

**MEMORANDUM  
ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION**

## RESUME OF THE MEMORANDUM

The present memorandum refers to the Armenian Problem, the subject of which is not only a question of justice, but also one of the principal factors for a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Memorandum contains the following headings:

**THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION** — Armenia has from the earliest centuries of the Near East but has at all times been a center of culture and commerce, and a strategic position. The Armenians have always been a brave and patriotic people who have fought for the safeguarding of their freedom and independence.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, while the Balkan peoples were successfully waging a war for their liberation, the larger part of Armenia was under Turkish domination. The other part, relatively smaller, was under Russian rule.

The successive Turkish governments of the sultans, the constitutionalists and the Kemalists had all followed one thing in common. Indirectly they adopted the same inhuman policy of genocide and all the misery it entailed as the only means to solve the Armenian Question. The most horrible mass murders in history took place fifty years ago when two and a half million Armenians were systematically deported from their spiritual lands and exterminated in accordance with a plan minutely prepared by responsible Turkish leaders and heartily carried out by the entire Turkish nation under the supervision of all successive Turkish governments. Of the two and a half million Armenians subjected to the horrors of deportation and massacres, nearly one and a half million died in circumstances that defy description. Only a very meager remnant survived and, if not destroyed, and the Armenian territories were forcibly occupied and their legitimate owners were driven out.

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The present memorandum refers to the Armenian Problem, the solution of which is not only a question of justice, but also one of the principal factors for a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The memorandum contains the following headings:

1) A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION. — Armenia, one of the oldest countries of the Near-East, has at all time been a center of culture and commerce, and a cradle of civilization. All through its stormy political history, the Armenian people was compelled to carry on an unrelenting fight for the safeguard of its freedom and independence.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, while the Balkan peoples were successfully waging a war for their liberation, the larger part of Armenia was under Turkish domination. The other part, relatively smaller, was under Russian rule.

The successive Turkish governments of the sultans, the constitutionalists and the Kemalists had all conceived one thing in common. Indistinctly they adopted the same inhuman policy of genocide and all the devilry it entailed as the only means to solve the Armenian Question. The most horrible mass murders in history took place fifty years ago when two and a half million Armenians were systematically deported from their ancestral lands and exterminated in accordance with a plan minutely prepared by responsible Turkish leaders and flawlessly carried out by the entire Turkish nation under the supervision of all successive Turkish governments. Of the two and a half million Armenians subjected to the horrors of deportation and massacres, nearly one and a half million died in circumstances that defy description. Thus a very ancient civilization received a death blow, if not destroyed, and the Armenian territories were forcibly occupied and their legitimate owners were driven out.

The first international recognition of the sufferings and rights of the Armenian people came at the close of the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, by the treaty of San Stefano, Article 16 of which treaty stipulated the implementation of reforms in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In the same year, as a result of article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, the Armenian Question was internationally recognized as an official problem.

It is needless to point out that the provisions of the above said Articles were in no way implemented by successive Turkish governments.

At the close of the Balkan Wars, the Great Powers compelled Turkey to accept a new solution — the creation of two autonomous regions under the authority of two European High-Commissioners. This remained a dead letter as a result of the outbreak of World War I.

2) The second heading pertains to the DESCRIPTION OF THE GENOCIDE OF 1915.

3) The third part relates to the PARTICIPATION OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE IN WORLD WAR I and to the role it played in favour of the Allied cause. After the second Russian Revolution and for eight endless months, the Armenians, abandoned by all and decimated by the massacres of 1915, carried on the struggle alone on the Caucasian front. They were forced to retreat before an enemy far too superior in number and equipment, thus gradually evacuating the Armenian territories. But they fought with determination and heroism against the advancing Turkish armies, and thanks to the victorious battles of May 1918, they made the creation of the free and independent Republic of Armenia a reality. Independent Armenia was recognized by the concert of nations and its territorial claims were officially approved by the Treaty of Sèvres on August 10, 1920.

4) The fourth heading recalls the ARTICLES OF THE TREATY OF SEVRES PERTAINING TO ARMENIA as well as THE ARBITRAL VERDICT OF PRESIDENT WILSON concerning the boundaries between Armenia and Turkey. It also relates the circumstances in which Armenia lost its independence,

as a result of intrigues and attacks by Kemalist Turkey in collusion with Soviet Russia.

5) The fifth chapter sheds light on the ACTUAL NUMERICAL SITUATION OF THE ARMENIANS.

6) In conclusion, the sixth chapter indicates the necessity for all to condemn the genocide and to right the wrong done to the Armenian people. THE ARMENIAN PLATEAU MUST RECOVER ITS FREEDOM, ITS INDEPENDENCE, AS WELL AS ITS LEGITIMATE OWNER — THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE. This is in the interest of a just international equilibrium.

7) Finally the seventh chapter shows by which means a peaceful solution can be found to the Armenian Problem and a lasting peace secured for the Armenian Plateau and the neighbouring countries.

WITH THIS MEMORANDUM, WE ASK, IN THE NAME OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE, THAT ALL MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION INITIATE THE CREATION OF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATE OF ARMENIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY OF SEVRES AND THE WILSON AWARD AND ITS ADMISSION TO U.N.O. AS A MEMBER STATE WITH EQUAL RIGHTS.

THIS IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION — A SOLUTION WHICH WILL GREATLY CONTRIBUTE TO CONSOLIDATE PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST.



Note:

## THE DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

The delegation of the Republic of Armenia, which submits this memorandum, was created by the Parliament of the Independent Republic of Armenia in December 1918.

The first president of the Delegation was Avedis Aharonian. Dr. Hamo Ohandjanian and Mr. Mikael Babadjanian were members.

The Delegation of the Republic of Armenia went to Paris in January 1919. It submitted the political claims of the Armenian people to the Peace Conference at Versailles.

The Conference deferred the examination of the Armenian claims until the date of peace talks with Turkey. These talks resulted in the Treaty of Sèvres.

After the sovietization of Armenia, the Delegation undertook the task to carry on the defence of the Armenian cause in its integrity and to endeavour to secure the creation of a free, independent and united Armenia in accordance with the provisions of international treaties.

With the present memorandum, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the genocide of 1915, the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia submits once again to the international conscience the rights and legitimate claims of the Armenian people.

## MEMORANDUM ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

In 1965 the Armenians all over the world, including Armenia, commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, with a united will and a mass support. It is with this same will and determination that the Armenian people demand the liberation of the lands of their ancestors, forcibly occupied by Turkey, and the liberation and independence of Armenia as a single and united entity.

The Armenian people demand that their right to own the lands of their ancestors as their free and independent fatherland be respected — a right secured by international conferences and treaties — to enable them to assemble on their historic lands and accomplish their mission of constructive and peaceful work.

The creation of a free, independent and united Republic of Armenia comprising all the Armenian territories, which form part of the Middle East and which have become the arena for the rivalries of competing powers for centuries, will constitute an important factor contributing to the peace of the Middle East as a whole.

### A. — HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Armenia is one of the oldest historic lands of the Middle East, which extended from the shores of the Black Sea to those of the Caspian and the Mediterranean and inhabited by the Armenians since time immemorial. The Armenians belong to the Indo-European group and represent one of the oldest peoples and cultures of the Middle East. Their monuments of art, many of which have survived the acts of old and modern vandalism, bear eloquent testimony to their rich and distinct cultural past.

The history of Armenia is marked by prolonged periods of national stability and independence with frequent intervals of foreign domination and oppression. The successive waves of foreign invasions, however, were not able to curb the creative spirit of



the Armenians nor were they able to interrupt their contribution to world civilization.

After the fall of the Armenian independent kingdom in 1375 and as a result of the various Turkish-Persian, Russian-Persian and Russian-Turkish wars in the subsequent centuries, Armenia was partitioned into what was known as Turkish Armenia and Russian Armenia, the larger part going to Turkey.

While the Armenians lived a comparatively tolerable life under the Russian rule, the Armenians in Turkish Armenia strove to secure bearable conditions of life and guaranteed reforms in order to check oppression and prevalent injustice and to safeguard their national culture and their dignity as human beings. These aspirations formed the basis of what was later to be termed as the Armenian Question.

With the emancipatory struggle of the Balkan peoples during the first half of the nineteenth century and the consequent European intervention, the condition of the Armenians deteriorated.

The Balkan revolt resulted in the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-78 ending with a Russian victory. The San Stefano Treaty providing for reforms in Armenia (article 16) was greatly reduced in effectiveness by its substitute, the Treaty of Berlin, which provided under article 61:

"The Sublime Porte engages to realize without further delay, the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and the Circassians. She will periodically render account of the measures taken with this intent to the Powers who will supervise them."

Thus, the Armenian Question entered officially the international arena.

Turkey did not implement the obligations it undertook at international conferences and, taking advantage of the great power rivalry, embarked upon the 1894-96 massacres in the Armenian provinces, with the intention of solving the Armenian Question by annihilating the Armenians. These massacres cost the lives of more than 300,000 Armenians.

The Armenians, as a result of these massacres, resorted to self-defence for the preservation of their national and human rights.

Discontent spread not only among Armenians and the peoples of the Balkans, but also among the Turks themselves, as a result of which, a coup d'état was staged on July 10, 1908, and Turkey adopted a constitution.

The Armenians thought that, under the comparatively freer conditions of the constitution, reforms would be introduced in the Armenian provinces. But the Eastern Question which had occupied the minds of so many, especially the Balkan States, was placed again on the conference table. The combined forces of Bulgaria, Montenegro, Greece and Serbia attacked Turkey, defeated her and reached Tchataldja, 25 kilometers from Constantinople.

Consequently, the ambassadors of European Powers met in Constantinople and Bucarest to discuss peace terms between Turkey and the Balkan States, and the resulting peace settlement ratified the loss of Turkish territory to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria.

Constitutional Turkey continued the policy of the Sultan: there was neither decentralization for the Armenian provinces nor reforms. When the Balkan war ended, the Armenians demanded through their various national organs, that together with the settlement of the Balkan problems, the question of the internal autonomy of the Armenian provinces and of the reforms which were still pending since the Berlin Conference, be settled.

On July 3, 1918, upon the initiative of the Russian Embassy, a meeting of ambassadors is organised in the summer residence of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Constantinople where they accept to divide the seven Armenian provinces into two parts — the first including Trebizond, Sivas, Kharpert and Diarbekir, and the second including Van, Erzerum and Bitlis.

On September 3 of the same year, a six-point decision is reached by the Russian Ambassador, De Giers, and the German Ambassador, Wengenheim, in Constantinople, as follows:

1. — The Armenian provinces are divided into two administrative units.
2. — Two general inspectors are to be appointed with the consent of the Great Powers and by a decree of the Sultan.
3. — The two administrative units are to have each a general assembly where Christians and Moslems are to be represented equally.

4. — The power to appoint and discharge officials is vested in the general inspectors.
5. — Administrative, judicial and police officers to be recruited from among Christians and Moslems equally.
6. — The Great Powers reserve to themselves the right to control the implementation of the reforms, through their ambassadors and consuls.

On February 8, 1914, Russia and Turkey signed an agreement in this connection and as a result two general inspectors — Westenenk, a Dutchman, and Hoff, a Norwegian, were appointed.

In July 1914 the said inspectors reached Constantinople. Hoff even reached Van. They had hardly begun to execute their plans when the First World War broke out as a result of the Sarajevo incident and Turkey entered the war on October 12, 1914.

The Turkish government, taking advantage of the state of war, sent Hoff and Westenenk back to their countries.

#### **B. — THE MASSACRES**

With the outbreak of the first World War, the Turkish government taking advantage of the occasion, suspended the question of Armenian reforms, taking instead even more dire measures against the Armenians. The Turkish government was resolved this time to take advantage of the war in realizing the old policy of annihilating the Armenians. In the spring of 1915, when European powers were involved in a struggle of life and death, the Turkish government embarked upon the execution of the policy of mass extermination of the Armenians.

On April 24, 1915, mass arrests of prominent Armenian intellectuals and national leaders were made in Constantinople and in the provinces. They were exiled to the interior of Anatolia, where they perished, either on the way or upon arrival at their destinations.

The Armenian young men were drafted into the army but were to be disarmed after a short while and transferred to labour battalions. Later, they were to be massacred in groups. Thereupon, the helpless Armenian population was subjected to systematic deportations and massacres. Where it was difficult to deport, peo-



ple were burnt alive in villages and towns, and the majority of the survivors were massacred.

The rest of the deported Armenians — old men, women and children — upon reaching their desert destinations, were subjected once more to wholesale massacres.

In certain places (Van, Sassoun, Mush, Shabin Karahissar, Urfa, Musa Dagh), having heard of their fate elsewhere, Armenians resorted to self-defence with primitive weapons, saved part of the Armenian population or died a heroic death.

The Armenian massacres have been presented partly, together with numerous official documents and testimonies of eye-witnesses in Viscount Bryce's *THE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE 1915-1916* (a Blue Book submitted to the British Houses of Parliament) and in Dr. JOHANNES LEPSIU'S *DEUTSCHLAND UND ARMENIA 1914-18*. Professor Arnold Toynbee's "ARMENIAN ATROCITIES THE MURDER OF A NATION". Ambassador Morgenthau's "SECRETS OF ARMENIA", and Fridtjof Nansen's "ARMENIA AND THE NEAR EAST" are some of the sincere testimonies of eminent men.

#### THE RESULTS OF THE GENOCIDE OF 1915

The scheme was nothing less than the extermination of the whole Armenian population within the Ottoman frontiers (only Constantinople and Izmir had been spared, but massacres were also to take place subsequently in Izmir when the Turks defeated the Greeks and occupied the city in 1922.) Tala'at Pasha, the Turkish Minister of the Interior could boast that he had done in three months what Sultan Hamid could not do in thirty years.

Of the 2,026,000 Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire before 1915, 1,403,000 lived in Turkish Armenia.

As a result of the massacres and deportations planned and perpetrated by the Turkish Government against the Armenian people in 1915 and the subsequent years in Turkey in general and especially in Turkish Armenia, about half the Armenian population perished and the other half found shelter in mountains or was rescued by the advancing Russian armies or was saved through

heroic resistance. These survivors, throughout the period 1915-1918 clung to their lands, tried to rebuild their ruined homes, but finally had to retreat with the Russian armies and the Armenian volunteers to Russian Armenia where, in 1918 they took part in the desperate struggle for freedom against the Turks.

As a result of these massacres, deportations and the looting, the material and cultural wealth of the Armenians was doomed to destruction, an entire civilization was destroyed and the Armenians lost their homeland.

### C. — THE ARMENIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

During World War I the Armenians fought on the side of the Allies. They were hoping that the 1913 promises would materialise since Turkey had become an enemy of the Allies. Besides the 200,000 Armenian soldiers in the Russian army, there were 20,000 Armenian volunteers on the Caucasian front and another 5,000 volunteers fighting with the French and the British on the Palestine front as a separate unit known as the Armenian Legion. General Allenby and the Russian military leaders have greatly appreciated the participation of Armenian soldiers and their spirit of sacrifice.

In 1917, the first Russian revolution brought to power the Provisional Government which, in order to remedy the injustice done to the Armenians by the Czarist authorities, detached the Armenian territories occupied by the Russian armies from Russia and declared these to be Armenian occupied territories and appointed a vice-governor of Armenian origin, Dr. Zavriev. On the 25th of September 1917, when its days were numbered, the Provisional Government was finally admitting the right of self-determination of peoples.

The Soviet Government, on November 2/15 1917, declared the right of self-determination by a decree. On the 30th of the same month, Lenin and Stalin made a declaration recognizing the independence of Armenia and suggesting the formation of a democratic Armenian government. After a few days, on the 8th of January 1918, President Wilson of the United States of America



made a similar declaration concerning the peoples oppressed by Turkey, especially the Armenians.

These two declarations gave the Armenians a new impetus to carry on the struggle with greater determination.

In October 1917, when the Russian armies disintegrated as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Armenian elements of the Russian army stayed on to continue the fight on the side of the Allies. Without any help from the Allies, they continued the struggle and defended their territory, fighting alone for eight months on the fronts of Trebizond, Erzincan, Erzerum, Mush and Van. Retreating gradually, they reached the old Russian-Turkish border. Unfortunately, Bolshevik Russia was compelled to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, which gave Turkey, in addition to the territories occupied by Russia, Batum, Olti, Ardahan and Kars. The Turks, encouraged by this, advanced further and wanted to annihilate the survivors of the Armenian people, the way they had annihilated in 1915 the Armenians who were their subjects.

However, the Armenian forces and the entire Armenian people fought heroic battles in Sartarabad, Pash Aparan and Karakilisse, and defeated the Turkish armies on May 28, 1918, and on the same day declared the independence of Armenia. The new state was officially known as the Republic of Armenia.

On June 4, 1918, the Turks signed a peace treaty with Armenia in Batum and recognized the Independent Republic of Armenia.

The Armenian Republic survived within its narrow boundaries which it defended with determination, while the Armenians in Baku resisted the Turkish attacks and delayed the occupation of the oil wells by the Turks.

The Armenian Republic and the Armenian people bore the whole brunt of the Turkish onslaught alone.

On October 30, 1918, Turkey, defeated by the Allies, signed the Moudros armistice. The Armenian forces reoccupied Kars, Ardahan and Olti, and as a result, the Armenian Republic now covered an area of 54,000 square kilometers.

One year after its founding, Armenia was already an organised state, equipped with an efficient administrative machinery.

A large number of nations recognised its independence and exchanged diplomatic representatives. A delegation of the Armenian Government proceeded to Paris to take part in the Peace Conference.

The creation of the Independent Republic was the signal of a patriotic wave, rallying Armenians from all corners of the world, many of whom poured in their voluntary contributions to rebuild the fatherland.

In January of 1919, the Big Four — England, the United States, France and Italy — drafted a general formula defining the war aims of the Allies, which included the following paragraph concerning the subject races of the Turkish Empire:

"Because of the historic misgovernment of the Turks of their subject peoples and the terrible massacres of the Armenians and others in recent years, the Allied and Associated Powers are agreed that Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia must be completely severed from the Turkish Empire."

On January 19, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council recognised Armenia's independence and its government *de facto*.

Sent to Armenia by President Wilson, the American delegates, King and Krane and General Harbert studied on the spot the question of the boundaries of the Armenian Republic. In March 1920, on the proposal of Lord Curzon, the Supreme Council of the League of Nations recognised that the creation of an Armenian state and its admission to the concert of free nations was a duty for humanity.

The Peace Treaty with Turkey was signed at Sèvres on August 10, 1920. Armenia was represented at the Sèvres Conference and was a signatory of the treaty. The Treaty contained the following articles pertaining to Armenia.

#### D. — THE ARTICLES IN THE TREATY OF SEVRES PERTAINING TO ARMENIA AND PRESIDENT WILSON'S AWARD.

Art. 88 — Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognises Armenia as a free and independent State.

Art. 89 — Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, as to the demilitarisation of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier.

Art. 90 — In the event of the determination of the frontier under Article 89 involving the transfer of the whole or any part of the territory of the said Vilayets to Armenia, Turkey hereby renounces as from the date of such decision all rights and title over the territory so transferred. The provisions of the present Treaty applicable to territory detached from Turkey shall thereupon become applicable to the said territory.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Turkey which Armenia will have to assume, or of the rights which will pass to her, on account of the transfer of the said territory will be determined in accordance with Articles 241 to 244, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will, if necessary, decide all questions which are not decided by the present Treaty and which may arise in consequence of the transfer of the said territory.

Art. 91 — In the event of any portion of the territory referred to in Article 89 being transferred to Armenia, a Boundary Commission, whose composition will be determined subsequently, will be constituted within three months from the delivery of the decision referred to in the said Article to trace on the spot the frontier between Armenia and Turkey as established by such decision.

Art. 92 — The frontiers between Armenia and Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively will be determined by direct agreement between the States concerned.

If in either case the States concerned have failed to determine the frontier by agreements at the date of the decision referred to in Article 89, the frontier line in question will be determined by the Principal Allied Powers, who will also provide for its being traced on the spot.

Woodrow Wilson



Art. 93 — Armenia accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

Armenia further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

In accordance with the Sèvres Treaty, Turkey loses Iraq, Palestine, Hijaz, Egypt and Cyprus. The Treaty condemns the genocide committed against the Armenians in Turkey. The latter accepts to deliver to the Allies all persons held responsible for the massacres that took place in the Ottoman Empire during the war. These persons shall be tried before tribunals set up by the Allies. Turkey shall recognise the jurisdiction and the authority of the said tribunals.

Under the Sèvres Treaty appear the signatures of the British Empire, Italy, Japan, France, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

#### PRESIDENT WILSON'S AWARD

"Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, to whom it shall Concern,

Greeting:

Whereas, on April 26, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, in conference at San Remo, addressed to the President of the United States of America an invitation to act as arbitrator in the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, to be fixed within the four Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis;

And whereas, on May 17, 1920, my acceptance of this invitation was telegraphed to the American Ambassador in Paris, to be conveyed to the Powers represented on the Supreme Council;

And whereas, on August 10, 1920, a Treaty of Peace was signed at Sèvres by Plenipotentiary Representatives of the British

Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and of Armenia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Czech-Slovakia, of the one part, and of Turkey, of the other part, which Treaty contained, among other provisions, the following:

Article 89: Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier.

And whereas, on October 18, 1920, the Secretariat General of the Peace Conference, acting under the instructions of the Allied Powers, transmitted to me, through the Embassy of the United States of America in Paris, an authenticated copy of the above mentioned Treaty, drawing attention to the said Article 89;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, upon whom has thus been conferred the authority of arbitrator, having examined the question in the light of the most trustworthy information available, and with a mind to the highest interests of justice, do hereby declare the following decision."

Afer this introduction President Wilson draws the boundary in the provinces of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van and Bitlis between Turkey and Armenia, starting from a point about 9 kms. East of Girasson, proceeding South to Kemakh, a point on the Euphrates about 40 kms. west of Erzincan, then to southern Euphrates in the province of Genj, including the larger part of Sassoun and from there proceeding east, passing about 29 kms. south of Bitlis and joining the former meeting point of Iran, Armenia and Russia.

President Wilson concluded the award in the following words:

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in duplicate at the city of Washington on the twenty-second day of November, one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth.

**Woodrow Wilson**"



The Treaty of Sèvres was the recognition of the rights of the Armenian people and came as a reward for their contribution to the Allied war effort, since the Armenians had fought single-handed against the Turks in Caucasia after the withdrawal of the Russian forces, thus delaying the Turkish-German occupation of Baku, the oil centre, for seven months. The Armenians had also formed large volunteer forces to fight with the Russian armies on the Caucasian front and with the Allied forces in the Middle East, besides the large number of regular conscripts in the Allied armies.

Scarcely one month after the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres, in September of 1920, Kemalist Turkey, taking advantage of the rivalries between the Great Powers and with the active support of the Soviets, attacked the Republic of Armenia. Unaided by the Allied Powers, after a valiant defence, Armenia succumbed on December 2, 1920. About one third of the territory was annexed by the Turks, while the rest had to give in to a Soviet Ultimatum and accept the Soviet regime.

The Allies signed a new peace treaty with Turkey — the "Black Treaty of Lausanne" — in July 1923. The Lausanne Peace Conference relegated the Armenian Question to the category of unsolved matters.

The result was that not only Turkish Armenia was appropriated entirely by the Turks, but one-third of Russian Armenia was now forcibly incorporated into Turkish territory as well.

These territories still remain under Turkish occupation.

The remaining part, after the loss of its independence, is now one of the fifteen republics constituting the Soviet Union.

#### E. — THE PRESENT NUMERICAL PICTURE OF THE ARMENIANS

Soviet Armenia	2,000,000
Neighbouring Caucasian countries and Russia	1,500,000
Diaspora outside the Soviet Union	1,500,000

After fifty years the Armenians have reached and even surpassed the pre-1915 figures.

The above figures show that the great majority of Armenians live outside Soviet Armenia where the population density has now reached 70 persons per square kilometer, while the Armenian provinces in present-day Turkey (the old provinces of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Kars and Ardahan) present a very sparsely populated area with an average density of 10 per square kilometer. These same provinces had an average of more than 30 per square kilometer before 1914, when they were inhabited by a native Armenian population. These regions which were once so bountiful, now lie so desolate and "produce nothing but desolation".

Whereas the Armenians in the Diaspora are increasingly contributing towards world civilization by producing highly qualified and talented people in the fields of the arts, the sciences and in other expressions of human culture, the ancient historical Armenia now under Turkish occupation is reduced to a barren country where an ancient civilization is dying away.

The world would gain much if the Armenians were allowed to live together once again in their homeland and to reconstruct all that now lie in ruin. Through their creative ability they would decidedly bring prosperity and stability to these lands and thus greatly contribute to the advancement of civilization.

#### E. — CONCLUSIONS

1. — A genocide was committed against the Armenian nation in 1915 by Turkey, by planning and organizing the death of one third of the total number of Armenians.

2. — There are express provisions in international law against genocide. The Genocide Convention of 1948, the human rights provisions in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 expressly forbid such acts.

3. — To the argument that the above enactments are all *ex post facto*, it is answered that customary international law also contains provisions regarding crimes against humanity as evidenced by the Nuremberg Trials. Answering the German defence that the Tribunal was giving retroactive effect to the Nuremberg Charter defining the war crimes, the Tribunal stated that the Nuremberg Charter was declaratory of customary international law.

4. — Furthermore, the Genocide Convention of 1948 would also apply to the Genocide committed in 1915, without giving the convention a retroactive effect, because the genocide started in 1915 against the Armenians CONTINUES. It is a general principle of law that as long as a wrong continues and its effects continue to be felt, the date of inception of the act for the application of a subsequent law is irrelevant. The Armenians outside their native land are, or will be in the course of time, subjected to a gradual process of losing their cultural identity. Every time an Armenian loses his identity, it is the genocide planned and started in 1915 that continues to bear its fruits.

5. — On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the genocide of 1915 the world should unite to express its disapproval, abhorrence and horror of the act committed. It is important for our civilization, our values and notions of justice, that the Turks should not feel that they got away with it.

6. — Justice should be done to the Armenian nation by creating the possibility for Armenians to return to their homeland and to be allowed self-determination to enable them to contribute to the world civilization through their creative work along the lines of their distinct and ancient culture.

The principle of self-determination found in the United Nations Charter and the most basic elements of natural justice should convince the world that it is unfair to let a people so proud of its ancient culture, so attached to its identity, so conscious of its individuality and national characteristics, wither away into a slow death, when its homeland of thousands of years lies empty and desolate, ruined and destroyed.

7. — The Armenian Question is not only a matter of justice and conscience, but also a matter of international equilibrium, a question to which the peace of the Middle East is related.

The events connected with the Armenian Question over the past 150 years reveal the complications this question has caused. These complications have actually existed during the past 5,000 years, when Assyria, Chalde, Persia, Greece and Rome were the leading powers. Everytime Armenia, for some reason, has ceased to be a political unit, rivalries and wars have resulted. The cause of all this is the position of Armenia:



a) Pamir is the "roof of the world," while Armenia that of the Middle East. The Mossul-Alexandretta-Trebizond-Baku rectangle in which Armenia is situated is like a bridge between East and West or a castle dominating over the surrounding valleys.

b) The power which rules over part of the bridge (such as Russia and Turkey at present) will naturally seek to rule over the rest. The equilibrium resulting from a division of the bridge is temporary. This equilibrium can only be an armistice and never peace. This is abundantly evidenced by the history of the past 1800 years. At present the bridge is divided between two unequal parts. The larger part of Armenia is in Turkish hands and the rest in Russian hands.

c) We have seen that if the whole of Armenia had been occupied by Turkey in December 1917 the result of the First World War would have been different. Again, if the Germans had succeeded to pierce the Caucasian front and had occupied the Armenian plateau, the fate of the Middle East and indeed of the West would have been involved.

d) The Armenian plateau plays a role between East and West similar to the role played by Switzerland between France, Germany and Italy.

e) The giving of part of this buffer between East and West to Turkey — an antiquated policy — is a mistake proved by the last two wars.

The present situation is not a factor of peace and cannot be one. On the contrary, it is a latent and continuous cause for future wars which would harm both the local peoples and the world.

8. — The settlement of the Armenian Question, by bringing peace to the Middle East, will greatly contribute to the peace of the world.

There is no better means of securing peace than doing justice to all and everyone, than giving everyone his due. The past wars have abundantly made clear that the exploitation of a temporary advantage from a position of strength does not pay in the long run. Sooner or later, we all get our share of destruction and violence if the old game of power diplomacy is not ended and a determination to rebuild a new world with a stable future on the

basis of COMPLETE JUSTICE does not fill the hearts of the leaders of nations.

9. — In the light of what precedes, the Armenian Nation would like to see the matter presented to the United Nations General Assembly for a recognition of the rights of Armenians and of the necessity to do justice.

#### G. — THE WAY TO SOLVE THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

1. — It is evident that the Armenian Question cannot be solved unilaterally by one side imposing its will, and no peace in the Middle East and in the world can result from such a settlement. In order to bring a just solution to the Armenian Question in a manner which would contribute to international peace, it is necessary to have an understanding between East and West as regards the Armenian plateau and its fate, in the same way an understanding was reached regarding Austria after the Second World War.

2. — When the interested Great Powers of East and West realise the seriousness of the situation in the Middle East and the fact that the various partitions of Armenia throughout history simply resulted in a struggle to rule over the whole, thus giving way to quarrels and antagonism and making of Armenia a permanent cause of war, then they can reach an agreement and through mutual concessions they can create the united, free and independent roof, that is a free, independent and united Armenia, neutralised by an international guarantee. Such an Armenia would become a security for all and a factor in the maintenance of peace in the Middle East and through the world at large.

3. — When this understanding becomes part of our political thinking then it should not be difficult to explain to Turkey that her own interests require the creation of such an Armenia which would free Turkey from the permanent insecurity and the danger of invasion which she has always felt and thus would greatly contribute to the economy of the country.

4. — The other States of the Middle East surrounding the Armenian plateau will have no difficulty in demanding and consent-



ing in the creation of a free, independent and united Armenia on the Armenian plateau, inhabited and reconstructed once again by the real owners, the Armenians, who will establish friendly relations with their neighbours and negotiate constructive agreements for the benefit of all concerned.

5) The initiative of the Great Powers, East and West, is necessary for an understanding and for a solution of the Armenian Question in the United Nations and through the United Nations to secure the existence of a free and independent Armenia.

6. — All the States of the Middle East should demand of the Great Powers the solution of the Armenian Question, and should create the necessary atmosphere in the United Nations for a mutual understanding among the Great Powers, to return the Armenian lands to their real and only owners, the Armenian people, and constitute a free, independent and united Armenia, guaranteed by an international agreement, because the solution of this question is a condition for establishing peace in the Middle East.

7. — Not only the Middle Eastern States, but also all the small nations and states should defend the Armenian cause and the rights of Armenians, for the very sake of their own interest and independence. **As long as there is yet one country, one people,** the rights of which have been trodden upon, the fate of all small nations and countries is subject to the same danger.

For the very recognition of and respect for human rights it is necessary for all U.N. members, specially the small States, to raise their voice unanimously and demand of the Great Powers to reach mutual understanding and solve the Armenian Question by creating a united, free and independent Armenia, which, with a neutrality guaranteed internationally, will constitute the best and the only bridge of friendship and peace between east and west, north and south.

8.— The Armenians of Armenia and the Armenians dispersed all over the world, still very much disturbed by the blows they received and the loss of their country, demand the freedom and the independence of their homeland, within its historical and legal boundaries.

9. — With the present memorandum, we ask, in the name of the Armenian people, that all nations, large and small, initiate the creation of a free and independent Armenia in accordance with the Treaty of Sèvres and the Wilson award and its admission to the United Nations as a state with equal rights.

This is the only solution of the Armenian Question which can greatly contribute to bring stability and lasting peace to the area and the surrounding nations.

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