from Russian by Arif Acaloğlu and from the Turkish version into English (mostly relying on the New York English edition) by Lâle Akalın and printed in İstanbul by Kaynak Publications in 2006.

days later. A recent British publication admitted that “when the Turkish Army was preoccupied with mobilization,” Armenian rebels with Russian equipment “slaughtered an estimated 120,000 non-Armenians.”<sup>100</sup> The same British source stated that an Armenian force of 2,500 rebels took the eastern Ottoman city of Van in April 1915 and proclaimed a provisional government there. It added that the Armenian rebel forces resumed control over parts of Eastern Anatolia in late 1917, “killing perhaps another 50,000 non-Armenians.” The Ottoman archives are literally bursting with documents that record Armenian armed attacks and shedding of Muslim blood while the Turks were busy trying to mobilize against Russia.<sup>101</sup>

Katchaznoui devoted enough paragraphs and pages to Armenian armed militancy. He reminded the listeners and the readers that, contrary to the decisions taken during the general Dashnag meeting in Erzurum, only a few weeks before, that Armenian political party actively participated “in the formation of the bands and their future military action against Turkey.” He stated that “they could not refrain themselves from organizing and... fighting.” That was “an inevitable result of a psychology on which the Armenian people had nourished itself during an entire generation.” He confessed that, having embraced Tsarist Russia wholeheartedly, they had “created a dense atmosphere of illusion” in their minds, had lost “our sense of reality and were carried away with our dreams.”<sup>102</sup> He clearly conceded that the Armenian units were “trying to capture Van and Muş.” Some other Armenians and their associates present this passion, eventual attack, loss of Muslim lives and the escape of the fortunate Turks as an act of “defence” of the Armenians. As Katchaznoui frankly stated, it was a will to capture two Ottoman cities, which they actually put into a bloody operation, attacking Turkish quarters and killing their former neighbours.

Katchaznoui asked: “What had been our diplomatic activity with the outer world... and what were the results?” In the Spring of 1919, the Paris Delegation of the Armenian Republic, jointly with the delegation of Turkish Armenians, presented a memorandum of Armenian demands to the Peace Conference. According to that memorandum, the frontiers of “Armenia” would include: the Caucasian republic with enlarged territory, including Kars; the

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<sup>100</sup> Stephen Pope and Elizabeth-Anne Wheal, **Dictionary of the First World War**, S. Yorkshire, Macmillan, 1995; Pen and Sword Military Classics, 2003, pp. 34-35.

<sup>101</sup> Türkkaya Ataöv, **The Ottoman Archives and the Armenian Question**, Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1986. In French: **Les Archives Ottomanes et la question arménienne**, Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1988.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

seven Ottoman provinces in Eastern and Southern Anatolia (namely, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Harput, Sivas, Erzurum and Trabzon); and the four *sancaks* (provincial district) of Cilicia (Maraş, Sis, Cebel-i Bereket and Adana) plus Alexandretta. It is instructive to read below Katchaznoui's evaluations of the Armenian demands in respect to the projected frontiers:

“A vast state was being organized and demanded, from the mountains of Karabagh to the Arabian Desert. [From] where did that imperial, amazing demand emanate?...How did it happen that our Delegation signed [the] ‘from Sea to Sea’ demand? It was told that if they did not demand those fascinating frontiers, the Turkish Armenians [through their National Delegation] would sever their cause from that of the ‘Republic of Ararat’ and would apply to the powers accordingly. Our delegation was also told that America would not accept a mandate over a small Armenia but would accept one over a ‘from Sea to Sea’ Armenia...The Paris memorandum, of course, thrilled us. A kind of mentality was created according to which the drawing of frontiers on paper actually gave us those territories. To doubt it was a treachery...”<sup>103</sup>

Then followed, in Katchaznoui's words, “the rude awakening.” He reminded his audience that the Armenian-Turkish War began in the Fall of 1920, after the crushed Turkey of 1918 had recovered. Mustafa Kemâl's eminent British biographer wrote: “[His] foreign policy was based not on expansion but on retraction of frontiers; his home policy on the foundation of a political system which could survive his own time. It was in this realistic spirit that he regenerated his country, transforming the old sprawling Ottoman Empire into a compact new Turkish Republic.”<sup>104</sup> Katchaznoui's following comments are realistic as well as instructive: “We had not done all that was necessary for us to have done to evade war. We ought to have used peaceful language with the Turks...we did not do it...This was the fundamental error...When the skirmishes had started the Turks proposed that we meet and confer. We did not do so and defied them.”<sup>105</sup> After all, the Armenians were well armed; they held the fortress of Kars; finally, there was the Sèvres Treaty. He added: “We did not do anything to avoid war. But did the opposite, creating excuses for it.” The war resulted in Armenian defeat. The ultimate result was the Gümrü (Alexandropol, Leninakan) Treaty of 1 December (or 30 November) 1920 with the Turks, establishing the border. Peace with the Turks was followed by a civil war during which Armenians killed each other. Even its losses are now put on the shoulders of the Turks, who were neither the instigators nor the participants of those armed clashes between the bourgeois and the socialist-oriented Armenians.

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<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>104</sup> Kinross, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

<sup>105</sup> Ataöv, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

Another Armenian, Kapriel Serope Papazian, published his **Patriotism Perverted** in Boston, with the purpose of presenting to the English-speaking Armenians and to the American public in general, a clear picture of the organization called the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, which had received much publicity in the 1930s in connection with the assassination in New York of the Armenian Archbishop Leon Tourian. He dedicated his book to the memory of those Armenian martyrs who “met death at the hands of their brothers.” Author Papazian held that the Dashnag’s “mode of organization, its discordant mental make-up...its belief in the use of violence...its tendency to disregard and distort the will of the majority...” were all alien to American ideals and Christian principles.

Leaving aside for the time being many interesting evaluations of the Dashnag’s background, past activities, purposes and methods, one may quote a few statements, pertinent to the topic of this chapter. It may be worthwhile to quote, however, the following statement: “Perhaps there has never been a revolutionary party –not even the Russian *Narodovoletz*, or the Italian *Carbonaris*– with such experiences on the road of terroristic acts, as the A.R. Federation.” They shot or stabbed to death, on Ottoman territory or abroad, whether in a monastery or in their beds, their fellow Armenians, all those who disagreed with the Dashnag leaders or to satisfy personal grudges. According to Papazian, the Dashnags adopted the methods of sensational, sporadic and partisan fights inside Turkey. They attacked (1896) the Ottoman Bank in İstanbul but were safely escorted out through the intervention of the Russian Embassy and placed on board a French steamer. Papazian also referred to an Armenian attack (1897) on a Muslim tribe, with some Russian support in order to encourage political unrest and turmoil along the eastern borders of Turkey. He devoted several pages to attempts to terrorize the Armenian Church and the diaspora into submission. He mentioned a number of acts of violence, including murder, in Turkey, the United States, Lebanon, Iran, Georgia, Egypt, Syria and Greece. He compared their language, mentality and actions to those of the Mafia and the underworld gangsters.

Papazian admitted that the Dashnags gave assurances that in the event of a war between Russia and Turkey, “they would support Turkey as loyal citizens.”<sup>106</sup> He added, however, that they “did not carry out their promise.” They were swayed in their actions by “the interests of

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<sup>106</sup> K. S. Papazian, **Patriotism Perverted: a discussion of the deeds and the misdeeds of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the so-called Dashnagtzoutune**, Boston, Baikar Press, 1934, p. 37. I summarized the main points of this author in the following booklet: Türkkaya Ataöv, **An Armenian Author on “Patriotism Perverted;” Un Auteur Armenien s’exprime sur le “Patriotisme pervers;” Ein Armenische Autor über “Patriotismus Missbraucht,”** Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1984.



the Russian Government.” He recorded that the “Armenian volunteer regiments rendered valuable services to the Russian Army” in the years 1914-16. He accepted the fact that “the methods used...were so open and flagrant, that it would not escape the attention of the Turkish authorities.”<sup>107</sup> He stated that the war with Turkey was the outcome of the Act of 28 May 1919, by which the Government of the Armenian Republic claimed possession of certain provinces in Eastern Anatolia. Reminding the readers that the existing republic was recognized by the Turks under the Treaty of Batoum, he wrote that one can readily comprehend why the Turks regarded the Act of 28 May 1919, as a provocation for war. He also reminded that the men who signed the Treaty of Sèvres on 10 August 1920, were the same men who repudiated it and the claims of the Armenians in Turkey by signing the Treaty of Gümrü.<sup>108</sup>

Papazian also confirmed that there was “no territory within the Ottoman borders where “the Armenians form[ed] a majority.”<sup>109</sup> He acknowledged, on the other hand, that the Armenians, under the age-old *firmans* (imperial edicts) of the Sultans, enjoyed privileges, “according to which they were given some sort of autonomy in ecclesiastical, educational and purely Armenian community affairs.”<sup>110</sup>

The Dashnags were driven out of authority when the Soviet Armenian Republic was formed. Katchaznoui and Papazian both state that Simon Vratzian, the last Prime Minister of the Armenian Government, sent on 18 March 1921, a formal appeal to Mustafa Kemâl’s government in Ankara seeking military assistance from it.<sup>111</sup> In the words of author Papazian, this appeal of Vratzian was the “ratification of the Treaty of Alexandropol, by which the Dashnag leaders declared to the whole world that Armenia has renounced all her demands on Turkey and has no more cause for dispute.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.



**THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION**

(DASHNAGTZOUTIUN')

**HAS NOTHING TO DO ANY MORE**

**THE MANIFESTO**

of

**HOVHANNES KATCHAZNOUNI**

First Prime Minister of the Independent Armenian Republic

Translated from the Original by *Matthew A. Callender*

Edited by *John Roy Carlson (Arthur A. Donovanian)*

Published by the

Armenian Information Service

Suite 7D, 471 Park Ave.

New York 22

1955

Price 75c

**Patriotism Perverted**

A discussion of the deeds  
and the misdeeds of the  
Armenian Revolutionary  
Federation, the so-called  
Dashnagtzoutune

Φ

By

**K. S. PAPAZIAN**

BOSTON  
BAIKAR PRESS  
1934

These two Armenian sources, among others, are very critical of Armenian aggressiveness, terror, brutality and bloodshed.

DICTIONARY OF  
THE  
FIRST  
WORLD  
WAR  
BY

STEPHEN POPE  
AND  
ELIZABETH-ANNE WHEAL

CONSULTANT EDITOR:  
PROFESSOR KEITH ROBBINS

WITH ORIGINAL MAPS BY:  
BRENDAN EDDISON



PEN & SWORD MILITARY CLASSICS

This outstanding British source, published in 2003, states in pp. 34-35 that between 1 and 1.5 million Armenians were living in Turkey in 1914, and that the Armenian nationalists "slaughtered an estimated 120,000 non-Armenians while the Turkish Army was preoccupied with mobilization." It adds that "2,500 rebels took Van in April 1915 and proclaimed a provisional government" and that the Armenian forces "resumed control in late 1917, killing perhaps another 50,000 non-Armenians."

Handwritten text in Ottoman Turkish script, likely a list or record of names and locations. The text is dense and difficult to transcribe accurately due to the cursive style and some fading. It appears to be organized in columns or rows, possibly listing names and their corresponding locations or family details.

Handwritten notes and a small table. At the top right, there is a date: 20 / 11 / 1011. Below it, there are some illegible handwritten words. In the center, there is a small table with three columns and two rows:

A	D	B
11	167	13-1

Below the table, there is a circled number: 11/11. To the right of the table, there is a large handwritten signature or name. At the bottom left of this section, there is a small number: 2.

This is one of the M. Kemâl documents, referred to in this chapter, on the Turkish President's assessment of Armenian assaults on the Muslim population of Anatolia, the brutalities of armed Armenians and the bloodshed that they have caused. The chapter summarizes the contents of four other documents, all of which are in similar vein.

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## VIII. Puppies or a Corpse?

So far the latest and certainly the most stunning example of Armenian falsification is a forged photograph presumably showing the dead body of a child, ribs in the open and intestines bursting out, right in front of the very feet of Turkey's first President, the same Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk. This was a poster supposedly designed to inform the University of California (Los Angeles) student body and the faculty members, as well as the general community, of three public talks at Moore Hall (UCLA) on 14 April 2005, at 5:30 pm. These particulars may be seen in the upper right hand part of the poster. All three announced speakers, whose names were printed in the lower left-hand corner of the poster, were American-Armenians (Dr. Vahram Shammaian, Ardashes Kassakhian and Dr. Levon Marashlian).

In the center of the photo was the picture of the Turkish President, sitting on a chair, most probably in front of his first modest mansion, which is now a museum at the Çankaya Hill in Ankara. The following pronouncement appears at the very top: "The Face of Denial Does Not Lie." The suggestion is apparently the so-called "Turkish denial" of the Armenian 'genocide.' An outside observer would in all likelihood think that the corpse of an Armenian child, lying on the floor next to the main entrance to the presidential residence, is enough proof of 'Turkish guilt.' "The Armenian Genocide Commemoration Committee of Alpha Epsilon Omega" appeared as the organizer of the occasion, which was no more than three consecutive one-sided public talks.

For those who can read the old Ottoman (Arabic) script the upper left hand corner carries M. Kemâl's well-known signature and above it his own dedication of the photo to his then wife "Lâtife." The framers of this falsification most probably overlooked the significance of this presentation. Apart from the fact that a magnanimous individual like the great Mustafa Kemâl, who influenced his nation as an exceptionally benevolent leader, his compassionate voice making echoes in other societies, would have never be a subject to such a ghastly spectacle, no one in his right mind would sign such a gruesome photograph as a gift to a spouse. It was a better observed custom in those decades to present or exchange autographed photos especially among state dignitaries and other public figures. Even today, such photos adorn part of the walls on the left side of the first floor of the same presidential residence.

The person who informed me of the existence of such a poster, shocking for any reviewer but especially cruel towards the Turks, was none other than an American citizen, who expressed surprise at the degree of attempted falsification, heedlessly implemented and carefreely disseminated. Mustafa Kemâl had married the young Lâtife (the former Miss Uşaklıgil, Uşşakizade) in İzmir on 29 January 1923, and their marriage had lasted until 5 August 1925. This picture –minus the corpse- was probably taken and presented to the President’s wife some time between these two dates. This particular photo was among the least known by the biographers and much less by the general public. Its infrequent appearance might be the reason for selection to serve the purpose of falsification. It is not among the so many other numerous familiar ones that have been in public eye over and over again.

When I saw a copy of the poster, unreservedly put on the bulletin boards and similar means of exhibition, I immediately went to the archives to search for the original of the photograph in question. A brief probe enabled me to find the original that was exactly the same, except that it had four or five puppies instead of an apparently ‘planted corpse.’ The President’s wife is known to have presented her husband, who was fond of domestic animals, the very puppies that appear in the authentic version.<sup>113</sup> Otherwise, the same greenery in the background, and the identical door, its threshold and the window on the right and the left respectively. The gentle Mustafa Kemâl, with his usual dignified look (and trimmed mustache at the time), is sitting in the middle, in dark suit. The clumsy pasting of the corpse photo cannot entirely hide some silhouettes of the black puppies.

It is more than astonishing that such a falsification may occur under the roof of a leading educational institution in the United States. Further, Los Angeles is one of the pearl cities not only of California, but also of the whole Pacific coast. The Orange State also happens to be a center where the American-Armenians have been congregating for more than a century. It is one of the strong economic and political backbones of the Armenian lobby in the United States.

Although the poster purports to expose a “lie”, it is itself based on a lie.<sup>114</sup> It is more than a misrepresentation; it is a mean-spirited photo-forgery to blacken an illustrious leader and his nation; it is not only an unpleasant and hostile stab, but also a vulgar attempt to

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<sup>113</sup> Şerafeddin Turan, **Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk: Kendine Özgü bir Yaşam ve Kişilik**, Ankara, Bilgi Yayınevi, 2004, p. 654.

<sup>114</sup> I exposed the lie initially in a daily paper, which printed both photos side by side on the first page. **Hürriyet**, 1 July 2005.

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channelize the opinion of third parties in a misleading direction. One would expect academic institutions, especially those with the assumed vigilance, wisdom and good-judgement of UCLA, to close their doors to such low and wicked acts. To anticipate that those responsible for intrigues of this kind, whether university personnel or not, be reprimanded in one way or another is not an overdoing of a legitimate responsibility. Not only may individual American citizens of Turkish origin, their civic societies or the diplomatic representatives of the Turkish Government make the issue a subject of a lawsuit, but also third parties with a sense of fair play, and unbiased historians may denounce such schemes, immoral in ways more than one, and demand a correct, impartial approach.



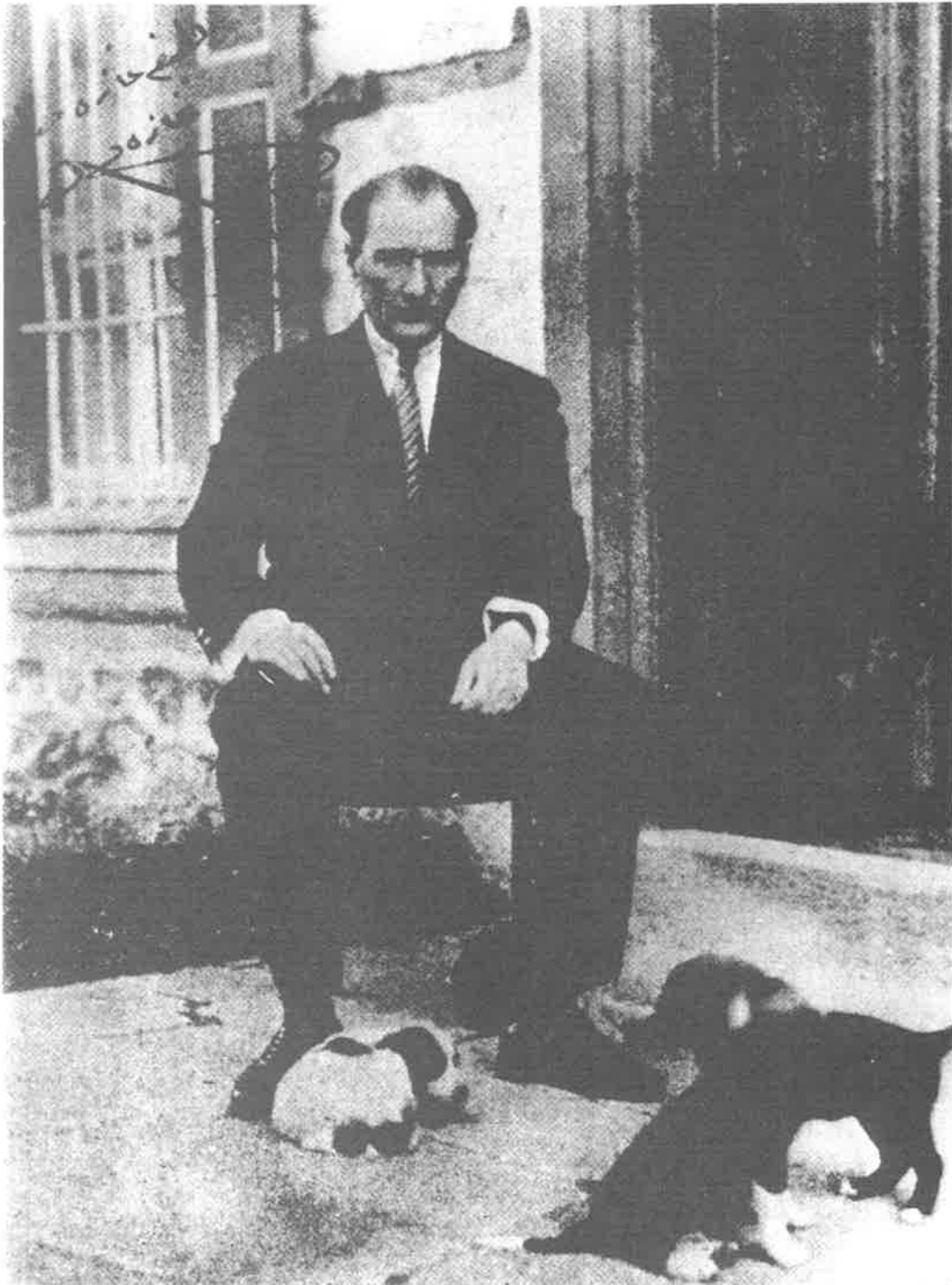
**the FACE OF DENIAL**  
**DOES NOT LIE**

April 14  
5:30 pm  
Moore Hall 100  
UCLA

Speakers:  
**Dr. Vahram Shemmassian**  
**Ardashes Kassakhian**  
**Dr. Levon Marashlian**

Organized by the Armenian Genocide Commemoration Committee of Alanya, Boston, Canada

The announcement for three Armenian speakers at the UCLA Campus (California, USA) fallaciously presents Turkey's esteemed president with the corpse of a minor beneath his very feet.



This authentic photograph shows Turkey's Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk with puppies in front of the presidential residence.

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## IX. Hitler or News Reporter?

Propaganda is a deliberate manipulation, by means of symbols (such as words or images) of others' thoughts. The propagandist tries to offset resistance to himself by presenting his thoughts as if they are rational or moral. The symbols are chosen in such a way that the reactions are expected to be influenced by their strong emotion-laden experiences. The propagandist tries to seize an emotional initiative and maintain an ascendancy that can create animosity.

The publicity of some Armenian circles strives to serve such a purpose. In various Armenian newspapers, periodicals and books there are frequent references to a supposed Adolf Hitler statement. The notorious German dictator is presumed to have said the following on 22 August 1939: "I have given orders to my Death Units to exterminate without mercy or pity men, women and children belonging to the Polish-speaking race. It is only in this manner that we can acquire the vital territory which we need. After all, who remembers today the extermination of the Armenians?"

This 'statement' appears (in more or less in these words) in the leaflets handed out by a group of demonstrating young Armenians, on the cover of books or in articles written by Armenian authors, quoted by still others.

Armenian propaganda greatly relies on the use of fame and title to disseminate biased opinions.<sup>115</sup> We have seen in the previous chapters the so-called confession put in the mouth of the founder of the Turkish Republic. In many human records there may be contradictions, and interpretations may be disputed by different parties. But a 'statement,' a single sentence attributed to a man, i.e., Hitler, whose opinions are now in utter disrespect, is a detestable piece of propaganda. It is ugly and loathsome to expect any gain from words supposed to have been uttered by someone whose uniqueness in history has been to lead a great nation off to war, conquest and ruin. How can just ten words summarize a controversial phenomenon of the last century? Hitler was the man who boasted that the Third Reich would endure for a

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<sup>115</sup> For instance: Arman Arabian, "Time to Remember the 'Other' Holocaust," *Los Angeles Times*, 22 April 1979, part iv, p. 5 quoted in Norman Ravich, "The Armenian Catastrophe: of History, Murder and Sin," *Encounter*, London, LVII/6 (December 1981), p. 72. Also see: Türkkaya Ataöv, "The Armenian Question," *Encounter*, London, LVIII/5 (May 1982), pp. 91-94; Türkkaya Ataöv, "Hitler and the Armenians," *ibid*, LIX/6 (December 1982), p. 92.

thousand years. It is astonishing to witness some circles linking the “Armenian question” with the name of Hitler, who promised jobs for the workers, better business for the well-to-do, a big army for the militarists and even a husband for every German girl (as he stated in a speech at the Lustgarten in Berlin) but brought quick dead failure and disaster.

Hitler had started as a failure. A lung ailment which he suffered later necessitated his dropping out of school for over a year. It was at this point that he subscribed to the Library of Adult Education in Linz and joined the Museum Society, whose books on German history and German mythology he borrowed. He could not enter as well the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. William L. Shirer, in his brilliant history of Nazi Germany, describes the ideas acquired by such reading as “shallow and shabby, often grotesque and preposterous and poisoned by outlandish prejudices.” He adds: “They were to form part of the foundation for the Third Reich which the bookish vagrant was soon to build.”<sup>116</sup> Hitler's basic ideas were thus formed in Vienna when he was a little over twenty; the little that he learned afterward altered nothing in his thinking. For instance, he was completely ignorant about economics, and he never bothered to learn anything about it. In **Mein Kampf**, nevertheless, he insisted on expressing his thoughts on every conceivable subject from history to the movies or from culture to syphilis. To syphilis, for instance, he devotes ten pages, describing it as the most important problem of the country.

Likewise, Hitler was no historian, certainly no expert on Turkish-Armenian relations or on the “Armenian question.” His views, if any, on the latter may be as ‘meritorious’ as his opinions on democracy, republicanism or his convictions about the Jews. For years, he did not even concern himself much with foreign affairs.<sup>117</sup> His greatest concern was, first, to keep his own absolute control over the party, then over the German state and after that rearmament and economic expansion.

Neither was any of his aides or associates a master hand on the “Armenian question.” One may even suggest that they were completely ignorant of it. Hitler was surrounded by the disreputable Streicher, the mediocre pseudo-philosopher Rosenberg, the shallow-minded “Putzi” Hanfstaengl, the ruthless Roehm who organized the first Nazi squads, the drunkard Eckert, the “free slanderer” Strasser, the colourless police officer Frick, the doggedly loyal

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<sup>116</sup> William L. Shirer, **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich**, New York, Crest, 1960, p. 41.

<sup>117</sup> A. J. P. Taylor, **The Origins of the Second World War**, Middlesex, Penguin, 1963, p. 101.

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Hess, the neurotic Goebbels, the former flying ace Goering, the terroristic Himmler and the intriguing Bormann. Such were the men around the *Fuehrer* - a misshapen mixing of misfits.

Hitler is often quoted as having referred to the Armenians in the manner cited above while delivering a secret talk to members of his General Staff, just a week prior to his attack on Poland. I inserted into the pages of this section the first paragraphs of the two Hitler speeches, delivered on 22 August 1939. They are photocopies of the official texts, published in the certainly reliable Nuremberg documents.<sup>118</sup> Curiously enough, there is no reference in them to the Armenians. One may rightly assume that Hitler spoke to his generals on that day in German, which is his and their native tongue. The Nuremberg documents are the most authoritative, perhaps the only authentic sources. I am aware of a few English translations,<sup>119</sup> some of which carry an additional sentence that does not occur in the authorized German texts. One wonders whether who might have added it and for what purpose. In terms of “methodology,” the use of a supposedly Hitler statement on the Armenians brings to mind several examples of Nazi “craft,” such as the Reichstag fire, exploited for a certain political end.

While the statement in question has appeared in hundreds of publications and has been quoted several times, none of the publishers has ever consulted the primary sources. Among the Armenian writers, Professor Richard G. Hovannisian refers to it basing his citation on the “Nuremberg trial transcripts.” Professor Hovannisian's citation appears in U.S. Senator Carl Levin's speech on 24 April 1984. (For a photocopy of the **Congressional Record, Senate, Proceedings and Debates of the 98th Congress, Second Session**, Vol. 130, no. 4, Tuesday, 24 April 1984, see the accompanying document) The British writer Christopher J. Walker also seems to accept that the quotation was “evidence produced in Nuremberg.”<sup>120</sup> But whatever was published so far on the so-called Hitler statement, it has been built not on original but on secondary sources at best. The truth is that the Nuremberg trials have never accepted that version of the Hitler speech with a reference to the Armenians as evidence. The documents approved by the Nuremberg prosecutors as the official minutes of the Hitler talk on 22 August 1939, were given the numbers of USA-29 (or later PS-798) and USA.30 (or

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<sup>118</sup> Tribunal Militaire International, **Procès des Grands Criminels de Guerre devant le Tribunal Militaire International: Nuremberg, 14 novembre 1945-1er octobre 1946**, Vol. XXVI, pp. 3381 and 5231.

<sup>119</sup> For instance: **The New York Times** and **The London Times**, 24 November 1945, pp. 7 and 4 respectively.

<sup>120</sup> **Armenia: the Survival of a Nation**, Letchworth, Hertfordshire, Garden City Press, 1980, p. 362.

later PS-1014). These documents also appear in **Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression**, Vol. III, pp. 581-596, pp. 665-666 and in **Documents on German Foreign Policy: 1918-1945**, Series D, Vol. VII, pp. 200-206. The prosecution did not introduce a third document, initially numbered as USA-28, as evidence. But none of these versions contains the sentence in question. Hence, the assertion that the Nuremberg transcripts confirm the Hitler "quotation" is false. They do, however, establish that Hitler has not made that "statement."

Even in its forged version, the 'statement' does not refer, directly or indirectly, to the Jewish people. Even in the way it is quoted, the reference is to the Poles, instead. Hence, the following allusion, like many others, of a publication by the World Council of Churches, is unfounded: "When Hitler began his *pogroms* he was warned that the nations of the world would not tolerate his actions and would not forgive or overlook the atrocities. To this warning he replied, 'who today remembers the Armenians.'"<sup>121</sup>

As a matter of fact, Hitler had probably made only one reference to the Armenians -- in a talk delivered on 12 December 1942,<sup>122</sup> in which he described them as unreliable (*unzuverlässig*) and dangerous (*gefährlich*). Specification of this kind by someone like him ought to be taken as flattery. Likewise, Hitler's only reference to Turkey in his speech on 22 August 1939, was in the following words: "After Kemal's [Atatürk] death, Turkey will be ruled by morons and half-idiots." In assessing subsequent events the reader will agree with me that Hitler's assertion actually suited himself and his Nazi entourage quite well. One can say, on the other hand, that Turkey's leadership during the Second World War was crowned with success.<sup>123</sup>

Whether the war was brought about by German aggression or caused by others' refusal to grant Germany her place, it should be common knowledge now that Hitler bore the greatest responsibility for acts of immeasurable evil. He regarded men as base matter for the strong hands of "power philosophers and artist tyrants" -- to quote Frederich Nietzsche, who had glorified the struggle for existence to compensate for his life of weakness and misery. Setting up concentration camps for political opponents, Hitler affected complete uniformity (*Gleichschaltung*). All other parties were liquidated, all labour unions were outlawed,

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<sup>121</sup> World Council of Churches, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, **Armenia: the Continuing Tragedy**, Geneva, 1984, p. 28.

<sup>122</sup> Helmut Heiber, **Lagebesprechungen im Führerhauptquartier: Protokollfragmente aus Hitlers militärischen Konferenzen: 1942-1945**, München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, n.d., p. 46.

<sup>123</sup> For instance: Türkkiye Ataöv, **Turkish Foreign Policy: 1939-1945**, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1963.

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education was placed under control, and all newspapers were either Nazified or closed down. Hitler stood for an anti-democratic, totalitarian and imperialistic policy. A dictator as he was, he led a nation off to war and conquest. But the Third Reich swiftly collapsed in the spring of 1945. It is generally accepted now that the lesson of Hitler and Nazism is how far a society can fall once rationalism, moral restraints and constitutional government have been destroyed.

The Nuremberg trials were inevitable. There are works<sup>124</sup> which show what the basis was for the jurisdiction of the International Military Tribunal. It is clear that a group of leaders were tried for offences against international law and morality, against compacts and treaties, and against the peace of nations.

A totalitarian dictatorship, by its very nature, works in great secrecy. But hundreds of thousands of captured Nazi documents were assembled at Nuremberg as evidence in the trial of the major Nazi war criminals. These tons of records illuminated the events in the Third Reich: Hitler's accession to power, the *Anschluss* with Germany, the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the attacks on Poland, Scandinavia, the West, the Balkans and the Soviet Union, the horrors of the Nazi occupation and the extermination of the Jews and the democrats. One cannot find the oft-repeated 'statement' in the celebrated Nuremberg documents.

Why, then, do the militant Armenians and their cooperators cling to the so-called "Hitler statement"? Because they want to set it into motion as a 'connecting link' with the Jewish genocide (which was truly a genocide) and thus benefit from the influence of the Jewish community. Although a greater proportion of the Jews is not moved by this defamation campaign, some sections have indeed lent a listening ear.

One should pose, at this point, the following questions: What do the Jewish communities all over the world know about the Armenians, the Turks and the Turkish-Armenian relations as well as Turkish-Jewish relations? What are some of the pertinent facts that have to be known before any one can accept a rash statement with all its accompanying consequences?

The Jews have been, no doubt, a persecuted minority. Several times throughout history, they were oppressed, abused, ill-treated, hounded, injured and exterminated. The militant Armenians are exerting every effort to make the Jews and others believe that they are also

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<sup>124</sup> For instance: Robert K. Woetzel, *The Nuremberg Trials in International Law with a Postlude on the Eichmann Case*, London, Stevens, 1962.

another persecuted minority. The Jews have so far heard twisted stories, misconstrued interpretations and grotesquely exaggerated views or at times outright falsifications. Those who cooperate with the militant Armenians apparently accept their version of the episode as complete truth. The Armenians play on certain Jewish sensitivities; the so-called 'Hitler statement' is one. Some Jews take this to be true. Hence, the Armenians exploit it fully. The same Armenian circles try to create the impression that the Turks persecuted not only the Armenians, but all the minorities, including the Jews. Quite a number of Jews also believe this to be true.

Undistorted truth, however, is otherwise. While the Turks stand out as a nation stretching a helping hand to the Jews in the most distressing periods of their history, pages of the Armenian annals, on the other hand, reveal serious inclinations of anti-semitism. The Armenian (and Greek) attacks on the Jewish people were prevented or curtailed, several times, by the firmness of the Turkish governments of the time. There are events, nevertheless, in which the Armenian extremists have been successful in spilling Jewish blood as well. The killing of Jews in Erzurum and in Batum in 1913 illustrates the point.<sup>125</sup>

Anti-semitism extended in the Armenian circles during the rise of Nazism. A publication of the Armenian Information Service in New York, entitled **Dashnak Collaboration with the Nazi Regime**, purports to show that Armenian sympathies with racism have reached dangerous proportions. The following quotations from the August 19, 20 and 21, 1936 issues of the (Armenian daily) **Hairenik** (see Annex) expose something much more than prejudice and bigotry:

"Jews being the most fanatical nationalists and race-worshippers...are compelled to create an atmosphere...of internationalism and world citizenship in order to preserve their race...As the British use battleships to occupy lands...Jews use internationalism or communism as a weapon...Sometimes it is difficult to eradicate these poisonous elements when they have struck deep root like a chronic disease. And when it becomes necessary for a people to eradicate them these attempts are regarded revolutionary. During a surgical operation the flow of blood is a natural thing. Under such conditions, dictatorships seem to have a role of saviour."<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Reference to the events in 1913 (and to those in 1935 below) are from the following source: Kerim C. Kevenk, "Defamation Campaign," U.S.A., unpublished manuscript, pp. 2-3.

<sup>126</sup> Quoted in the following Armenian source: James G. Mandalian, **Who Are the Dashnags?** Boston, Hairenik Press, 1944, pp. 13-14. Mandalian's book is written to be a reply to another Armenian author, Avedis Deroonian's (alias John Roy Carlson) book entitled **Undercover** and his articles in the **Propaganda Battlefront**, both of which are now difficult to find even in the U.S. libraries. The quotation is originally from A. Deroonian, who apparently includes the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in his list of fascist organizations operating in the U.S.



The above statements are incredible in terms of their malevolence, hatred and cruelty. The description of the flow of blood as a “natural thing” and those accountable for such barbarity as “saviours” were not mere narratives. Not only did some Armenians attack the Jews of Bucharest in May 1935 and the Jews of Salonica in August of the same year, but also the volunteer Armenian troops under the wings of Hitler's Germany during the Second World War were used in rounding up Jews and other “undesirables” destined for the Nazi concentration camps. The same circles published a German-language magazine, which was fascist and antisemitic, supporting Nazi doctrines in respect to the extermination of the “inferior” races. Since the Jews had more deadly enemies at the time, they might have missed that “junior partner” of the Nazi antisemites.

Christopher J. Walker reminds us of this partnership, nevertheless, in the following words:

“There remains the incontestable fact that relations between the Nazis and the Dashnags living in the occupied areas were close and active. On 30 December 1941, an Armenian battalion was created by a decision of the Wehrmacht, known as the ‘Armenian 812th Battalion’ It was commanded by Dro [Drastamat Kanayan, the Armenian commander who had directed a group of fighters in the 1920s towards the Ottoman city of Van], and was made of a small number of committed recruits, and a larger number of Armenians from the prisoners of war taken by the Nazis in their sweep eastwards. Early on the total number was 8,000; this number later grew to 20,000. The 812th Battalion was operational in the Crimea and the North Caucasus.

“A year later, on 15 December 1942, an ‘Armenian National Council’ was granted official recognition by Alfred Rosenberg, the German minister of the occupied areas. The Council's president was Professor Ardashes Abeghian, its vice-president Abraham Giulkhandanian, and it numbered among its members Nzhdeh and Vahan Papazian. From that date until the end of 1944 it published a weekly journal, **Armenien**, edited by Viken Shant (the son of Levon), who also broadcast on Radio Berlin.”<sup>127</sup>

The Turks, on the other hand, have a tradition of offering their land and many of the opportunities in it to the Jewish people. In the Ottoman Empire, each religious community established and maintained its own institutions. The Ottomans followed the traditional Islamic policy of tolerance toward the “people of the Book” (*thimmis*), that is, the Christians, Jews and others who shared basically the same or similar religious principles. Many Ottoman citizens, formerly under Christian rule, found in Turkish sovereignty deliverance from oppression. The Ottomans initially recognized three such basic communities in addition to that of the Muslims. The largest was the Christian Orthodox, which included the Slavs plus

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<sup>127</sup> Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

those of Greek and Romanian heritage. The Jews were given the right to form their own community led by the Grand Rabbi (*Hahambaşı*).

The Spanish-speaking Jews were descended from the Jews of Spain, who had been expelled by the Spanish and given asylum by the Ottoman Government. The Muslim population of the Moorish states in the Iberian Peninsula were either forcibly converted into Catholicism, or killed. Few escaped or expelled. The conversion, oppression, or massacre of these civilized and industrious people occurred, at a time when the Muslim Ottomans were allowing the conquered non-Muslims to retain their cultural autonomy and were organizing Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish *millets* as official communities and departments in a Muslim administration. A special but a small tax, not forced conversion or the sword was the alternative offered to them. They were pardoned from military service, but the Muslim administration guaranteed their protection. The Spanish Inquisition was a great calamity for the Jews and the so-called Moriscos, but it was not the only example of intolerance in Europe. One does not need to remind the reader of the methods by which Saxons and Prussians were brought by Charlemagne and the Knights of Sword into the Western fold. The Hungarian Protestants, however, preferred Ottoman to Habsburg sovereignty.

After having escaped from the Spanish Inquisition (1492), they were allowed tremendous autonomy which improved their status markedly. The Jews settled in İstanbul, Salonica, Edirne, Bursa, Amasya, Tokat and other cities in the Ottoman Empire. Not all Jews are properly informed of this historical fact, nor of the similar helping hand of the Turks extended to groups of German democrats, including Jews, who were trying to escape the horrors of Hitler's Germany. The year of 1992, or the 500th anniversary of the expulsions from Spain was the outstanding occasion to remember the significance of the Ottoman offer of refuge.

The Ottoman state assured the religious and civil autonomy of the non-Muslims. Thus was created the system of self-government of the Christians and Jews living with the Turks. Many Jews were further attracted to the Ottoman society as they were subjected to new waves of persecution. The freedom that they have enjoyed and the respected place that their leaders occupied in the state hierarchy may be seen in the publications authored by the Jews themselves.<sup>128</sup> It is important to know that the Ottoman Empire was probably the only country

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<sup>128</sup> Two books by a Turkish Jew: Avram Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul*, Istanbul, t. I-II, 1941-1942; Avram Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*. Istanbul, 1939. Also: Walter F. Weiker, "Turkish-Jewish and Turkish-Christian Relations," eds., David A. Altabé, Erhan Atay and Israel J. Katz, *Studies on Turkish-Jewish History: Political and Social Relations, Literature and Linguistics*, New York,

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that has no black spot in the history of so many centuries of relations with the Jewish people. Antisemitism never existed in Turkey. What is more, it was a haven when life elsewhere was hell for the Jew. This is how a prominent man of arts, of Jewish origin, describes a fact of crucial importance: The Ottoman territories “knew an unparalleled epoch of religious tolerance at the time.”<sup>129</sup> This is the truth --totally and absolutely.

When I had summarized, in an article that appeared in a leading Swiss daily,<sup>130</sup> the Turkish views on the Armenian issue and included in them a reference to Ottoman respect for Jewish rights as well, a reader (Beatrice Favre, of Armenian origin) replied me in writing, four days later, apparently seeing no connection between the two issues, The Armenians feel free to play to Jewish sensitivities, but don't the Turks have the right to remind the third parties of some historical facts that shed light on Turkish attitudes towards the Jews? What an hypocrisy! My answer to the Swiss reader was sent to the same paper but was not published. It is through such methods that some Jews are made to support a community with many black spots in their history in connection with the Jewish people --and against a nation (the Turks) proud on account of a brilliant record set at times of unusual distress for the Jews.

The majority of the Jewish people also do not know that the Armenian religious community enjoyed similar autonomy, with no adverse event with the Turks until the revolutionary Armenian societies started campaigns of terror. It is also of great import to distinguish between the law-abiding Jewish citizens of Germany, who contributed their labour and genius to that country but were nevertheless subjected to a genocide, on the one hand, and the Armenians, having lived with the Turks in peace for centuries, opting for terrorism since the 1880s and joining the ranks of the invading enemies, as exemplified not only by Turkish, but also with Armenian documents, on the other hand. The Jews also do not know that when the Armenians formed their own government after the First World War, they exterminated the Turks living on territory then controlled by the Dashnak Government.

If the Jews had known the particulars of these historical facts, would any of them have supported the “Armenian cause”?

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Sepher-Hermon Press for The American Society of Sephardic Studies, 1996, pp. 21-34; Stanford J. Shaw, **Turkey and the Holocaust: Turkey's Role in Rescuing Turkish and European Jewry from Nazi Persecution, 1933-1945**, New York, New York University Press, 1993.

<sup>129</sup> Peter Ustinov, **Dear Me**, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, U. K., Penguin Books, 1977, p. 22.

<sup>130</sup> Türküya Ataöv, “Point de vue turc,” **Tribune de Genève**, 22 mars 1982, p. 8.

**DOCUMENT PS-1014.**  
**DEUXIEME ALLOCATION DE HITLER AUX COMMANDANTS EN CHEF, EN DATE DU 22 AOÛT 1939. HITLER DECLARE QU'IL DONNERA UNE RAISON DE PROPAGANDE AU DECLENCHEMENT DE LA GUERRE; LA DESTRUCTION TOTALE DE LA POLOGNE EST NECESSAIRE; IL NE S'AGIT PAS DE DROIT, MAIS DE VICTOIRE. (COTE D'AUDIENGE USA-30)**

**BESCHREIBUNG:**

vergl. auch Dokument Norder 27  
 Da | T in Winkelkl. zwischen \*1 und \*2 und \*2 zwischen \*3 und \*4 (Winkelkl. Rot |  
 im T | n Abs 2 und 3 doppelte Randstriche (Kopi)

**Zweite Ansprache des Führers am 22. Aug. 1939.**

Es kann auch anders kommen bezügl. England und Frankreich. Es läßt sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit prophezeien. Ich rechne mit Handels-Sperre, nicht mit Blockade, ferner mit Abbrechen der Beziehungen. Eisenräte Entschlossenheit bei uns. Vor nichts zurückweichen. Jeder muß die Ansicht vertreten, daß wir von vornherein auch zum Kampf gegen die Westmächte entschlossen waren. Kampf auf Leben und Tod. Deutschland hat jeden Krieg gewonnen, wenn es einzig war. Eiserne, unerschütterliche Haltung vor allem der Vorgesetzten, feste Zuversicht, Siegesglauben, Überwindung vergangener Zeiten durch Gewöhnen an schwerste Belastung. \*1 Eine lange Friedenszeit würde uns nicht gut tun. \*2 Es ist also notwendig, mit allem zu rechnen. Mannhafte Haltung. Nicht Maschinen ringen miteinander, sondern Menschen. Bei uns qualitativ der besser Mensch. Seelische Faktoren ausschlaggebend. Auf der Gegenseite schwächere Menschen. 1918 fiel die Nation, weil die seelischen Vorbereitungen ungenügend waren. Friedrich der Große hatte seinen Enderfolg nur durch seine Seelenstärke. \*3 Vernichtung Polens im Vordergrund. Ziel ist Beseitigung der lebendigen Kräfte, nicht die Erreichung einer bestimmten Linie. Auch wenn im Westen Krieg ausbricht, bleibt Vernichtung Polens im Vordergrund. Mit Rücksicht auf Jahreszeit schnelle Entscheidung.

Ich werde propagandistischen Anlaß zur Auslösung des Krieges geben, gleichgültig, ob glaubhaft. Der Sieger wird später nicht danach gefragt, ob er die Wahrheit gesagt hat oder nicht. Bei Beginn und Führung des Krieges kommt es nicht auf das Recht an, sondern auf den Sieg.

Hetz verschließen gegen Mitleid. Brutales Vorgehen. 80 Mill. Menschen müssen ihr Recht bekommen. Ihre Existenz muß gesichert werden. Der Stärkere hat das Recht. Größte Härte.\*4

in die Tschechei Blut geflossen wäre. Ich versuche Keitel die Folgen eines Handelskrieges für Deutschland klar zu machen und sage ihm, dass wir nur mit geringen Mitteln dagegen kämpfen können. Soeben hätte ich erfahren, dass wir nur 10 U-Boote in den Atlantik schicken könnten. Keitel meint, dass nach der Eroberung Polens es leicht sein würde Rumänien zur Hergabe seines Öls zu zwingen. Ich mache ihn aufmerksam auf die Massnahmen der Engländer auf dem Balkan und versuche ihm klar zu machen; dass die Engländer auf dem Balkan alles für einen solchen Fall auf dem Balkan vorbereitet hätten. Bulgarien könnte uns

— Seite 3 —

als Bundesgenosse nichts nützen, da es sofort von Rumänien und der Türkei angegriffen werden würde.

**DOCUMENT PS-798.**

**ALLOCATION DE HITLER AUX COMMANDANTS EN CHEF. LE 22 AOÛT 1939. SUR SON INTENTION DE FAIRE LA GUERRE. ET LES PREPARATIFS POLITIQUES POUR CELA. AINSI QUE SES PREVISIONS SUR L'ATTITUDE DES AUTRES ETATS EUROPEENS ET LE DEROULEMENT PROBABLE DE LA GUERRE. (COTE D'AUDIENGE USA-29.)**

**BESCHREIBUNG:**

Da | Seite 1: | oberhalb T: | U/C | 104 (Blei)

**Ansprache des Führers vor den Oberbefehlshabern am 22. Aug. 1939.**

Ich habe Sie zusammengerufen, um Ihnen ein Bild der politischen Lage zu geben, damit Sie Einblick tun in die einzelnen Elemente, auf die sich mein Entschluß, zu handeln, aufbaut und um Ihr Vertrauen zu stärken.

Danach werden wir militärische Einzelheiten besprechen.

\*) Es war mir klar, daß es früher oder später zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit Polen kommen mußte. Ich faßte den Entschluß bereits im Frühjahr, dachte aber, daß ich mich zunächst in einigen

1) von 10 — 10, 10 — 10, 10 — 10 — 10 jeweils Winkelkl (1—2 und 3—4 Blei, 5—6 Rot)

These two German documents covering the Hitler speeches made on 22 August 1939, officially endorsed by the Nuremberg court as authentic, do not carry the sentence on the Armenians.

I HAVE ISSUED THE COMMAND—AND I'LL  
HAVE ANYBODY WHO UTTERS BUT ONE  
WORD OF CRITICISM EXECUTED BY A FIRING  
SQUAD—THAT OUR WAR AIM DOES NOT  
CONSIST IN REACHING CERTAIN LINES,  
BUT IN THE PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION OF  
THE ENEMY. ACCORDINGLY, I HAVE  
PLACED MY DEATH-HEAD FORMATIONS IN  
READINESS—FOR THE PRESENT ONLY IN  
THE EAST—WITH ORDERS TO THEM TO  
SEND TO DEATH MERCILESSLY AND  
WITHOUT COMPASSION, MEN, WOMEN,  
AND CHILDREN OF POLISH DERIVATION  
AND LANGUAGE. ONLY THUS SHALL WE  
GAIN THE LIVING SPACE [LEBENSRAUM]  
WHICH WE NEED. WHO, AFTER ALL,  
SPEAKS TODAY OF THE ANNIHILATION OF  
THE ARMENIANS?

ADOLF HITLER, AUGUST 22, 1939.  
REPORTS RECEIVED BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS  
BUREAU CHIEF IN BERLIN, LOUIS LOCHNER

A supposedly Hitler 'statement', according to an AP correspondent, engraved on a 6-meter tall wall inside the Holocaust Museum in the United States.



# ARMENIA

## The Survival of a Nation

CHRISTOPHER J. WALKER

*Peace on the Plain of Ararat*

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to smear Armenians. Missakian also referred to a report in an American magazine which claimed that the Nazis had picked on Dashnaksutun to do fifth-column work, promising the party an autonomous state for their cooperation. All this was, he said, devoid of foundation. 'The utterances of German statesmen from Bismarck to Bethmann-Hollweg, and the preachings of a galaxy of militant German philosophers, cannot be described as manifestations of Teutonic affection for our people.'<sup>4</sup> Missakian's claims were bolstered by the action of his brother Shavarsh, who stopped publishing the Dashnak paper *Haratch* in Paris during the occupation.

Nevertheless there remains the incontestable fact that relations between the Nazis and Dashnaks living in the occupied areas were close and active. On 30 December 1941 an Armenian battalion was created by a decision of the Wehrmacht, known as the 'Armenian 812th Battalion'. It was commanded by Dro, and was made up of a small number of committed recruits, and a larger number of Armenians from the prisoners of war taken by the Nazis in their sweep eastwards. Early on the total number was 8,000; this number later grew to 20,000. The 812th Battalion was operational in the Crimea and the North Caucasus.

A year later, on 15 December 1942, an 'Armenian National Council' was granted official recognition by Alfred Rosenberg, the German minister of the occupied areas. The 'Council's president was Professor Ardashes Abeghian, its vice-president Abraham Giulkhandanian, and it numbered among its members Nzhdeh and Vahan Papazian. From that date until the end of 1944 it published a weekly journal, *Armenien*, edited by Viken Shant (the son of Levon), who also broadcast on Radio Berlin.<sup>5</sup>

ST. MARTIN'S PRESS NEW YORK

**James G. Mandalian, Who Are the Dashnags?  
Boston, Hairenik Press, 1944, pp. 13-14.**

### THE CHARGE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

(First quotation, taken from a series of articles published in Aug. 19, 20, and 21, 1936 issues of the Hairenik Daily:)

"Jews of all people being the most fanatical nationalists and race-worshippers, wherever they go they are compelled to create an atmosphere and the rites and customs of internationalism and world-citizenship in order to preserve their race-exaltation pure. . . . As the British use battleships to occupy lands and to protect their fatherland, in this same way the Jew uses internationalism or Communism as a weapon. . . ."

"Sometimes it is difficult to eradicate these poisonous elements when they have struck deep root like a chronic disease. And when it becomes necessary for a people to eradicate them in an uncommon method, these attempts and methods are regarded revolutionary. During a surgical operation the flow of blood is a natural thing. . . . Under such conditions dictatorship seems to have the role of a savior."

(Second quotation, from Propaganda Battlefront:)

"Hairenik Weekly is the English language organ of the Dashnag, edited in Boston by James G. Mandalian. The Weekly voiced the political sentiments of the mother publication but exercised greater restraint. The August 9, 1935 issue started off with a reference to 'the Jewish controlled film industry,' then ascribed Armenian massacres to the 'Turkish Jews of Salonika' because of the 'Jewish love of gain.' The May 10, 1935 issue quoted the vice mayor of Bucharest as saying: 'The Armenians (meaning Dashnags only) have helped us Rumanians not to become slaves of the Jewish elements.' An article in the Sept. 25, 1936 issue of the Weekly denounced Zionist aims, and adopting a strong Arab nationalist view concluded with: '. . . And the type of Jews who are imported to Palestine is not anything to be proud about. Their loose morals, and other vices which were unknown to the Arabs prior to the Balfour Declaration, on top of all communistic activities, were the cause of most of the Arab criticism.'"

This document exposes the antisemitic, racist and fascistic tendencies of the Armenian Hairenik daily paper.



CONGRESSIONAL RECORD-SENATE  
April 24, 1984 S 4714

ry later each had particular and unique features, historians and sociologists who have pioneered the field of victimology have drawn some startling parallels. These include the perpetration of genocide under the cover of a major international conflict, thus minimizing the possibility of external intervention; conception of the plan by a monolithic and megalomaniac regime; espousal of an ideology giving purpose and justification to chauvinism, racism, and intolerance toward elements resisting or deemed unworthy of assimilation; imposition of strict party discipline and secrecy during the period of preparation; formation of extralegal special armed forces to ensure the rigorous execution of the operation; provocation of public hostility toward the victim group and ascribing to it the very excesses to which it would be subject; certainty of the vulnerability of the intended prey (demonstrated in the Armenian case in the previous general massacres of 1894-1896 and 1909), exploitation of advances in mechanization and communication (the telegraph) to achieve unprecedented means of control, coordination, and thoroughness; and use of sanctions such as promotions and the incentive to loot, plunder, and vent passions without restraint or, conversely, the dismissal and punishment of reluctant officials and the intimidation of persons who might consider harboring members of the victim group.

In the West, the Armenian genocide evoked sentiments of sympathy and outrage. The Allied Powers declared collectively, "In view of this new crime of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied Governments make known publicly that they will hold all members of the Turkish Government, as well as those officials who have participated in these massacres, personally responsible." French officials echoed British Prime Minister Lloyd George's view that after the war the peace settlement should guarantee "the redemption of the Armenian valleys forever from the bloody misrule with which they had been stained by the infamies of the Turk." In the United States the hand of charity was extended across the ocean, to keep alive as many of the survivors as possible and to help the Armenian people escape complete obliteration. Leaders of both parties and all branches of government called for the restoration of the survivors to their ancestral lands and the safeguarding of their collective existence, whereas President Wilson's

Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages".

Yet, ironically, despite all the words and evidence, the "conscience of mankind" did not shudder for long before this "most colossal crime of all the ages." It is true that in 1920 the Allies finally imposed the Treaty of Sevres upon the sultan's government, creating on paper a moderately sized united Armenian republic, but, recoiling from the burdens of the world war, the European Powers and the United States proved unwilling to shoulder the moral and material responsibilities to execute the peace and to restore the Armenian people to their homeland and help them build a free nation. Rather, after the successful rise and consolidation of the Turkish Nationalist movement under Mustafa Kemal, the European Powers bowed to political, economic, and military expediency in the treaties of Lausanne in 1923 and turned away from the miserable Armenians and the Armenian question. The refugees were barred from returning home, and, except for those who settled in the small Armenian state that had been created in Transcaucasia in 1918 and (forcibly) sovietized in 1920, remained dispersed throughout the Middle East, Europe, and America.

The passage of time and the strategic geopolitical position assigned to Turkey in the calculations of the world powers further removed the Armenian issue from the realm of international diplomacy. A new generation of politicians, correspondents, and academics lost interest in the Armenians—perhaps the fate of most losers in history. Some gradually began to rationalize the existence of the Republic of Turkey within its given boundaries by tending to rationalize the events that had led to this eventuality. Whether because of naiveté, assumed objectivity, or self interests, a few even introduced the adjectives "alleged" and "asserted" in reference to the Armenian massacres, even though their own newspaper files and national archives were replete with the awesome evidence of the systematic annihilation. Perhaps Adolf Hitler had good cause in 1939 to declare, according to the Nuremberg trial transcripts, "Who, after all, speaks today of the extermination of the Armenians."

But unlike the Armenian case, the atrocities of World War II did not pass unrequited, nor have they been allowed to blur in public awareness and international rela-

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## X. Turkish or Armenian-Greek Fire?

Since the city of İzmir (Smyrna), on the eastern coast of the Aegean Sea, was the initial Ottoman soil on which the occupying Greek forces had embarked on 15 May 1919, its very recapture by the Turks on 9 September 1922, after a long interlude of three years, three months and twenty-five days of military engagements and multilateral diplomatic intercourse, had special significance. The Greek soldiers, who pretended to personify the “roots of Western civilization,” had nevertheless committed outrageous cruelties, as readily recorded by a bewildered phil-Hellene none other than the celebrated historian Arnold J. Toynbee. The latter, who edited a so-called ‘Blue Book’ as “war propaganda” (his own admission), visited the Ottoman capital and its immediate neighbourhoods, where he unexpectedly observed series of Greek atrocities.<sup>131</sup>

The Greek expeditionary force had been convoyed on 15 May 1919, by a squadron of Allied warships with a British admiral in command. The Turkish troops in the city had previously been disarmed by the local Allied control-officers. When the Greek troops landed at the middle of the quay, the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan Bishop appeared in state to greet them. There were religious ceremonies and national dances. The Turks were told to hold their hands above their heads and shout “*Zito o Venizelos*” (Long Live Venizelos) and “*Zito i Ellas*” (Long Live Greece). Toynbee stated that “some who stumbled or fell out of the ranks were immediately bayoneted by the Greek escort and their bodies pitched into the sea.”<sup>132</sup> The occupying soldiers, unacquainted with Ottoman customs, attacked any civilian wearing a *fez*, and hence many Armenians, Greeks and Jews fell victim to this error. Killing and looting lasted for days and weeks, and in the hinterland, local Greeks raided their Turkish neighbour’s

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<sup>131</sup> Arnold Joseph Toynbee, **The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A Study in the Contact of Civilizations**, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1922. His own assessment of the previous ‘Blue Book’ reflecting Armenian views only as “war-propaganda” appears in p. 50 of the same source. He dubbed, in private to his American biographer, that the British war-time propaganda office (Wellington House) was in effect a “Mendacity Bureau.” William H. McNeill, **Arnold Toynbee: A Life**, New York, Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 72. For my criticism of the British books, see: Türkaya Ataöv, **The British Blue Books: Vehicles of War Propaganda, 1914-18**, New York, Okey Enterprises, Inc., 2006. For my general treatment reflecting a nonconventional approach, which hopefully contributes to a balanced evaluation of the issue, see: Türkaya Ataöv, **What Happened to the Ottoman Armenians?** New York, Okey Enterprises, Inc., 2006. For Greek behaviour, also see: Laurance Evans, **United States Policy and the Partition of Turkey: 1929-1924**, Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965, p. 181.

<sup>132</sup> Toynbee, **op. cit.**, pp. 271-272.

houses and lifted their cattle. The Turkish quarters were burnt, and mosques ruined. As the regular troops penetrated into Anatolia, they attacked Muslim homes and burnt down whole villages.

Toynbee noted that the “crimes were committed in cold blood and the plundering was leisurely and systematic... They plundered first and killed afterwards, and they sang at their work, even when they got to the killing... A significant feature was the murder of rich men and subsequent seizure of their property..”<sup>133</sup> The Greek troops and their allied *çetes* (irregular armed bands) had the field to themselves. This was also the opinion of Maurice Gehri, the representative of the International Red Cross.<sup>134</sup>

Professor Toynbee arrived Athens from England on the 15th of January 1921 and left the Ottoman capital for England on the 16th of September of the same year. In the meantime, he saw all that he could from both the Greek and the Turkish point of view. He held then the Korais Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature, and History, in the University of London. He reached İzmir first and took several journeys into the Turkish hinterland. He stated that it was “painful for Greeks and ‘Philhellenes’ that information and reflections unfavourable to Greece should have been published by the first occupant of the Korais Chair.”

Toynbee witnessed Greek atrocities all over the Greek-occupied areas that he toured. He was in intimate contact with Greek soldiers and civilians then engaged in atrocities upon Turkish peasants, and with the survivors of their victims whom the Ottoman Red Crescent was attempting to rescue. The Turkish survivors were paralyzed with terror. He had abundant evidence in terms of “burnt and plundered houses, recent corpses, and terror-stricken survivors.” He saw “robbery by Greek civilians and arson by Greek soldiers in uniform.” Even the Greek officers posted to protect the local civilians made personal raids on the Turkish households exhorting money, valuables, and women. The Turkish shops were systematically looted. This was the case “repeated through the length and breath of the occupied territory,” from Bursa to Aydın and from Eskişehir to İzmir.<sup>135</sup>

The remnants of the Greek occupation forces abandoned all devastated Western Anatolian towns and villages that they had invaded and got carried over to their own mainland in whatever vessels they could find, Foreign warships assisted them, and the Turks gave

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<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.

<sup>134</sup> Maurice Gehri, délégué du Comité International de la Croix Rouge, *Mission d'enquête en Anatolie*: 12-22 mai 1921; Extrait de la *Revue Internationale de la Croix Rouge*, III/15 (15 juillet 1921), Geneva, 1921.

<sup>135</sup> Toynbee, *op.cit.*, p. 299.

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special permission to a number of Greek boats to enter the harbour and take them to the opposite shore of the Aegean Sea. The disaster that should interest us, within the very framework of this book, is the fire that started on the fourth day (the 13th of September) after Turkish entry, destroying and turning into ashes at least one-third, or more according to some accounts, of this city that was second to none other than İstanbul, not only in terms of historical significance and beauty, but also in economic status, productive capacity, and strategic location. The fire, which grew rapidly on account of a wind unseen for the last so many years, started a controversy as to the offender who had lit the first match.

The descriptions of the Turks who witnessed it, the initial investigations, various official reports and the final assessment of the Ankara authorities, all unite in their considered judgement that the Turks had not caused that tragedy. Certainly, logic also demands the acceptance of this interpretation. After all, İzmir was the most magnificent Ottoman city after İstanbul, the capital. It housed almost everything that the deprived and the fatigued Turkish army had been lacking for the last so many years. It was the only city, the rest (of Western Anatolia up until the very outskirts of Ankara) having been looted and burnt down by the retreating Greeks, that had almost everything badly required, including rich foodstuffs for a hitherto fighting army that fed itself even on heather, clothing to replace torn uniforms, residences for officers who drowsed on horses, boarding-houses for those who catnapped on dry land, hospitals or clinics for the wounded, apothecaries full of medicine for the sick, all of which was God-sent to the victorious but terribly starved, dispossessed and weary Turkish soldiers. In short, the city of İzmir was like a ripe fruit that had fallen to Turkish hands. Logic demanded that the triumphant Turks keep and protect it.

On the other hand, some individuals and societies, at times, though quite seldom, behave in a way that amounts to rejecting a golden opportunity highly beneficial to themselves. In spite of that lean likelihood, in the abstract more than in reality, logic still rules that the Turks would much prefer to detain their prize intact, won after so many sacrifices, in the way they received it on the 9th of September. Indeed, the face of Mustafa Kemâl, who is known for his advocacy of and compliance with realism, reportedly turned white as soon as the news about the İzmir fire reached him.

Some foreign sources, which possibly do not know what to say about the origins of the fire, refrain from making any comment on that inferno. Some other foreigners claim that the Turks burnt the city down. The Greek and the Armenian lobbies, acting in concert, in the U.S. Congress have, since then, attempted several times to trigger a legislative move that would

eventually blame the Turks for this nearly century-old tragedy. The rest of the commentators state that the Turks were not instrumental and that they had absolutely no interest in such an outcome. So far, there is only one book-length attempt dealing with this topic. Its author is Marjorie Housepian, an ethnic Armenian.<sup>136</sup> Rather expectedly, she points her finger on the Turks.

Although that book, in terms of its length and the number of its footnotes, gives the impression, at first sight, of probably being a piece of extensive research, the bits of evidence it offers are generally selectively chosen to support apparently a pre-determined opinion, neglecting or minimizing others that would negate her preferred version. The author's footnotes reveal that she handled the documents of the "Admiral Bristol Papers" among the U.S. Library of Congress collections in Washington, D.C. Housepian's book makes several references to a number of Bristol records. The U.S. Rear-admiral Mark L. Bristol was, for a time, the High Commissioner in the Ottoman capital on behalf of the victorious Allied powers. His name was given to the "American Hospital" in the modern section of contemporary İstanbul. He is known to have been fairer to the Turks in comparison to Henry Morgenthau, who served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman state during the years 1913-16. The descendants of Admiral Bristol have apparently donated or sold close to 33,000 of the Bristol documents to the Library of Congress.

One of those papers is most significant on account of its value as a first-hand register shedding incomparable light on the İzmir fire. An official American witness prepared and signed a detailed report, a copy of which he submitted on 11 January 1923 to Admiral Bristol. The same person sent articles to **The New York Times**, giving reliable first-hand information that usually contradicts traditional prejudices against the Turks. The official French interpretation may also be seen, albeit infrequently, in some of the leading Western papers. Later, some third parties printed articles illuminating hitherto neglected aspects of the topic that ultimately support the Turkish view.

Although author Housepian gives every impression to have handled the Bristol papers, she has failed to attach due importance to the particular document which I referred to above, so essential in tracking down what really occurred before the İzmir fire broke out. After all, the following statement that appears at the top of the first page, as the heading or a summary

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<sup>136</sup> Marjorie Housepian (Dobkin), **Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City**, London, Faber and Faber, 1972.

of the whole report, is most self-explanatory: "The Hitherto Untold Story of the Smyrna Fire Told By Mark O. Prentiss, American Representative of the Near East Relief. Armenians and Greeks, Not Turks, Set the Fire. Evidence of Smyrna Fire Chief Revealed." The title of the report, which runs like an abstract of the long text that follows, is clear enough. It unambiguously puts the blame on the Armenians first and the Greeks next. Its message is simple, but well-defined and comprehensible. Housepian, the author of Armenian origin who published the only book on the İzmir fire that places the *mens rea* on the Turks, conveniently undermines its relevance. In fact, the typed copies of the Near East Relief report, penned by an American not known as a friend of the Turks, reached many more files than the Bristol papers. The Near East Relief, whose headquarters was at 151 Fifth Avenue in New York, N.Y., was incorporated by an Act of Congress and was formerly called "The American Committee of Armenian and Syrian Relief."

I have been in possession of a copy of the same report since the early 1980s. I published, at appropriate times, the gist of the Prentiss dispatch in a number of daily papers. Although its title mentions both "Armenians and Greeks," in that order, the two words "and Greeks" have been scratched out with a pencil in the original manuscript. The U.S. Congress Librarians assumed that one of the readers had done it in a clandestine way. One of them offered his own guess that the reader might have been of Greek extraction. Such intrusions with library material are against the rules in all public facilities of this sort. However, in spite of the improper act, the title is still readable. According to it, the guilt primarily rests with the Armenians, the Greeks probably playing a secondary role.

Mark O. Prentiss, the author of the report, is an American industrial engineer. He reached the İzmir harbour on 8 September 1922, a day before the entry of the Turkish cavalry into the city, on board the U.S. destroyer "Lawrence" under the command of Captain Wolleson. He rushed to İzmir on time, not only to observe the circumstances in the change of government, but also basically to protect the interests of the non-Muslims, principally the Armenians for which his committee was originally set up. As far as uninhibited surveillance and pooling information were concerned, he was gradually but surely confronted with facts that put the Turks under favourable light. He toured the whole city over and over again, visited every corner, inspected all sites, moved at once and usually accompanied by aides, pursued every rumour, checked the reliability of every bit of news in the Western media, personally contacted foreign and Turkish decision-makers, listened to all witnesses, and compared contradictory information before reaching fair conclusions. Especially, he lost no

time in reaching spots associated with allegations that “the Turks have bombed” a place or “raped, and killed” so-and-so. He spoke, several times, to Paul Greskovich, the Austrian fire chief of İzmir for the last twelve years.<sup>137</sup> The manuscript, in whose title Prentiss categorically states that the “Armenians and Greeks, Not the Turks, Set the Fire”, is the end-product of such an investigation, contacts, control, comparisons and final verdict.

Prentiss reiterated that Americans (or other non-Turks) interested in the fire episode generally believed that the “Turks were responsible” for the ruinous catastrophe. But he was quick to add that İzmir was a huge warehouse of everything that the Turks needed most. Food, all other products and housing were in their hands. Why burn it down? That logic constituted reality number one. Moreover, the other side of the same coin mirrored the fact that the “Armenians and Greeks”, writes Prentiss, “were determined not to let this booty fall into the hands of their hated enemies.” He adds: “There was a generally accepted report in Smyrna, for several days before the fire, that an organized group of Armenian young men had sworn to burn the city if it fell to the Turks.”

Prentiss, who had personal interviews with the Austrian fire chief Greskovich, examined the soundness of every piece of information that he received from him and compared it with other clues. His findings led him to the Armenians as the primary blamable party. He disclosed his conclusion in a clear manner and repeated his conviction several times and in a convincing manner. Even when he headed towards İzmir and set foot in the city, the possibility of a fire was his principal concern. It was his anxiety over fire, which he stressed a number of times that induced him to explore the over-all condition of the fire department. He immediately established, for instance, that the Greeks, formerly employed as firemen, had abandoned work, that the number of fire-fighters were initially reduced to 60 and then to 37, and that the fire engines and pumps were housed in two small sheds. He also established that, in addition to the two small-scale machines, there were six hand-operated hoses that sucked water from the sea like elephant’s trunks.

A visit to the hospital, where American doctors worked and which Ottoman Armenian citizens frequented was one of the targets that Prentiss had made a point to see. According to the many news-items that appeared in the Western media, Turkish soldiery had attacked this edifice and had slaughtered all or some of the medical personnel (including the doctors and nurses), the sick and the wounded (provided they were foreign citizens), and an additional

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<sup>137</sup> The name of this official is spelled differently in some other sources – as “Griscovich” or “Greskovitch”.

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1,500 or so by-standers who only wanted to secure shelter under the roof of a health center. Prentiss reveals that he went there, accompanied by (the American) Dr. Post and two nurses, spoke to the hired workers at all levels and examined the whole environment but saw absolutely no trace of anything that could possibly support the accusation made. His visit and findings appear adequately in his report. The Turkish soldiers merely disarmed those who were there to take refuge within the hospital compound. The weapons were so many that they filled a truck brought there for this purpose. The arms were taken away so that they could not be used against the enlisted men. Not only would the Turks not attack a hospital and refrain from committing any one of the evil deeds so irresponsibly attributed to them, but they also had wounded soldiers who also badly needed medical care.

Prentiss learned from fire chief Greskovich, whom he describes as an utterly reliable witness, that almost all of the Greek employees in his department had deserted work just before the Turkish entry into the city. We learn from the same source that the commander of the advanced Turkish advance guards eventually assigned to the fire department one hundred soldiers of his own to make up for the deserters. What the Turks would have wanted to avoid at all cost was the fire, destruction and the loss of that city, which was the second jewel after the fabulous İstanbul.

The fire chief told the Near East Relief representative that generally fires took place rather infrequently in İzmir, that there would be in the past just the start of a distant flame once every ten days on the average, and that they would immediately rush there to extinguish it, but, as the Turks came nearer to the city, the number of fires daily reached five and moreover, all seemed to start simultaneously. He added that he himself went to the fire sites and had reason to suspect Armenian role in them. Prentiss included this information, not only in his report, but also in the articles that he sent to **The New York Times** that printed them.

Prentiss, who stated that the Greskovich organization was unable to meet the unusual fire challenge, underlined that it was the Turkish soldiers who had to deal with the flames. The Turkish general (Kazım Paşa) told Prentiss that his enlisted men were given the order to fight the fire. The Turkish soldiers had even opened fire at some Armenian youth, who were in the process of starting a fire. Greskovich also related to Prentiss that, in the early hours of Wednesday, two Armenian priests, who were leading a few thousand Armenians out of their own quarters, had left behind in the Armenian school and church gasoline-soaked rags ready to burst into flames. On Tuesday night and Wednesday morning, the Turkish soldiers got hold of Armenian youngsters who had started fires. At least half a dozen simultaneous fires were



observed at 11:20 during noon time on Wednesday, all occurring in places that the Turks would have wanted to be protected most. At 12:00 o'clock, there were five additional fires in the neighbourhood of the hospital, followed by two more near the Armenian Club, and one more at the train station. Prentiss also rushed to the American Consulate, where he was told that the Turks had poured gasoline in order to burn that diplomatic office, but found absolutely no trace of such an act. His final verdict for the whole affair was as follows: "I have been able to find no evidence that either Turkish soldiers or Turkish civilians deliberately fired the city or wished for its destruction. The evidence all points in another direction."

A natural phenomenon, known by many people but also restated by Greskovich as well, has a direct bearing on our topic. The fire, after having started, spread out much faster than usual, on account of a very strong wind that turned into a devastating storm, a spectacle highly uncommon during that season. This catastrophic development was beyond human free will. The same sources remind us, however, that it was the Turkish soldiers, assigned to control the fire, who had no other alternative than dynamiting some of the buildings in order to limit the dissemination of the flames and help to contain the devastation. No matter how some non-Turks might have perceived these sudden explosions, this precaution on the part of the Turks must have prevented the disaster from becoming even more magnified. In any case, the blasts had occurred after the fire had started.

Prentiss also underlined these facts in proper perspective. He indicated that an air-current, a southeaster that broke in the afternoon of the 13th of September, previously not seen during that month, developed into a tempest at night. Inhabitants who had lived in Izmir for some years told him that they had never experienced a similar event in the past. The smoke, the sparks and the explosions reached such dimensions that the U.S. destroyer "Litchfield", which was supposed to take Prentiss to İstanbul, had to recast anchor off the harbour.

The Turkish officers, who conversed with Prentiss once again after the fire, told him that they had no interest in burning down such a plentiful metropolis that was in their hands with all its priceless opportunities. The Turkish side immediately conducted preliminary and final official investigations and eventually issued a high-level report that cleared the new owners of responsibility for the fire.

Prentiss, whose mission of observation in İzmir came to an end, reached the Ottoman capital on board the "Litchfield". Turkish soldiery had entered İstanbul before his arrival.

Heading ultimately to Washington, D.C., he stopped over, on the way, in Rome, Paris and London, speaking to the U.S. ambassadors (Child, Herrick and Harvey respectively) in those three capitals and furnished them with first-hand information, including the fire disaster.

In addition to his observations on the fire, Prentiss also made interesting comments, before and after his return to the United States, on hitherto little-known facts of Turkish life. For instance, he indicated in his article in **The New York Times** that the Turks no longer desire to receive American educators and missionaries in conditions of the past.<sup>138</sup> In a separate article he made it known that no German, French or Russian officers or soldiers could be found in the Turkish armies.<sup>139</sup> This is what he says about the “*harem*” that foreigners used as a way to discredit the Turks: In contrast with the beliefs shared by many Orientalists, the *harem* was not an institution, he recorded, but a part of the Turkish house where women live. Just as the kitchen in New York was gradually losing its function, it might also disappear. *Harem* did not mean marriage with more than one woman, he underlined. It did not connote polygamy. He added that the Turks told him that their women started hiding their faces after they came into contact with Byzantium culture. They emphasized that women before that participated effectively in life and even served as tribal chiefs.<sup>140</sup>

It was in those days and even later that Western publications dwelling on Armenian-Turkish relations carried news asserting that the Muslims had packed their *harems* with young Armenian girls, at times giving the preposterous figure of 400,000. Likewise, a picture apparently taken from the Turkish papers, showed a neatly dressed small girl standing beside the country’s celebrated female author Halide Edip as one of the supposedly thousands of Armenian demoiselles.

The Armenian minority in İzmir, before the outbreak of the First World War, numbered around 13,000, quite a few whom were among the wealthiest and the most influential citizens.<sup>141</sup> Although the Americans and the Turks were belligerents in the two opposing camps, they did not *de facto* fight against each other. But the United States supported Britain, France and Tsarist Russia, its allies, in every conceivable way. An American citizen, sent to İzmir with the assignment to gather information and report on behalf

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<sup>138</sup> 20 September 1922.

<sup>139</sup> 10 December 1922.

<sup>140</sup> 19 October 1922.

<sup>141</sup> Guenther Levy, **The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide**, Salt Lake City, The University of Utah Press, 2005, p. 204.

of an organization officially set up in Washington, is of the opinion that the Armenians and Greeks, not the Turks, have set the fire, that the Turks were very sensitive over any threat to their newly-won city, and that they gave enough personnel to the fire department and volunteered to dynamite some buildings to limit the damage.

Prentiss also had observations on Armenian and Greek brutality and the balanced behaviour of the Turkish soldiery. He came to know that the embarked "Greek army distributed enormous amount of ammunition" to their civilian kith and kin among the Ottoman citizens of İzmir and, in his own words, "encouraged and organized sniping and bombing" against the Turks.<sup>142</sup> Although the Turkish soldiers knew of this sly collaboration and their patience could be expected to have run out, Prentiss stated that the Turkish officers exerted an effort to maintain order and established a record for "peaceable occupation."<sup>143</sup> He adds: "I heard and firmly believed many stories of Greek atrocities." There existed abundant evidence to prove that the Greek Army distributed weapons and military material to civilians and pushed them in the direction of firing them at Turkish targets.<sup>144</sup> Samuel Dashiell, the Paris correspondent of **The New York Times**, wrote, on the basis of information received from Prentiss, that the Turks had left a photographer in each town taken over by the Greek army and stored pictures of criminals who attacked or raped Muslim women or who burnt down residences and noted that no other alternative was left for such criminals but to leave İzmir to avoid embarrassment, legal charges and punishment.<sup>145</sup>

The general opinion of the first-hand observers there and then was that the Turks treated even the attackers of yesterday in a disciplined, calm and fair manner. For instance, they allowed foreign ships, including the Greek ones provided they did not hoist their national flag, to enter the Turkish harbour and carry away any one willing to go with them.<sup>146</sup> They included no less than "27 enemy vessels."<sup>147</sup> Those Christians who wished to leave İzmir as soon as possible and were eager to secure protection as well as a passport, approached the U.S. Consul and told him "all sorts of lies" against the Turks.<sup>148</sup> Prentiss says: "I carried out

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<sup>142</sup> **The New York Times**, 25 September 1922.

<sup>143</sup> **Ibid.**, 20 September 1922.

<sup>144</sup> **Ibid.**, 25 September 1922.

<sup>145</sup> **Ibid.**, 12 November 1922.

<sup>146</sup> For the Prentiss article that appeared on the first page: **Ibid.**, 25 September 1922.

<sup>147</sup> **Ibid.**, 17 December 1922.

<sup>148</sup> **Idem.**

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personal investigations and did not come across anything that looked like an organized crime.”<sup>149</sup>

An article in the **Atlantic Monthly** should further illustrate the correctness of the opinion above. Prentiss relates the following episode of a youngster from the YMCA, who apparently contacted the U.S. Consulate:

“I was with a naval officer and some of his men in our Consulate when a local YMCA worker burst in the door. He was in the last stages of collapse, shaking all over and clawing convulsively at his hair —quite incoherent. We tried to quiet him. ‘My God, my God, my God’ ... was all we could get out of him. When speech returned he told them that the Turks were killing the refugees at the YMCA. A squad of soldiers was sent double quick. When [Prentiss and his team] went there, we found nothing more dreadful than a few placid Turkish soldiers standing guard over a garage next door. Not a soul had been hurt or even threatened. Neither was there the least sign that a struggle had taken place... The same ‘Y’ man came to them later with a report that he had, with his own eyes, seen the Turkish soldiers strip and violate six Armenian girls. An investigation showed that nothing of the sort had taken place. In each case... the man vowed he had seen these events with his own eyes, and he was a perfectly honest, decent chap, but quite out of his head with strain and excitement. I must have investigated a hundred such stories, without finding one of them true.

“In another instance, a nurse reported having seen the Turks cut off a woman’s breast. The woman was found to have a gash in the arm —nothing more. The excitement of Armenian and Greek refugees was even more hysterical. One American sailor nearly had his back broken on the guard of an automobile against which he was pressed by a mob of terrified Greeks and Armenians...”<sup>150</sup>

Prentiss published many more articles in support of his assessment that the Turkish behaviour was balanced, controlled and certainly unvengeful. For instance, in another article he wrote that he witnessed groups of Turkish cavalry move from one place to another in a peaceful manner.<sup>151</sup> He praised the general cooperation and the helping hand of the Turkish soldiers. He stated that they had attained magnificent results thanks to the American ships and the assistance of 200 Turkish soldiers. He wrote over and over again that the Turkish authorities had exhibited “remarkable forbearance and toleration.” The Turks helped

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<sup>149</sup> Again, a Prentiss article on the first page: **Ibid.**, 20 September 1922.

<sup>150</sup> **Los Angeles Times**, 16 January 1924. All quotations are from the same article. Also see, John Bakeless, “Actualities at Smyrna,” **The Atlantic Monthly**, January 1924, pp. 130-133. Bakeless bases his article on the observations of Prentiss.

<sup>151</sup> **The New York Times**, 25 September 1922.

the weak and the wounded, irrespective of their nationality or religion, whether Armenian or Greek.<sup>152</sup> Hundreds of times, “officers and soldiers tenderly escorted the enfeebled and injured through the passage.”<sup>153</sup> Again: “During a critical hour, a seething mob was crowding some American sailors into the sea in an attempt to rush our small boats. A dapper junior Turkish officer approached and saluted me. He spoke in perfect English: ‘Can I be of any assistance?’ ‘Certainly’, I replied. Then immediately a dozen Turkish soldiers, responding to his orders, pushed the frantic crowd back and undoubtedly saved a critical situation. He saluted, expressed the hope of a more pleasant future meeting and departed.”<sup>154</sup>

Observations of this kind were not confined to some Americans. The French Foreign Office, in an official statement published on 26 September 1922, confirmed the news that General Pelle, the French High Commissioner in İstanbul, and Admiral Dumesnil, the Commander of the French forces in the Near Eastern waters, had satisfied themselves that there was “nothing to justify for holding the Turks responsible for the burning of Smyrna.” The French admiral also investigated the charges that the Turks poured kerosene on the houses and streets “and found them false.” Both the French general and the admiral detected much excitement in the Greek and the Armenian quarters of the city and that a number of Turkish officers and men had been wounded by bombs and hand-grenades thrown from the houses.

The two French commanders established that the fires occurred in widely separated spots in the foreign quarters of the city. They learned that the French sailors, who were fighting the flames, were fired upon, understandably by the Armenian and the Greek dwellers. Also in the opinion of the French observers, the Turkish authorities, on the other hand, tried to put out the fires, but the wind fanned the flames. The French representatives announced that they “found nothing showing Turkish responsibility for the fire.” The same statement added that the French had in their possession “most damaging testimony of misdeeds of which the Greek Army is guilty and perpetrated during the retreat.”<sup>155</sup>

Strong criticism of the behaviour of Greek troops was made by Viscount St. Davis, who presided at the semi-annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Ottoman Railway which operated between İzmir and Aydın. The Viscount said: “The Greeks in their retreat

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<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 September 1922.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 December 1922.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 September 1922.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 September 1922.

burned every village they saw. They robbed individual Turks...and when these [people] resisted, they killed them. They did all this...without military necessity...out of sheer maliciousness. Our reports are that it was done systematically by regular troops under orders...done by the malice of men who knew that they could not hold the country and meant to make it worthless for any one else.”<sup>156</sup>

Some Muslim quarters, for instance the Persian locality also suffered on account of the fire. Contemporary Iranian researchers published some material on that topic.<sup>157</sup> It is unthinkable that the Turks would want to harm, especially under the conditions of the 1920s, a co-religionist minority from the neighbouring country in the east.

Nevertheless, it is well-known that American pressure groups in U.S. federal and state politics frequently bring up the “Armenian issue.” Never in the past was there a reference to the Near East Relief report, among other things, a copy of which is readily available in the Congress Library. It is a U.S.-authorized document, prepared and signed by an American citizen, especially sent to İzmir, under naval and consular protection, on a mission of observation. It is more than bizarre to deny its value.

A number of circles, unable to free themselves from bias or hope to broaden their interests, pursued enmity towards the Turks even after the successful Turkish War of National Liberation (1819-22), the proclamation of the Turkish Republic (1923) and successive moves of modernization. One of the early ploys of animosity was demonstrated by a certain William Stearns Davis, whose comments on the expulsion of Dr. Fisher from Turkey appeared in the widely-read American daily.<sup>158</sup> The same paper printed the reply of a young Turk (H. Selma Ekrem), a former graduate of the American College for Girls in İstanbul, who was then pursuing further studies in the United States. Apparently, Dr. Fisher indulged in slanderous anti-Turkish propaganda on a British ship but in Turkish waters. Contrary to Mr. Davis’ assertion, this was not a violation of American rights. As the Turkish reader appropriately reminded readers, the U.S. Government as well then enforced its laws six miles off the coast in all ships. Regarding the Davis contention that for the U.S. Government to ratify the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) would be “to forget Armenia and Smyrna,” the Turkish reader noted: “Turkey does not want Americans to forget these subjects, but...to study them honestly.

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<sup>156</sup> **Idem.**

<sup>157</sup> Maşoume Afshari, “Hasaratha-e vared-e be etba-e Iran der hilal-e ceng-e Turkiye wa Yunan wa atesh-e suzi-e İzmir,” **Tarih-e Revabet-e Hariji**, Tehran, V/20 (Fall 2004), pp. 133-144.

<sup>158</sup> **Ibid.**, 2 September 1924.

Armenia was not betrayed by [that] Treaty...[In respect to Smyrna] does Mr. Davis want Turkey to give up her own territory...or does he refer to the burning of the city?" Miss Ekrem mentions Mark O. Prentiss as an "unbiased American" who had first-hand experience with the realities.<sup>159</sup>

How many Americans are now as un-biased as "Citizen Prentiss" of the 1920s, and how many mainstream papers in our day are impartial, liberal or unengaged enough to print a letter like the one signed by Miss Ekrem?

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<sup>159</sup> **Ibid.**, 11 September 1924.

The Hitherto Untold Story of the Smyrna Fire Told by  
Mark O. Prentiss, American Representative of the  
Near East Relief. Armenians and Greeks, Not Turks, Set  
the Fire. Evidence of Smyrna Fire Chief Revealed.

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Rights Reserved ) -- by Mark O. Prentiss --

Nearly everybody in America, it appears, is convinced that the  
Turks were responsible for the fire which added the final touches  
of tragedy to the Smyrna horror. The unanimity and firmness of  
this conviction surprised me, at first, as I believe it would have  
surprised anybody else, of whatever nationality or political allegi-  
ance, who had recently come from the scene of the disaster. The  
motive, usually considered of supreme importance in crimes of this  
sort, does not clearly point toward the Turks. They had captured  
Smyrna. The city, as it stood, was one of the greatest prizes ever  
taken in Oriental warfare. The Turks had unquestioned title to its  
foods, its commodities of all sorts, its houses. It was a store-  
house of supplies most urgently needed for their peoples and armies.  
Why destroy it?

It was a matter of common knowledge, on the other hand, that  
the Armenians and Greeks were determined not to let this booty fall  
into the hands of their hated enemies. There was a generally ac-  
cepted report in Smyrna, for several days before the fire, that an  
organized group of Armenian young men had sworn to burn the city if  
it fell to the Turks. They certainly had motive enough, and if this  
was their plan, ruthlessly carried out, they paid a terrible price.  
No Armenian man, woman or child who was in the Armenian quarter after  
the fire started escaped alive. They were either burned or shot  
down by Turkish soldiers. The Turks committed atrocities enough  
without crediting them with others, to which they haven't a clear



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## XI. Conclusions

I presented in the preceding chapters outstanding examples of falsifications that some Armenians have resorted to in order to persuade readers or viewers to accept a particular interpretation of Armenian-Turkish relations, especially of the otherwise much-debated period around the year 1915. It is regrettable that the course employed is one of deception, and the ultimate purpose is an imposition of a selected version by way of propaganda.

On the other hand, the narration of the links and even interdependence of the Armenians and Turks have a history of some centuries, the overwhelming part being marked by mutual acceptance, tranquility and coexistence. It is no coincidence that it was an Ottoman Sultan who first recognized in 1461 (three decades before Columbus set foot on an island in the New World) the Armenian Gregorian Church as a separate Christian belief of a community that came to enjoy (by virtue of this legal recognition) the right of virtual autonomous existence with its own elected leaders, the authority to utilize its own language in speech, religious sermons and print, to work virtually in all professions in any part of the vast state (including as bankers, cabinet ministers and ambassadors), and the freedom to develop its own identity.

This kind of rapport continued until the arrival of the foreign missionaries, Protestant as well as Catholic, who persuaded a part of the Armenian elite and the younger generations that they represented a superior race (Aryan) and a religion (followers of Christ), so much worthier, according to them, than a secondary branch of the so-called 'half-breed Mongols,' and 'fanatical but inferior Muslims.' Quite a few of those crusading preachers, whose knowledge of the Turks and Islam was then almost nil, published such judgements even at the beginning of the 20th century. The origins of the 'education' of so many biased individuals in today's world go back to these early terribly slanted sources. The supposition of some Westerners that the Turks or Muslims are more unrighteous than some other people is a great error of judgement. Much mischief has been done, not only in the Middle East, but in some other continents, by this common wrong opinion.

Undeniably, these are racist theories, chock-full of pure and simple prejudice and discrimination, fortunately of little or no merit in our contemporary world. But

they were instruments of a policy as well, the guideline and practice of what should be labelled as “imperialism”, or great power expansion and its scheme of divide-and-rule. To divorce the “Armenian issue,” or the disputes of similar nature, from the affiliated concept of Western incursions into the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Oceania is an unscientific denial of a historical process. Those incursions used, not only diplomatic and economic, but also military and cultural means. Just as the British sent the Greeks to İzmir in 1919, the Russians in Caucasia and the French in the Eastern Mediterranean attempted to play off the Armenians against the Turks.

The adversaries of the Ottoman state, during the First World War, assisted sections of the Armenian minority to build up fighting troops, operative in the eastern and southern borders of Anatolia. They killed Muslim soldiers and civilians with Russian, French and British weapons. As the publications of the Armenian commanders and military historians admit, their armed participation in the hostilities was a case of self-importance, if not of arrogance. A historical fact that is discernible in some Western sources but much less universally known is the planned and extensive massacre of Muslims by the Armenians when the Ottoman state was preparing for general mobilization. It was this often neglected but indispensable truth, unpleasant for both the Armenians and the Turks, which led to the Ottoman decision to relocate and settle the bulk of that minority in areas away from the fighting zones. There was no government decision to kill them before, during, or after the relocation process. Nevertheless, some were attacked on the way; but the Ottoman Government was quick in demanding the punishment of the culprits even during the war years. While many Armenians returned home, some Muslims received capital punishment and long sentences. But in spite of a few hundred thousand murders in their conscience, no Armenian was ever tried by the Ottoman, Armenian, or foreign authorities.

Armenian falsifications, treated in this book, help to push a number of such crucial facts, unpleasant for the Armenians to admit, to the background. Unpleasant facts include Armenian armed revolt, mass slaughter of non-Armenians, and coordination with foreign armies against their own state. The resorting of some Armenians to falsifications was a series of repeated attempts to take a ‘short-cut’ to convince the less informed. This book reserved a section to each major falsification related to a document, a picture, a statement and the like. It does not claim to exhaust,

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however, the rather rich arsenal of Armenian falsifications. The average reader or the viewer does not usually have the means, time and expertise to test whether a picture is a photograph depicting an authentic scene or a well-drawn oil painting of a by-gone age. Similarly, it takes historical research to establish whether or not a statement may be legitimately attributed to a public figure. To ascertain the reliability or the worth of a public announcement is a matter for a trained historian, not a layman or even a decision-making politician.

Some legislators in the American continent and Western Europe, certainly not all politicians in all of these countries, may consider adherence to Armenian views a rewarding resource for nomination and election purposes. Many of those aspirants, who are not eager to study all pertinent aspects of the conflict, rubber-stamp a more convenient interpretation of events, no matter how remote it may be from historical facts.

I hope that this book has been of some service in demonstrating that efforts which were designed to smear a nation actually darken historical facts. On the other hand, no attempts of this kind can be found in Turkish publications.

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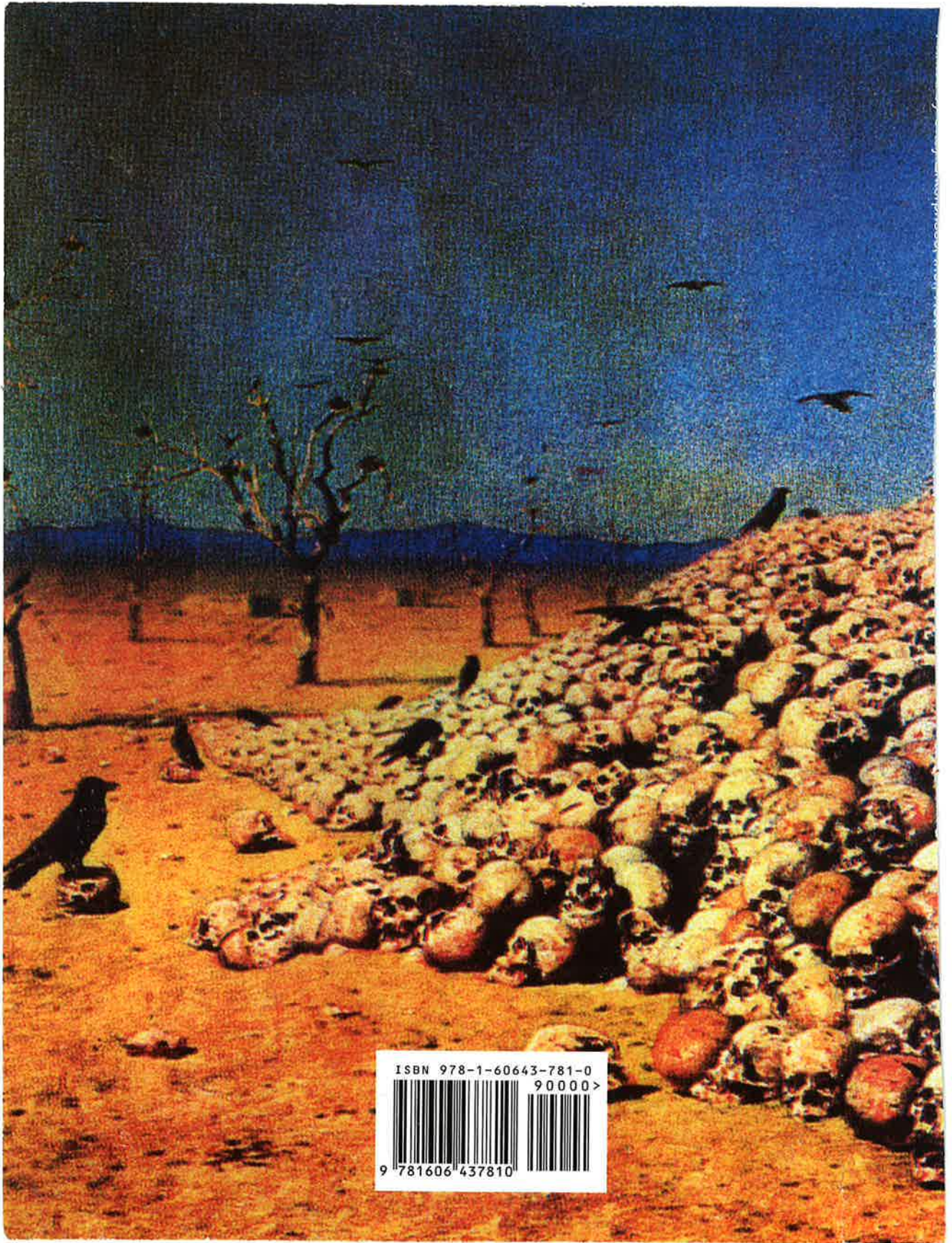
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