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account, it should be perfectly clear that its present ethnical structure is the consequence of centuries of oppression of the Slovene and Croat Julian March. It is obvious that the enclaves of Italian population are merely the result of foreign rule and of its violent and artificial methods.

ITALY'S CLAIM: A PAST INJUSTICE

When it is borne in mind that despite all this, the overwhelming majority of the population have preserved and even strengthened their Slovene or Croat national consciousness and developed their national culture, so to speak, underground, the question then arises as to whether there is any logic or the slightest moral justification for Italy's request that the Julian March should be returned to her. Does it not simply mean that Italy's claim to keep this territory under her authority and to pursue her policy of denationalization is based on the fact that she had in the past achieved by oppressive measures a certain degree of "success" in the denationalizing of a compact Slovene territory? I consider that the acceptance of such an attitude would mean the condemnation of moral principles existing in the relationships between nations. It is contrary to the most elementary conceptions of mankind that an historical wrong and injustice done to a small nation should be used to substantiate a claim to continue the oppression of that same nation. Italy has, therefore, from a political and moral point of view no justification whatsoever in claiming the Julian March or certain of its towns, Trieste for instance.

I repeat: In spite of this grim history marked by oppression, violence, nationalization, the present day population of the Julian March remains in its immense majority Yugoslav. If we consider the extent of this territory inhabited by the Slav and Italian population, this fact becomes even more evident. Our claim involves a territory of nearly 10,000 square kilometres. Over 9,000 square kilometres of this territory are purely Yugoslav, while there are only 800 to 900 square kilometres with a mixed Italo-Yugoslav population.

The question therefore is what is to be done with towns such as Trieste and a few small towns in western Istria with a larger or smaller Italian majority? Can they be separated from their

hinterland? I am of the opinion that the entire practice in post-war Europe proves that this is impossible. As regards the small towns in Istria including Pola and Fiume, the matter is obvious. They cannot possibly exist independently. The same applies to Trieste.

Trieste lives on the industry and commerce of its hinterland, which supplies it with manpower, develops its communications, etc. Thus it cannot be said that the Julian March belongs to Trieste, but on the contrary it can be said that Trieste belongs to the Julian March and its entire hinterland.

If, for instance, the point of view that Trieste should become part of Yugoslavia were not accepted, in this concrete case two possibilities would remain: either a completely Slovene hinterland would be annexed to Trieste, or else the country within whose borders this hinterland is included would be obliged to grant Trieste certain privileges in order to assure its existence.

Taking the first possibility, it would mean that Yugoslavia, that is the Slovene and Croat peoples, would once more have to sacrifice their territory and hundreds of thousands of their compatriots so that Trieste should be given to Italy. It would mean that in order that a town should be given to Italy, hundreds of Slovenes and Croats should lose their liberty, those Croats and Slovenes who have more right than anybody else to be free on that land for it is their native soil. One wrong cannot be corrected by making a second one.

I consider, gentlemen, that such a claim is devoid of logic, and justice, or moral and political justification. Besides, all the economic reasons speak against it. Furthermore, as the second alternative, it is hard to believe that Yugoslavia would agree to grant Trieste privileges which would only be detrimental to her economic interests if the town remained outside her borders.

There can, accordingly, be only one correct solution; the whole of the Julian March, which is an ethnic and economic entity, must form part of Yugoslavia while Trieste, being a town with an Italian majority, must be given such an autonomy as to ensure full equality of rights and all national rights to the Italian population. Within Yugoslavia Trieste would enjoy the status of a federal unit. It is therefore evident that all the national rights of the Italian population would be fully guaranteed.

Yugoslavia is, in addition to this, perfectly aware of the fact that the port of Trieste is also the port for all the countries which gravitate economically toward it and she would therefore grant Trieste the status of a free port with all the necessary transit facilities on her railways.

NEW YUGOSLAVIA'S TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

I should like to point out, in this connection, that the new Yugoslavia has proved in a short time that she respects the equality and the national rights of all the peoples living within her frontiers. Hungarian, Albanian and democratic Italian public opinion unanimously admit that their minorities in Yugoslavia enjoy all rights needed for the normal development of minorities. Contrary to this, the methods of violence applied both by fascist and pre-fascist Italy to her national minorities prove that national minorities should not be handed to Italy.

Such is the position as regards the Julian March from an ethnical, moral and political standpoint. A survey of the economic aspect of the problem leads us to the same conclusion. With the permission of the chairman, a survey of the economic aspect of the problem will be made later by another delegate. (See following statement by Mr. Leontic.)

The status of a federal unit, which is assured to it within the frame-work of Yugoslavia, will enable Trieste not only to participate as a distinct legal and political entity in the establishment of Yugoslavia's legislative system, but will offer every possibility of promoting its economic interest by taking a direct part in the work of the supreme legislative assembly.

The people of the Julian March have for centuries waged a relentless struggle for their freedom. The Slovene and Croat population of the Julian March has particularly in the course of this war accomplished miracles of heroism in the struggle against the Italian army, and later against the German army and Mussolini's bands. In 1942 a general people's uprising took place in this region. For three years the people of the Julian March fought arms in hand against superior Italian and German forces. Two of the corps of our Army formed at that time—the IXth and the XVth—consisted almost completely of men from the Julian March. The forces of liberation of the Julian March were

tying down 60,000 to 100,000 Italian troops and later about the same number of German troops. The Allied forces in North Africa were assisted in no small measure by the actions of the units of the National Army of Liberation operating in the Julian March. Owing to activities of our forces, the main Trieste-Ljubljana railway line could run only on 12.6% of its normal capacity, while all other railway lines worked on 16% of their normal capacity. Such are the figures given by Italian and German documents. Our units in the Julian March carried out 4,200 larger operations during the war against the units and the communications of the enemy. Many of the Allied officers who were in 1944 and 1945 among our men fighting in the Julian March bear testimony to this. Ever since 1943 these forces protected large areas of liberated Julian March from enemy attacks. In the course of a single period in 1944 there were simultaneously 45,000 fighting men from the Julian March in the fighting ranks of the National Army of Liberation, while there were 72,000 of them who fought with the National Army of Liberation at one period or another throughout the war. This amounts to 8% of the whole population. And this was done in spite of the forced mobilization carried out by the Italians and Germans.

The mobilization for the National Army of Liberation has been carried out voluntarily, and this fact alone sufficiently proves the fighting readiness of the population of the Julian March. The losses suffered by the Julian March in its struggle for freedom amount to 42,000 persons including both soldiers and civilians who gave their lives for the freedom of their country and for the common Allied cause. I do not dare even to think of the reactions and great disappointment of the population of the Julian March if their native land were again to be handed over to a foreign oppressor through some unhappy event, after all their efforts and sacrifices for liberty and the Allied cause.

A considerable number of Italians from Trieste and other towns in the Julian March fought during the war together with the Slovenes and the Croats. This common struggle firmly cemented the unity of the Yugoslavs and the Italians of the Julian March. The Italian population of the towns in the Julian March is fully aware that its future will be more secure if it remains

closely bound to its Yugoslav hinterland. The Yugoslav Government continually receives petitions from all parts of the Julian March signed both by Yugoslavs and Italians requesting that the Julian March become part of Yugoslavia. On the petitions up to now sent to the Yugoslav Government—and the Delegation has these petitions with them—there are 346,486 signatures which represent 53% of the adult population of the Julian March. There are very many petitions, however, that have not reached the Yugoslav Government; furthermore, this is a private and spontaneous act of the people, of whom a considerable number did not have the possibility of signing.

PEOPLE FEAR ITALY

There are a few more points I should like to make before concluding. In 1919 and 1920 Italy was given the Julian March as reward for her entry into the war. This was done against the wishes of the population of the Julian March. For 25 years Italy ruled this land by terror, concentration camps and murder, and has aroused among the population such feelings of fear and hatred that it would consider its being returned to Italy as the equivalent of a death sentence.

Italy exploited the Julian March as a military base for her expansionist policy directed against the Balkans and Central Europe. True to this policy she linked herself to Hitler and entered the war against the Allies. For four years Italy fought the Allies, attacked Yugoslavia, annexed a large part of Slovenia and Croatia, and devastated one third of Yugoslav territory. The Yugoslav National Liberation Army, according to Italian documents, constantly fought against 300,000 to 400,000 Italian troops. Can Italy, after all she has done, expect any right to lay claims to a territory populated by Yugoslavs who have during these last four years been fighting on the Allied side and rendering them great services?

Yugoslavia puts forth only one claim; that the desire of the population of the Julian March to unite with their native land and their free brothers, to whom they are linked by ties of history, speech, culture and economic interests, be respected. In this war Yugoslavia has given her utmost to the Allies. One million seven hundred fallen Yugoslavs are sufficient evidence of

that. Among them are the 42,000 from the Julian March. They died so that others may live in freedom. Is it possible to question to whom the Julian March should belong? Our entire people believed throughout the war that the liberation and unification of our people was one of the principal Allied war aims. The freedom of nations was the main watchword of the war. It would be a terrible blow to our people and their faith in the democratic aims of the war should this prove untrue. No one would be able to understand on the basis of what aims the Slovene and the Croat peoples would be thrown into slavery. For 13 centuries the Slovenes and Croats of the Julian March toiled as slaves of foreign masters and shed sweat and blood upon their native soil. Has not the time come for humanity to put an end to the tragic history of two small nations?

On the basis of all that has been stated, I have the honor to submit to the Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Five Great Powers in London, the following request with regard to the frontier between Yugoslavia and Italy:

- 1) The former Austro-Hungarian territory, inhabited mostly by South Slavs, and which was ceded to Italy after the first World War contrary to the principle of the self-determination of nations, should be joined to Yugoslavia.

- 2) As a basis for the determination of frontiers the former Austro-Hungarian frontier is taken, which is to be revised in certain places, so that the new frontier may to the greatest possible extent coincide with the ethnical boundary.

This frontier would start from the summit of Mount Rosskofel (Monte Cavallo, 2239m.) located on the former and present Austro-Italian frontier and would descend towards the South along the watershed of the upper course of the Bela (Fella) River and its right tributary, the Aupa River, that is across the summits of the Monte Cullar (1764m.) and Mount Zuc del Boor (2197m.), then across the Bela River between the railway stations of Na and Beli and Mozac. The line then continues South across the Mount Plauris (1959m.), Mount Lavre (Mount Lavera 1907m.) and Mount Kadin, and continues along the watershed between the rivers Tera (Torre)

and Tagliamento (Tilment), that is, across the peaks of Mount Lanez (Cuel di Lansis 1631m.). The frontier then turns south-east so as to include the towns of Tarcent (Tarcento) and the whole territory of the municipalities of Nema (Nimis), Ahten (Attinis), Fojda (Faedes), Torjan (Torreano) and Cedad (Cividale) and Cesta od Cedada (Cividale) up to Krmin (Cormons) should be part of Yugoslavia. The line here reaches the Idria (Judrio) River at the point of the Austro-Italian State frontier prior to 1918 and the subsequent frontier between the province of Gorica (Gorizia) and Udine (Udine). The line then follows the frontier between the province of Gorica and Trieste in the east and the province of Udine in the west, so that it follows mainly the course of the rivers Idria (Judrio), Ter (Torre), Soca (Isonzo) and along the northern and western borders of the municipality of Gradez (Grado) and finally reaches the Adriatic.

According to this, the former frontier would be revised in its southern sector in Italy's favor and in its northern sector in favor of Yugoslavia. Such a correction of the old Austro-Hungarian frontier would mean the cession to Italy of 198 square kilometres with a population of 28,000, while Yugoslavia would receive 900 square kilometres with a population of 80,000.

3) This line deviates from the ethnical boundary in three sectors: between Mount Roskofel (Monte Cavallo) and Lavra (Mount Laura), at certain points in the sector between Tarcento and Krmin (Cormons) and in the sector between the Idria (Judri) River and the Adriatic coast west of Trzich—this for economic, particularly communications, reasons.

4) The city of Trieste is to receive the political, legal status of a federal unit within the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

5) Yugoslavia will extend to the Port of Trieste the status of a free port with the corresponding transit railway traffic facilities.

I reserve the right to submit in writing the above requests in detail, as well as all the others which pertain to the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Italy.

II.

STATEMENT BY MR. LJUBO LEONTIC

Yugoslav Ambassador in London

From the economic point of view, the Julian March is of primary importance for Yugoslavia as, and vice versa, Yugoslavia is to the Julian March. The one is directed towards the other by fate, by reason of a geographical fact of great importance. On its territory lies the most favorable, if not the only, route from the Sava basin and the Pannonian Plains, to the Adriatic. This is the route through Hrusica. To the north of this passage there are the first Alpine mountain chains and to the south the system of the Dinaric mountains. This latter system runs parallel with the Adriatic coast, ascending abruptly from the coastline and penetrating deeply, almost to the heart of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so as to create an almost unsurmountable barrier to communications from the interior to the Adriatic ports. Therefore all through history all the important lines of communication from the sea to the East have run through the Julian March. Here was built the first Roman route in the direction of Pannonia. Here passed the Argonauts and the Roman Legions; and here also passed the peoples in the Great Migration.

In more recent times, in the time of the development of world commerce, this route began to play a very important economic role. Along it went the basic trade-route from the Sava Plains and from Central Europe to the Adriatic Sea. Here also was constructed the first modern highway and later the first railway line. Because of all this there developed in the last two centuries, in the most favorable place of the northern Adriatic, the greatest port of the then Austro-Hungarian Empire—Trieste.

The economic role of Trieste is therefore most precisely defined by its natural situation. Trieste originated as a port for its northeastern hinterland. As such it has remained until today.

A great deal of the natural hinterland of the port of Trieste

belongs to Yugoslavia. Therefore Trieste is the main and the most natural port of Yugoslavia.

How strong is this geographical fact, is best demonstrated by the maps of the railway network on Yugoslav territory and in the more distant hinterland, in the time before the first World War and the time after it. Before the first World War, no political frontiers existed between the northern Yugoslav territory and Trieste. After that war, Trieste was divided from its hinterland by the Italo-Yugoslav frontier of Rapallo, but none the less the railway system on the Yugoslav territory retained the same characteristic lines. The main line goes along the river Sava which at Zidini Most joins the line Vienna-Maribor-Trieste, and all the other railway networks incline towards the line of the Sava.

Despite the political frontier, this whole system gravitates towards Trieste. The only effect of the frontier has been that, in the period from 1918 to 1941, the traffic was diverted from its natural route to the sea to the very unfavorable line Zagreb-Karalovac-Susak.

All the other lines of northern and central Yugoslavia connecting with the sea remained, so far as world trade is concerned, unimportant because of their inadequacy, for they run through the very rugged Dinaric mountain system, which practically shuts off Central Yugoslavia from the Adriatic.

The frontier of Rapallo was, therefore, from the economic point of view detrimental to Yugoslavia and to Trieste alike. This frontier separated Yugoslavia from her natural port and also separated the port from its natural Yugoslav hinterland.

Moreover, this frontier was not detrimental to Yugoslavia alone; it was also an unnatural, artificially-created frontier, drawn against all reason, between Trieste and its Central European hinterland. This frontier is an imposed frontier which cannot be justified, either ethnographically or historically; and even less for economic reasons or the interests of other countries of its hinterland. All the basic connections of Trieste with its hinterland, i.e. the main highway and the main railway lines, run through the place already mentioned, Hrusice, which is situated in the center of the Slovene ethnical territory, within the very frontier-line of Rapallo. Passing Hrusice, the highway and also the railway line runs further upon the Slovene ethnical territory,

through Ljubljana and Maribor to St. Ilj—a distance of over 300 km. Furthermore, Trieste is connected with Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia only through Yugoslav territory.

All this means that Yugoslavia holds the key to the connections of Trieste with Central Europe. Yet, despite these undeniable facts, Trieste was assigned to another country—Italy—and was thus cut off from Central Europe.

All these circumstances had very serious consequences, which were especially grave for Trieste itself.

SUSAK INADEQUATE

Yugoslavia was compelled to use as her main port Susak, which was for her far from favorable. This poor, artificially-constructed seaport did not possess the conditions necessary for its development into a port which could handle the traffic of Yugoslavia. The Central European countries also began to direct their traffic to other ports, such as Venice and Hamburg, while Trieste was left to decline.

The seaborne tonnage alone, passing through Trieste, dropped from 2,314,000 tons in 1913 to 1,312,580 tons in 1932. Later, especially since 1937, the tonnage increased, however, but this occurred primarily with a view to war preparations.

The only rational solution for Trieste as a port would be that it should belong to that country which forms its hinterland, that is, to Yugoslavia. Trieste is necessary to her as her natural outlet to the sea and Yugoslavia alone, while possessing all the connections with the hinterland, is capable of raising Trieste to its former prosperity as an outlet to the sea for the whole of Central Europe.

Furthermore, Trieste is linked with its natural hinterland not only as a port but also as an industrial center. Since it has no waterway leading to its hinterland, but only railway and road connections, it has followed that in the city itself and around it, as well as along the railway line leading towards Ljubljana and Maribor, there have developed various industries which manufacture from the raw materials brought in by sea.

These industries, with the exception of iron ore, crude oil and other raw materials coming in by sea, are also dependent on the raw materials from the interior. Yet even these raw materials imported through the same natural way as the half-manufactured

products and all the goods in transit are exported. In short, they all come from Yugoslavia, especially timber, coal, etc. In other words, Yugoslavia is the main consumer of the products of Trieste and the main supplier of the materials which the industries of Trieste required from the interior.

All this determines Trieste as an integral part of an industrial entity which Trieste forms with the northwestern Yugoslavia.

To detach Trieste from its natural hinterland would mean to divide a natural industrial entity into two separate parts. Therefore, parallel with the decline of the traffic through Trieste during the period of the Italian domination since 1918, came the reduction of its industries.

Trieste, as a port, as well as an industrial center, can, therefore, have its future secured only when in Yugoslavia, while to give it to Italy would mean its economic ruin.

The decisive and close economic connection of Trieste with its natural hinterland has always been clearly reflected in the attitude of the people of Trieste. From the 12th century, Trieste was constantly at war against its economic rival, Venice. The end to this struggle only came when Trieste, in order to rescue itself from Venice, threw itself into the arms of the Hapsburgs who were then the rulers of its natural hinterland. That is why Trieste was against its incorporation into Italy in 1848. Therefore, the greatest Italian democrat of that time, Mazzini, considered coveting Trieste for Italy as senseless.

The people of Trieste showed the most determined resistance against Fascism; for Fascism meant predominance of Italy over Trieste. It is known that Trieste was one of the most persistent and consistent antifascist cities of Mussolini's Italy. And it is for this reason that the large majority of its population is now asking for incorporation into Yugoslavia.

Italy is in no need of Trieste. With no organic or economic ties with its hinterland, Trieste—be it under the Italian or any other sovereignty but the Yugoslav—would be a dead port.

Instead of becoming a great emporium serving the interests of the whole of its hinterland for the exchange of goods of all peace-loving peoples of the world—Trieste would become the breeding ground of new conflicts which would endanger all the achievements of culture and civilization of mankind.

III.

STATEMENT BY MR. SAVA KOSANOVIC

Minister of Information

I shall not deal with questions which are being explained by geographic and ethnographic experts. I shall attempt to confine myself to the general political aspects of the Adriatic problem and the Italo-Yugoslav relations.

I shall give you certain facts.

The Adriatic problem is a European problem, and it can not and must not be solved unilaterally. Not only are the peoples of the Adriatic coast interested in its just solution but also the peoples of Europe and the world.

The mistake made by Italy, a great mistake, one which contributed to provoking a world conflict, was that Italy attempted with all means to make of the Adriatic an Italian sea—*Mare nostrum*—contrary to the interests of world peace. In doing so, Italy did not bear in mind that in presenting this problem unjustly she might cause a world catastrophe.

Let us look at what happened during the first world war. Italy was for many years the ally of Germany and Austro-Hungary. Taking advantage of the general conditions in the world (and the position of Great Britain and France) Italy abandoned her former alliance and concluded the secret London Pact on April 26, 1915, according to which for her participation in the war she was to acquire parts of Austro-Hungary which were not considered as being the ethnically purest Yugoslav territories, from Trieste with the exception of a small area up to Split, in Dalmatia, then Valona in Albania, in order to shut off Otranto and the Dodecanese.

Italy's intention was to acquire positions on the eastern Adriatic and to penetrate with all her might into the Balkans. It did not occur to her that it was detrimental and dangerous for her to oppose the principle of "Balkans to the Balkan peoples."

Serbia, which was attacked by Austro-Hungary and Germany in 1914, waged war on the side of the democracies for her national survival and for the unification of all South Slavs—Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Serbia never recognized the secret London

Pact which ceded to Italy—without asking the people concerned—over 650,000 Slovenes and Croats, the nationally most conscious element with a high level of civilization.

The First World War, largely through the participation of the United States and the influence of President Wilson, ended—in spite of all difficulties—with the theoretic victory of the principle of the self-determination of peoples, and the principle of democracy was set as the basis of the new order. Italy, however, as one of the victors, insisted upon the realization of the terms of the London Pact, contrary both to the self-determination of peoples and democracy.

The Yugoslavs for their part requested—and they were greatly supported in this by President Wilson—self-determination and pure ethnical boundaries with their neighbors. Morally, we were much stronger than Italy. Unfortunately, however, we were actually faced with great difficulties, misunderstanding and distrust. Because Italy was a great ally, she insisted upon this injustice, despite the fact that the Yugoslavs were allies also. The arguments Italy used—thereby bringing the Allies into a very difficult position—were as follows:

Italy has the agreement in her hands as well as the obligations undertaken by Great Britain and France; Italy gave 500,000 lives in the struggle; Italy is one of the victors; and as the most important, an argument *ad hominem*: Italy must receive strategic frontiers, frontiers which are to ensure her against German aggression, frontiers which are to give her military supremacy. And in addition to this Italy argued that, being a civilized nation, she would give full national protection to the Yugoslav minority.

ITALY'S 1919 ARGUMENTS

Yugoslavia, which was just being born through the unification of Serbia and Montenegro with the Yugoslav volunteers from Habsburg monarchy—according to Italian attacks—did not give evidence of confidence—for there exists the danger—they said and wrote—of the Yugoslavs uniting with the Germans at the first opportunity against Italy and the Western democracies. Orlando even refused in 1919 to have talks with the Yugoslav Foreign Minister Trumbic.

This idea was dominant in the arguments not only of the future Fascist Federzoni and Gaida, but also in the words of Orlando, Sonnino, Bonomi, and even Count Sforza—the representatives of liberal democracy in Italy of that time. It would be fitting for me to cite several quotations taken from the memorandum of the Italian delegation dated February 7, 1919, in Paris:

“The requests of Italy, which in addition to the ethnical principle, are based on the need of security against any possible attack, do not represent any threat to others, but are only to prevent any possible danger for us.”

“If the zones, where the Slavs are numerous, were given to some other state, they would become the focal point of acute nationalistic powers inimical to Italy.”

“With the Julian boundary extending to Fiume and Quarnero the Italian inferiority on the Adriatic would be lessened, but not completely removed. This inferiority hampers her, which is to the general detriment of peace in Europe. . . . In order to remove this danger which threatens it, Italy must receive considerable part of Dalmatia and the islands.”

“Since Germany has been deprived of direct influence in Trieste, there exists the possibility that she might attempt to acquire supremacy over Fiume, if the latter were in the hands of a new weak Slav state which in turn may easily become a weapon in the hands of Germany.”

Thanks to the determined intervention of the Allies, the Pact of London was not recognized in its entirety, but the absurd position was reached that Zadar on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic and all of the Julian March with 650,000 Slovenes and Croats remained in Italian hands. The Adriatic problem, through the insistence of Italy, was solved contrary to sound principles. But the Yugoslav population which was left to Italy expected to enjoy a civilized life. It expected that its national existence would be assured without having recourse to any international guarantees. At the same time some 4,000 to 5,000 Italians in Yugoslavia received international protection so that they had in

Yugoslavia not only their own schools with teachers from Italy, but later even Fascist organization in the heart of the Yugoslav population.

It was precisely in Fiume that D'Annunzio with the Arditi from Italy organized the first pre-Fascist attack against the Allies and psychologically prepared for Mussolini's March on Rome.

On the Yugoslav territory, in the Julian March, in Italy, in Trieste and in other places, attacks against Yugoslavia began as early as 1919 and 1920. Publishing offices and papers were destroyed, National homes were burnt, cultural monuments were removed. All this happened during the rule of liberal democracy only to become under Fascism perfected into a system of complete persecution of the Yugoslav inhabitants, who had retained their national survival in this territory during 15 centuries. Their language was prohibited even at divine services; of the 500 Slovene and Croat schools no single one remained. The inscriptions on tombstones were changed into Italian names. All this was a prelude to that serious illness which humanity only after a supreme effort of all its healthy forces managed to overcome in World War II.

This period of aggression, of overbearing chauvinism, emanated from Fascist Italy. She introduced it among the nations and even into the League of Nations. It was this spirit that gave rise to the attack on Ethiopia, Albania, Spain, Greece, France and Yugoslavia—to the tremendous damage not only of the attacked nations and humanity, but also to the detriment of the Italian people and those positive forces which Fascism tried to annihilate.

Yugoslavia—although she was forced after World War I to make all concessions to Italy—was not left to consolidate her life peacefully. All the attempts made to bring trouble into her life originated in Italy, from the very beginning up to the end of this war. I will not mention many examples, it is sufficient to recall the camp of Borgotore, where the most hardened criminals were schooled, and then sent into Yugoslavia to commit assassinations, stir up national hatred and disorganization long before the second world war. Mussolini and Ciano actively participated in the organization of the assassination of King Alexander in 1934. From Italy there came to Croatia with the Italian Army

IV.

REPLY OF MR. EDVARD KARDELJ

to views of the Italian Government

It is the wish of the people of Yugoslavia to live in peace with the Italian people. We have proved this in practice by the way in which we disarmed the Italian Army after its capitulation and by our treatment of Italian civilians in Yugoslavia and in the areas of Italy which the Yugoslavs have occupied. But friendship cannot be established by words alone. The history of Yugoslav-Italian relations has been filled with disagreements; and for the last thirty years Italy, in combination with Germany, has been a country from which misfortune has always come for Yugoslavia. It is therefore wrong to say that the friendship between the two countries has only been undermined during this war. It was undermined in the last war by the London Agreement, by which the Italians claimed not only the Julian March but the Dalmatian coast.

It is not true to say that Yugoslavia freely accepted the Rapallo Treaty or that that Treaty represented a stable agreement. That Treaty was concluded only after five years of continual struggle by Yugoslavia against the London Agreement, and after two years of difficult and determined negotiations during which Italy adhered to a thesis which would have meant continued slavery for hundreds of thousands of our people.

The same is true of the Wilson Line, which was put forward, not as an ideal frontier, but as an attempt to compromise between the obligations of the Allies to Italy and the views of the people of Yugoslavia. It left to Yugoslavia in the Julian March 200,000 people of whom 30,000 were Italians. To the west of the line were 750,000 inhabitants, of whom 450,000 were Yugoslavs. It therefore represents no sacrifice by Italy in the cause of peace in the Adriatic.

The Italian representative rightly said that Trieste could not

develop naturally without proper communications with the hinterland. He therefore demanded that over half a million Yugoslavs should be annexed to Trieste and that Yugoslavia should give Italy special privileges on the railways. This claim recalls the mentality of egoism and territorial ambition which has led Italy to catastrophe in this war.

As regards the mines on the eastern shore of Istria, in territory completely inhabited by Croats, the Italian representative based his argument on the thesis that Yugoslavia already has 16 anthracite mines and is rich in coal, whereas Italy has very little. These facts are not correct. Yugoslavia has no anthracite mines. Before the war Yugoslavia imported annually 200,000 tons of coal. She also imported all the special types of coal required for her heavy industry, and coal is now more than ever necessary to Yugoslavia. It is, however, more important to realize that, in this kind of thinking, one can see the same mentality on the part of the Italians of which I spoke earlier. Italy has no coal and therefore want Istria. She also has no oil and so tomorrow will demand Albania. This reminds one of the old arguments of Fascist Italy. I see nothing democratic or just in the argument that people should lose their national liberty because of one coal mine.

There are many other errors in the statement made by the Italian representative, and that is particularly true as regards ethnical statistics. The Italian figures have no real basis. It is true that there are no reliable statistics about the nationalities in the Julian March: such statistics as do exist are all aimed at reducing the apparent numbers of the Yugoslav population. If any credence is to be given to any of these statistics, most attention should be paid to the figures of the Austrian census of 1910, though even those were directed against the Slovene population. But even on those figures the Slovene population was in the majority, and Salvemini has admitted this on the basis of the Austrian statistics.

Practical experience during the war shows clearly where the Julian March begins. In the zone under Allied occupation on the side of the ethnographical frontier inhabited by Yugoslavs there is not a single village where a Slovene or Croat Liberation Committee has not been established. Those Committees continue

to exist today. None of these villages has accepted an Italian Commissioner or disavowed its own National Liberation Committee.

It is true that there is no such thing as an ideal ethnographical line. But this line is the nearest thing to it. Hardly any mixed boundary belt exists; there is a sharp line almost everywhere between the Slovene and the Italian villages; only the towns are areas of mixed population.

As regards the political arguments adduced, the Italian representative said that Yugoslavia had deported thousands of Italians from the Julian March and referred to their suffering in Zara. I do not know what he had in mind. It is true that in the first days of the Yugoslav occupation of this area many Fascists fled into Italy. It is also true that Mussolini's Italian troops fought in this area, and that many of them were killed and captured. But the prisoners have been released from the camps in Yugoslavia, and, if some have not yet returned to Italy, there cannot be many such. There are no Italian civilians interned in Yugoslavia. Even in the foreign newspapers which are hostile to Yugoslavia, the largest figure given for Italians who have "disappeared" in Yugoslavia and the Julian March is 3,000. As regards Zara, this has a population of only 14,000 and all its inhabitants are still living there.

I can understand that the Italian representative is interested in the Italian minorities in Yugoslavia, for the Italian Government has done all in its power to ensure that this minority while living in Yugoslav territory should continue to enjoy its full national life. He did not, however, mention Italy's responsibility for what the Italian army has done in Yugoslavia during the war. The Italian army occupied one-third of the territory of Yugoslavia and, up to the time of her capitulation, 437,956 Yugoslavs, civilian and military, had been killed in this area, 131,250 had been disabled, 7,450 had been held as prisoners of war, 109,437 had been interned in concentration camps (this figure did not include the population of the Julian March), 84,512 had been employed on forced labor, 122,430 had been deported and 87,215 had been forcibly mobilized.

The Italian representative asked that we should forget what Italy has done. This is the argument used by the Japanese. The

sacrifices of Yugoslavia during the war have been enormous. I do not demand revenge, nor do I demand that our frontiers should extend into Italian territory. All that Yugoslavia demands is that the Julian March should be given to Yugoslavia and that its people should be reunited with their brothers.

To make Trieste a free city under an international regime is no solution from either the economic or the political point of view. The economic argument on this point was given this morning. As regards the political argument, Fiume is not a good precedent. It was a free city up to the time that the Italians occupied it. The same might happen in the case of Trieste if it were left with Italy. If it were restored to Yugoslavia, all the countries interested in the port would have a guarantee that their economic interests will be protected by Yugoslavia under whose control it will be a free port, as was stated this morning.

I appeal to the Council to give the closest attention to our case, since peace cannot be permanently established until the right of the smaller nations to live their own lives freely and in peace is guaranteed.

MR. EDVARD KARDELJ

From a speech at the First Session of the United Nations

Assembly in London, January 1946.

Yugoslavia is one of the European countries which has suffered the most severe casualties and most considerable material losses as a consequence of the German, Italian and satellite aggression. The peoples of Yugoslavia have done all that was in their power during the war for the common cause of the United Nations. They will now contribute everything within their power in order to participate in the building of the peace, together with all peace-loving nations.

At the same time, Yugoslavia wishes to draw the attention of the United Nations to a fact which concerns her more specifically, and which at the same time is part and parcel of the general peace. The German and Italian onslaught was in fact a continuation of the century-long violent pressure exerted from the same side on our peoples, a pressure which was constantly accompanied by aggressions, national oppression, violence, a policy of renationalization and the forcible pushing back of our ethnical frontiers towards the east.

Our people fought in this war, regardless of sacrifice, in the conviction that they would finally repel this pressure, and secure for themselves a free development on their entire ethnical territory. The fascist aggressor has been defeated in this war.

Can we, however, consider that it has been really destroyed and that the preliminary conditions for a firmly established peace in this part of Europe exist in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, if this same aggressive pressure is to reappear on the same frontiers?

We do not consider that we can. I should say such a peace would be unjust and unstable, if it would not prevent the aggressors of yesterday from oppressing anew and endangering other small nations. The solution of such questions will be the test case for the proper application of the principle on which future peace is to rest.

MAPS

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KEMALIST THRUST ASSOCIATION
(KEMALİST ATILIM BİRLİĞİ)

Nr. : 2

THE CURTAIN OF FEAR

ANKARA - 1989

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THE CURTAIN OF FEAR

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INTRODUCTION

Armenian allegations to the effect that an "Armenian massacre" was committed during the 1915 shift of settlements in the Eastern Anatolia, are being unveiled and the actual facts behind these allegations are being exposed to the public through scientific studies. Being aware of the fact that it is the Armenians who have continually put on the agenda the events of 1915 and that the foreign sources have endorsed the justified Turkish case, Kemalist Atılım Birliği (Kemalist Thrust Association) has published a book called "The Curtain of Fear".

In the book the reader will find: Russian Orthodox Archbishop Rev. Paulos' letter in which he protested the pro-Armenian ARD TV programme of 29 April 1986; the words of Georges De Maleville "The truth will become widespread all by itself"; the statement by Erich Feigl "What about the Muslim Victims?"; the report (available at the British Imperial Archives) from Mr. Palgrave, the British Counsol at the time, to Lord Stanley; a letter by the Russian Regional Inspector Dr. Haraşenko, in which the Turkish massacre by the Armenians after the 1877-78 Russian-Turkish war is described; documents from the Ottoman archives; and the extracts from the works of Mr. David G. Hogarth and Sir Mark Sykes. In "The Curtain of Fear" effort is made to throw light on the Armenian propaganda endeavours destined to entice eyes and minds of the people, and to reflect sheer historical facts.

KEMALİST ATILIM BİRLİĞİ

THE CURTAIN OF FEAR

In addition to its attempt of placing a veil on the historical facts by the use of imaginary material such as "The Andonian document" as its source, the Armenian propaganda machinery has also done its utmost to plant shadows of doubt in the minds of people through unsound allegations like the so-called "Armenian massacre".

Why the Armenian clergymen, who-using every conceivable means-have done their best to deceive the communities and to instigate the Christian world towards fanaticism, have continually wanted to show the Turks as a nation in the habit of committing massacre? What is the actual reason of the reluctance shown to an unbiased view point pertaining to this question?

In fact, the underlying reason behind these endeavours is to see to it that the actual "Turkish massacre" savagely committed by the Armenian band of skirmishers, are forgotten.

However, falsifications do not survive long enough to hide the facts and the truth.

Even today the world public opinion has become the eye-witness of the mass graves belonging to the muslim population slaughtered by the Armenian bands in the Eastern Anatolia. It is believed that many others, yet undiscovered, are waiting their turn of display at the Museums of Massacre. Through their research and excavations, unbiased historians and scholars are offering to the world public opinion their findings on the facts, which were and still are being tried to remain uncovered.

In line with the Islamic principles, the Ottoman State persued a tolerance-based administrative policy vis-à-vis the minorities. It was

this policy that provided Armenians the opportunity of maintaining their existence. Ironically enough, however, the Armenians always made special effort to refrain from making any reference to the minority policy pursued by the Ottoman State. This State policy, which was firmly based on good-will and tolerance, has also been adopted by the young Turkish Republic. This is known better than anybody-else by the Armenians who live in Turkey today. Turks of Armenian descent live a prosperous life, enjoying the freedom of religious belief and the equality of civic rights.

Memories of the dark days are bound to remain in minds, no matter what is done to keep them off. Unbiased studies on the Armenian Question has revealed the fact that the efforts made to put the blame of 1915 shift of settlements on the Turkish nation were nothing but a totally erroneous initiative. The ones that really had to be blamed for were the imperialist states who deceived and instigated the Armenian community. It is a common knowledge that today's wars are waged not on the front lines, but at the rear. The Russian military front in the Eastern Anatolia made no exception. In order to prevent further damage in the rear of the Ottoman army and to remove the detrimental groups and persons from the area of operation and from the critical regions of the country, a legislation (shift of settlements) was enacted. By the legislative thus entrusted, people coming up against the State and living in the Eastern Anatolia were removed from that region of the country. These detrimental groups of people included Turks as well. The aim of the legislation was to provide a more secure settlement to the Armenians, and certainly not to cause massacre, as they have so far claimed. Members of foreign consular offices serving in the Eastern Anatolia in that period, personally eye witnessed the foregoing facts. For reasons of national interest, however, the historical facts were veiled and hidden by putting the blame on the Turks. In fact, during their occupation of Istanbul after the First World War the Entente Powers could not substantiate the claims of "Armenian massacre". Furthermore, even at the present period seeds of hatred and feud are being planted in

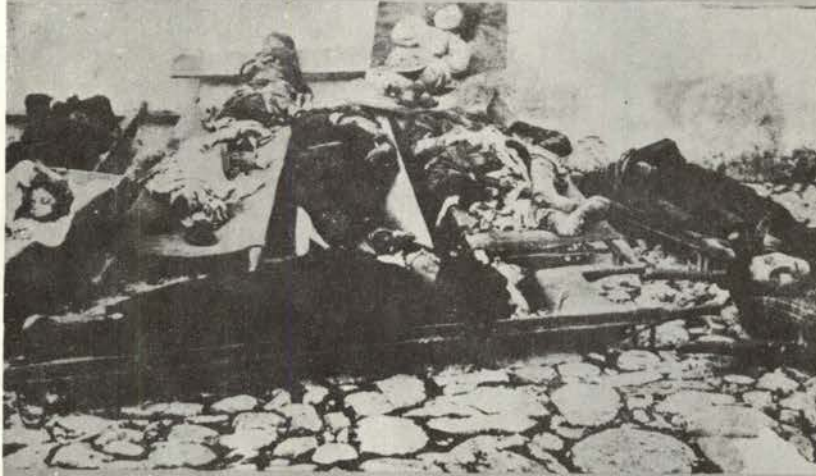
the minds of young generations. Under the conditions of freedom prevailing in the Western World such unjustifiable initiatives yield easier results. In the light of the foregoing it is believed that our task should be to seek the truth through a sound judgement of facts. These facts existed yesterday as they exist today. Biased account of the recent events in Nagorno Karabakh is reflected in the press exactly the way the Armenians wanted, and the justified Azerbaijani case is veiled. The Armenians want to keep the Nakhichevan issue alive on the agenda and set forth ceaseless and irritable demands, including their claim to the effect that the Lausanne Agreement also signed by Turkey following the War of Independence is no longer valid.

Armenian historians have put the blame of the Armenian massacre on the Seljuk State, which was in fact committed by the Byzantines. They have also given to the young Armenians a distorted account of the Ottoman and Seljuk States' administration. Furthermore the same historians have continued with their efforts of deception of the world public opinion, by presenting the Turks who were massacred by the Armenian bands during the 1877/78 Russian-Ottoman War, as the Armenian war victims.

The intention of this book is to furnish the world public opinion with the opportunity of seeing the sheer facts so far hidden behind the Armenian claims, and also be of some assistance in piercing through the screen of question marks circling around the issue of "The Muslim Victims", an issue which the Armenians have done their utmost to keep in the dark.

RUSLARA GÖRE ERMENİLERİN
TÜRKLERE YAPTIKLARI MEZALİM

ПО УТВЕРЖДЕНИЮ РУССКИХ
УГНЕТЕНИЯ ТУРОК СО СТОРОНЫ АРМЯН



مظالم الارمن على الاتراك من وجهة الاتحاد السوفياتي

RUSSIAN VIEW ON THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED
BY THE ARMENIANS AGAINST THE TURKS

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An den

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Dand., 22.04.1986 (x)

Betr.: Sendung "Die armenische Frage existiert nicht mehr" von Ralph Giordano
an Montag, den 21.04.1986 ca. 21.05 - 21.50 h in 1. Programm

Sehr geehrter Herr Intendant,

Da der Unterzeichner die Sendung wegen anderer Termine nicht direkt sehen konnte,
hat er sich diese aufzeichnen lassen.

Es ist befriedlich, dass Sie eine solche in sich verlogene Propagandasingung Dr.
Joseph Goebbelscher Art ohne vorherige Kontrolle durch seriöse Historiker
haben senden lassen.

Der Umfang eines Briefes reicht nicht aus, um alle die vorgetragenen Geschichts-
fälschungen auch nur anzuführen, weshalb ich nur auf einige wenige sich jetzt
beschränken möchte:

1. Die von einem armenischen Schriftsteller namens Arsen Andonian in den zwanziger
Jahren vorgelegten angeblichen Telegramme Talat Paschas nach formal und
inhaltlichen Untersuchungen durch Historiker einwandfrei als Fälschungen ent-
larvt worden. Allein die Datierungen zeigen, dass der Fälscher nicht in der
Lage gewesen ist, osmanische Zeitrechnung in Christliche und umgekehrt exakt
anzurechnen. Die Originale haben in Berlin beim Prozess nicht vorgelesen und
der vorgelegte Text wurde nicht als Beweismittel anerkannt.
Die Sieger des Ersten Weltkrieges hatten einige hochrangige Vertreter des Os-
manischen Reiches damals nach Malta verbracht und wollten ihnen eine Schuld
auferlegen. Sie haben sich bereits damals gehütet, die von Arsen Andonian vor-
gelegten Telegramme als Beweis anzuerkennen, weil sie wussten, dass es sich
um Fälschungen handelte. Eine Schuld haben sie nicht feststellen können.
2. Die angebliche "Erklärung" von Atatürk, in der er von einem armenischen Völk-
ermord gesprochen haben soll und von der Verantwortung der Osmanischen Staats-
führung dafür, ist ebenso eine Geschichtsfälschung, was sogar der armenische Au-
tor James Toghian in einem Bericht in der zu Boston erscheinenden Zeitschrift
"The Arsenian Review" (Herbst 1982) bestätigt hat.
3. Das gleiche gilt für den angeblichen Ausspruch Adolf Hitlers, den dieser nie
getan hat. Selbst der Nürnberger Gerichtshof hat ihn für Kontens gehalten.
4. Der Verfasser des Pamphletes "Die armenische Frage existiert nicht mehr" hat
sich wahrscheinlich u.a. das Buch "Der Prozess des Talat Pascha" von Armin T.
Janner, der selbst armenischer Herkunft ist, zur Grundlage genommen. Dieses
Buch ist in zweiter Auflage unter dem Titel "Völkermord an Armeniern vor Ge-
richt" 1980 in Göttingen und in Wien herausgegeben worden.
Auf den Einband dieser zweiten Auflage befindet sich ein Bild einer Schädels-
pyramide und ein Bild Talat Paschas. Auf der Innenseite des Einbandes ist an-
gegeben, dass das Titelbild eine Schädelspyramide vorgetöteten Armeniern dar-
stellt, die aus den Jahren 1916/17 stamme und ein Beweis für türkische Barba-
rei sei.
In Wirklichkeit hat dies Bild 1971 Vereskhnain result (1984); es hängt seit
Gründung des Russischen Staates in der Tretjakovskaja Galerie und ist auch in
Innenkatalog verzeichnet...
5. Möglicherweise diene dem Verfasser des Pamphletes noch ein weiteres Buch,
das in persischer Sprache 1977 in einer Auflage von 1982 erschienen in Verlag
Esir Kebir zu Teheran erschienen ist: Israil R.: Völkermord an Armeniern.
Dort hat man sich öfter erfrescht, das oben erwähnte Bild auf den Seiten 5
und 153 einmal richtig und einmal seitenverkehrt - beide in verschiedenen
Größen - abdruckten. Jetzt unten ist die Untertitelung armenisch, beim zwei-
ten persisch. Beide sollen die türkische Barbarei darstellen unter der "otto-
Totenschädel ermordeter Armenier aus den Jahren 1917".

(x) Azmi Süslü, Russian View On The Atrocities Committed By The Armenians Against
The Turks, Ankara - 1987, pp. 151 - 154.

In diesem Buch wurden auch die "Dokumente" veröffentlicht, die angeblich die armenischen Defekte (für den Messiasford an Armeniern enthalten. Diese "Dokumente" wurden von einem armenischen Autor vorher schon veröffentlicht und durch fälschhaftler als Fälschungen entlarvt...

4. Das erste "Dokument" wurde von Aron Andonian in französisch herausgegebenen Suche auf den Seiten 104 und 105 herausgebracht und in der englischen Ausgabe auf den Seiten 52 und 53 veröffentlicht. Unter dem angeblich von Original korrigierten Defekten stehen keine armenischen Titel. Aron Andonian hat unter, die Originalen seien ihm abhandeln gekommt. Fälschungen ist bekannt, dass alle armenischen offiziellen Schreiben und Briefe in Armenien immer besinnen. Untersuchungen haben ergeben, dass die Einleitung bei Aron Andonian von einer "Mittelmäßigkeit" in sehr grober, ungeschickter und falscher Form vorgetragen wurde. Der Inhalt reicht schon, Aron Andonian des Betruges zu überführen. Aber er gibt noch weitere Beweise: er kennt den Unterschied zwischen dem Julianischen (Römischen) und dem Gregorianischen (Mündel) Kalender nicht oder hat ihn jedenfalls nicht beachtet. Ausserdem war im Osmanischen Reich bis 1917 die Gregorianische Kalender nicht angenommen. So trägt sein erstes Dokument das Datum "13. Februar 1917". Aber auch der Gregorianische Kalender hätte das nicht der "13. Februar 1917", sondern der "02. März 1918" sein müssen, also neun Monate nach der Deportation. Oder er hätte 1916 fälschen müssen.

7. Das zweite "Dokument" trägt das Datum von 25. März 1917. Wenn das erste 1917 gewesen wäre, hätte dieses 1918 sein müssen. Aber hier hat Aron Andonian bereits resigniert: Er liess das "Original" des ersten "Dokuments" in der englischen Ausgabe des Buches fort und erwähnt nur das "15. November 1917" als Datum des zweiten "Dokuments". Kein Osmanischer Beamter brachte je welche Fehler, schon gar nicht einer höheren Ranges...

8. Die Unterschriften unter den Dokumenten sind ebenfalls Fälschungen (s. 107 der persischen Ausgabe). So weicht z. B. die Unterschrift Mustafa Abdülhakik Beyin (Gouverneur von Aleppo) erheblich von seiner "Unterschrift" in den Dokumenten Aron Andonian's ab. Weiterhin schliessen die Chiffriertücher in den offiziellen Archiven an, dass solche Telegramme zu den angegebenen Daten gar nicht worden sind. In einigen Fällen ergaben zwei geprüfte Beispiele die wahren Namen, was nicht möglich sein kann.

9. Auf Postkarten des Aurora-Verlages zu Leningrad wurde oben erwähnt Totenschädel-Gemälde von Verezhkina abgebildet. Unrichtig steht der Originaltitel "Was der Krieg mit sich bringt" und der Name der Malerin, seine Lebensdauer (1842 - 1904) sowie das Format des Originals (127 x 17 cm). In Frankreich werden Postkarten mit dem gleichen Bild, aber das oben erwähnten falschen ("armenischen") Titel angeboten - Cui bono?

10. Auf die Zahlen der angeblich getöteten Armenier geht Ralph Giordano wohl ziemlich nicht weiter ein. In der Zahl von ca. 100.000 sind auch die Verstorbenen durch die Evakuierungen in andere Landesteile enthalten. Die selbst in der Presse berichtet wird, sind Überfälle etc. durch die Kurden etc. etc. Unverlässige Angaben hierüber liegen nur für verschiedene Teile vor. Über die armenischen Historiker behaupten, dass auch die "Kurden", die seit Jahrhunderten Armenien in Anatolien hängen, die Armenier getötet haben. Kurdenkrieg haben fortwährend die Armenien bereubt und Sprengstoffschiffen eingeschickt.

Zur Osmanischen Zeit wurden sehr wenige Araber die Einwohner und ihre Zugehörigkeiten geführt (Volkszugehörigkeit, Religionszugehörigkeit, Sprachzugehörigkeit etc.), nicht gerundet, sondern bis zur letzten Stelle genau.

Die über 100.000 armenischen Zahlen sind nicht als Phantasie oder Fälschung in Dr. Joseph Goebbels'schen Sinne.

Tatsache ist, dass zur damaligen Zeit nicht wenige Tausend und Höchstens Hunderte der Osmanischen Reiches Armenier waren und eine armenische Verfolgung durch das Osmanische Reich nicht gegeben hat, wohl ist von widerwilligen etc. etc. vorzugehen und hat dann in Kriegsgebiet ihren Lebensbereich etc. etc. dabei auch zu anderen Kolonien etc. wird nicht bestritten, aber bedauert, diese sind aber nicht "unkoordiniert" worden.

Die Kritik der Armenier ist etc., in reitenden Land zu leben.

11. Es wird von Rolf Giordano behauptet, ausserhalb Irans "Wo es in der heutigen Türkei keine Armenier bzw. armenische Gemeinden mehr. Auch das stimmt nicht. Der Unterzeichner ist mit Armeniern befreundet und hat z.B. in Iskenderun selbst an einem armenischen Gottesdienst in der dortigen armenischen Kirche teilgenommen.
12. Als nach der russischen Oktober-Revolution die Darenherrschaft in Kaukasus erlosch, proklamierten am 28. Mai 1918 die Armenier in Erivan die "Armenische Republik". Geführt von Dr. Fakuk-Komitee unterzeichnete die neue Republik am 04. Juni 1918 mit der osmanischen Regierung des Friedensabkommens von Batun, das den armenischen Anspruch auf türkisches Territorium annullierte. Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg, bei dem das Osmanische Reich auf der Verliererseite war und gegen das Abkommen von Mudros am 30. Oktober 1918 seine ganze Armee auflösen musste - ein Großteil des Osmanischen Territoriums war von französischen und britischen Truppen besetzt -, versuchten Armenier, die nichtarmenische, muslimische Bevölkerung in Ostanatolien zu eliminieren. Am Jahrestag der "Armenischen Republik", am 28. Mai 1919, proklamierte diese die Einbeziehung des türkischen Ostanatoliens in ihre Republik. Im Herbst 1919 sandte US-Präsident Wilson eine Untersuchungsdelegation nach Ostanatolien, um die armenischen Forderungen zu überprüfen und Lösungsvorschläge zu machen. Diese Delegation unter General James Harbord teilte in ihrem Bericht mit, dass die Armenier in diesem Gebiete lediglich eine Minderheit seien. Auf diesen Bericht hin lehnte Präsident Wilson im April 1920 den Beschlussentwurf ab, in dem ein US-amerikanisches Mandat in Ostanatolien zwecks weiterer Gründung eines armenischen Staates vorgesehen war. Am 10. August 1920 wurde unter schwerem Druck von der osmanischen Regierung in Istanbul der Vertrag von Sevres unterzeichnet, der die Gründung eines armenischen Staates auf türkisches Territorium vorsah. Dieser Vertrag wurde weder von osmanischen Parlament in Istanbul, noch von dem neuen türkischen Parlament in Ankara, das aufgrund der Revolution Mustafa Kemal Pasha gegründet worden war, ratifiziert. Um ihren Forderungen Nachdruck zu verleihen, vertrieben die Armenier ihre Grenzschutztruppe und begünstigten sich, stellten darin zu verwickeln. Daraufhin ging am 25. September 1920 die türkische Armee gegen die armenischen Banden vor und nahm am 07. November 1920 die Stadt Gümri (russ. Aleksandropol, heute Leninakan) von den Armeniern zurück. Am 03. Dezember 1920 wurde durch den Friedensvertrag von Gümri geschlossen, in dem die neuen Staatsgrenzen (die heute noch gelten) festgelegt /Armenien/Türkei und die entsprechenden Bestimmungen des Sevres-Vertrages außer Kraft gesetzt worden sind. Kurze Zeit danach marschierte die Rote Armee in Erivan ein und gründete dort eine Sowjetrepublik. Nach der Revolution am 23. Februar 1922 übernahm die Sowjets die Führung der sowjetarmenischen Republik den Armenien. Diese neue Regierung sandte eine Delegation nach Ankara mit der Bitte um Hilfe gegen die Sowjets. Doch diese riefen Erivan kurz danach wieder in ihren Machtbereich auf. Am 24. März unterzeichnete die Türkei in Ankara das Friedensabkommen von Moskva mit der Fixierung der Grenze zwischen der Türkei und der Sowjetunion. Am 13. 10. 1921 wurde zwischen der Türkei und Sowjetunion der Kars-Vertrag abgeschlossen in dem die gleiche Grenzlinie festgelegt und die entsprechenden Bestimmungen des Sevres-Vertrages für unültig erklärt worden sind. Französische Armeeeinheiten hatten einige türkische Provinzen Südostanatoliens besetzt. Unter ihrem Schutz begannen armenische Einheiten, die Dörfer anzuzünden und die Bewohner massenweise zu ermorden. Unter diesen Opfern sind übrigens auch nichtarmenische Christen gewesen. Örtliche türkische Identifikationskräfte formierten sich zu einer Armee und klappten erfolgreich gegen die Franzosen. Gegen den am 20. 10. 1921 zu Ankara abgeschlossenen Vertrag verließen die Franzosen die Türkei und überließen die armenischen Einheiten und die armenische Bevölkerung ihrem Schicksal. Nachdem die Türken auch in Jeddah erfolgreich die Mandrillinen vertreiben hatten, begannen im November 1922 in Louvaine die Friedensverhandlungen, die am 24. Juli 1923 in dem von der Türkei und der Entente unterzeichneten Konvention Mündete. In ihr wurden u.a. die heutigen Staatsgrenzen der Türkei (ausgenommen die Provinz Hatay, die durch Vertrag mit den Franzosen am 21. 07. 1936 wieder zur Türkei gekommen ist) geregelt sowie die Minderheitenrechte geregelt (Art. 39 und 40).

In Art. 23 der Konvention vorzusehen, dass alle Personen, die in von der Türkei abgetrennten Gebieten leben und automatisch die dortige Staatsbürgerschaft bekommen haben, innerhalb von zwei Jahren die türkische Staatsbürgerschaft zurückgewinnen konnten. Das sind, kurz gefasst, die Tataren.

13. In Ralph Giordanos Pamphlet steht ein Mann, namens Huse, verhaftet werden (für einen armenischen Staat auf türkischem Gebiet). Berechnen von seinen Extremisten, die von den Sowjets unterstützt werden, um in der Türkei Unruhe zu schaffen, gibt es in der Türkei kaum einen Armenier, wie ~~#####~~ armenische Freunde des Unterzeichners in der Türkei unter vier Augen ~~W&S~~ haben. Nobody is perfect - es gibt natürlich auch Unruhe der in der Türkei lebenden Armenier (und nicht nur dieser), aber nicht nach einem eigenen Staat! Die Türkei ist - wie Deutschland und andere östropäische und russereuropäische Länder auch - ein ethnisch und religiös ~~W&S~~ gemischter Staat mit mancherlei Problemen, die in der verschiedenen Herleitung liegen. Aber mit Gewalt lässt sich sowas nicht lösen.

Der Unterzeichner ist ostdeutscher Heimatvertriebener. Die Ostdeutschen haben durch Vertreibung und durch Exzesse (z.B. in polnischen KZ Lamsdorf Kr. Posen, Posenberg O.) größere Verluste gehabt als damals Armenier in Osmanischen Reich gelebt haben. Man stelle sich vor, würden sich so verhalten wie die armenischen Extremisten... Schon das Beharren auf Grundgesetz und den Urteilen des Bundesverfassungsgerichtes zu Karlsruhe trägt ihnen höchste Beachtung und Verdankungen seitens der linken Schickleria ein, die sich mehr um den Wohl der Sowjets als des eigenen Landes sorgt. Dabei haben die Heimatvertriebenen 1950 ausdrücklich auf jede Gewalt verzichtet.

14. In dem Pamphlet werden z.T. auch deutsche Akten gezeigt. Ralph Giordano erlähmt ~~W&S~~ keinen Wort, wie es zu diesem gekommen ist und den dortigen ~~W&S~~ Dieser Brief - zwischen Mitternacht und Morgen geschrieben und schon viel zu lang geworden - würde den Umfang einer Broschüre annehmen, wenn der Unterzeichner die Hintergründe und Tataren schildern würde, weshalb nur die -en Gründe darauf verzichtet werden muss.

Allein von Admiral Bristol, eines damaligen US-Botschaftler in der Türkei, der ~~W&S~~ ein unverdächtig Zeitzeuge ist, werden in der Washingtoner Kongressbibliothek 35 000 Dokumente aufbewahrt, sowie von seinem Vorgänger Abraham Elkan, der ein ebensolcher integrier Zeitzeuge ist. Von deren Existenz weiß vermutlich Ralph Giordano gar nichts. Der Unterzeichner hat seit 1952 einen Wohnsitz in Orient und seit 1966 seinen Hauptwohnsitz. Er ist Historiker und kann ~~W&S~~ gesamte Türkei, also auch Ostprovinzen "in seine Hosentasche". Im Gegensatz zu Ralph Giordano, der vermutlich höchstens mit dem Finger auf der Landkarte dort war, wenn überhaupt.

15. Bei dieser Gelegenheit soll noch etwas erwähnt werden. Am Anfang des Pamphletes wurde ein Bild des Ararat, des "heiligen Berges der Armenier" gezeigt. Die Armenier behaupten - und viele glauben das nach -, dort bei Noahs Arche zu liegen. Wer Land und Geschichte kennt, versteht das in der Reich der Fabel. Das Grabmal Nochs und seiner Gemahlin befindet sich am südlichen Fuße des Cudi-Dağ's, des Judenberges nördlich der türkischen Grenze... Der Unterzeichner hat übrigens sowohl auf den Büyük Agra Dağ als auch auf den Küçük Agra Dağ (= Großer bzw. Kleiner Berg von Agra = Ararat; Agra ist die kleine Provinzhauptstadt) schon Touristengruppen geführt. Höhe über NN: 5184 bzw. 4935 m, allerdings liegt das Land schon ca. 2000 m hoch.

Es werden hiermit aufgefordert, eine Richtigstellung zu dem gesendeten Pamphlet von Ralph Giordano zu senden mit dem Hinweis, dass er nicht mit journalistischer Sorgfalt recherchiert hat, sondern armenische Extremisten damit unterstützen wollte. Den Armeniern reicht diese Tendenz in keiner Falle zum Vorteil.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Ihr


7. 11. 66,

Mitropolit

LA
TRAGÉDIE
ARMÉNIENNE

DE 1915

Georges de MALEVILLE

 F.SORLOT
F.LANORE

INTRODUCTION^(x)

A la fin de l'année 1970, une exposition fit connaître au public parisien « les trésors de l'Arménie soviétique ». Les visiteurs du Petit Palais découvrirent alors avec admiration l'art si roman de ces merveilleuses petites églises carrées nichées dans des paysages de montagne. Ce fut un grand succès culturel. Puis vint l'oubli. Des Arméniens, on se rappelait qu'ils constituaient une secte chrétienne, comme les Coptes, et que comme eux, ils vivaient isolés dans des montagnes perdues, mais pas en Afrique, au bout du monde, dans le Caucase. Et qu'un petit musée leur était consacré, au rez-de-chaussée de l'Hôtel d'Ennery, avenue Foch, — toujours désert. On n'en savait pas plus...

En 1974, la Turquie est intervenue à Chypre pour y sauver la communauté turque, menacée d'extermination.

En 1975, la Syrie a commencé à intervenir au Liban, dans un pays ravagé par l'occupation palestinienne.

Et brusquement, en octobre 1975, l'ambassadeur de Turquie à Paris est assassiné dans sa voiture quarante-huit heures après son collègue de Vienne. Ces meurtres sont le début d'une longue série : depuis lors — 21 agents diplomatiques turcs ont été assassinés, toujours dans des pays occidentaux. C'étaient — nous dit-on —

(x) Georges de Maleville. La Tragédie Arménienne de 1915. Paris 1988. pp. 15-21.

les Arméniens qui se manifestaient. Ils auraient — paraît-il — retrouvé la mémoire qu'ils avaient perdue. Et la disparition de cette amnésie se traduisait naturellement — tout spontanément — par un besoin irrésistible d'exterminer les représentants de l'État turc, partout où les assassins pouvaient les atteindre.

Mais comme au demeurant ces meurtres, si pénibles qu'ils fussent, risquaient de passer inaperçus aux yeux de la grande opinion publique, on les doubla très rapidement par un terrorisme systématique : attentats aveugles, poses de bombes dans des bâtiments commerciaux, prises d'otages, fusillade de la foule dans les aéroports. Faire couler en public le sang d'inconnus innocents était — prétendait-on — la manière des Arméniens d'exercer leur justice, car ils avaient une justice à se faire rendre — et cette justice exigeait des meurtres puisqu'ils avaient eux-mêmes — nous disait-on — été victimes d'un des plus grands génocides de l'Histoire.

Voilà grâce à quoi cette prétention finit par s'imposer dans le public, et par devenir, dans l'opinion, presque une évidence. Et c'est ainsi que l'on vit le gouvernement français donner — pour diverses raisons qui ne concernent nullement les Turcs — son approbation à l'érection à Alfortville du « Monument de la Haine », haine que les Arméniens, tous et spontanément, porteraient aux Turcs, haine qui se devrait d'être éternelle...

Car, à en croire ce slogan, aujourd'hui martelé partout par les medias, les Turcs, en tant que Turcs, seraient les ennemis irréductibles des Arméniens, en tant que tels, — ceci depuis toujours. Ce discours est presque un lieu commun...

Et effectivement, aux hommes adultes d'aujourd'hui, un tel propos rappelle des souvenirs très anciens, des récits lus autrefois qui se rapportent à des périodes bien antérieures : des déclarations d'hommes politiques morts depuis plusieurs générations, les propos vengeurs de Gladstone sur les « massacres d'Arménie »...

Dans la très modérée « Histoire Contemporaine » de L. Genet, parue en 1945, manuel officiel à l'époque de l'enseignement secondaire libre en France, on peut lire

(p. 517), à propos d'Abdul Hamid : « Comme l'Angleterre de Gladstone semble vouloir protéger les Arméniens, le sultan annonce des réformes. En fait, il prépare les massacres. Trois massacres successifs ont lieu (de 1894 à 1896)... Le crime fait 250 000 victimes... » Voilà ce qu'on enseignait aux petits Français dans les milieux traditionalistes en 1945 !...

Comment au surplus, mettre en doute de pareils propos, quand on lit les lignes suivantes de Benoist-Méchin, ami des Turcs, dans son beau livre sur Mustafa Kemal (p. 246) ? Il relate l'ordre donné par Atatürk en 1920 au général Kiazim Kara Bekir, de refouler les troupes de la République arménienne constituée à Erivan, et il ajoute : « Le commandant de la 2^e armée s'acquitta de cette tâche avec une rigueur impitoyable. Du moment qu'il s'agissait de massacrer les Arméniens, ses soldats avaient plutôt besoin d'être retenus qu'encouragés... »

Ainsi donc la cause serait jugée — et il s'agirait d'une évidence : spontanément, le plaisir des Turcs aurait consisté à massacrer des Arméniens en toute circonstance, et ceux-ci, terrorisés, auraient cherché refuge dans la Communauté internationale et dans l'opinion mondiale pour être protégés.

Aujourd'hui, ils referaient de même et le fameux « Monument de la Haine » ne serait qu'un symbole de la protection que l'humanité toute entière doit accorder à une communauté menacée...

Cette légende est bien ancrée dans l'esprit de la plupart du public...

Mais pourtant on la crie trop fort, avec trop de tapage. Cette insistance permanente, cette précipitation à publier constamment des récits de massacres (il en paraît un chaque mois), ont quelque chose de suspect.

On parle trop d'horreurs, on publie trop de photographies (dont les origines sont toujours suspectes) accompagnées de légendes de plus en plus dramatiques, si bien que l'observateur impartial en vient à soupçonner derrière ce matraquage fébrile, une mise en scène assez malsaine au service de quelque dessein inavoué.

Et si tout ceci précisément n'était que légende, gros-

sissement démesuré de faits malheureux mais isolés et une énorme affabulation pour le surplus ?

Nous ne répondrons pas pour le moment à cette question ; nous expliquons simplement notre démarche, celle d'un observateur totalement indépendant qui a cherché à comprendre, par lui-même, un fait de société.

Nous avons été à Istanbul, nous avons visité la communauté arménienne, partout dans la ville, et nous avons scruté les visages. Nulle part, nous n'avons rencontré chez ces Arméniens qui cotoient des Turcs sans arrêt, un sentiment de peur. Dans les marchés, dans tel petit restaurant du port, le brassage des deux communautés est total, et se fait en sympathie, bien plus franchement qu'ici à Paris entre communautés immigrées. Bien plus, ces Arméniens parlent spontanément turc entre eux, c'est leur langue.

Il nous souvient d'avoir visité à l'improviste une petite école arménienne, le long du Mur, dans le quartier des Blachernes : il y avait des portraits d'Atatürk partout, dans chaque classe, dans les couloirs, dans l'escalier — bien plus que dans une ambassade. Et il s'agissait d'une école privée, gérée par le Patriarcat ! Ces petits Arméniens seront, plus tard, aussi intégrés dans la communauté turque qu'on peut l'être.

Cette crainte des Turcs, cette prétendue haine ancestrale n'existent donc pas dans les lieux mêmes où elles auraient — logiquement — les seules raisons possibles de perdurer.

Et l'observateur en vient à se demander s'il ne s'agit pas d'un sentiment totalement artificiel, fabriqué de l'extérieur par une propagande qui masque ses buts...

Ce premier doute en appelle d'autres :

Même si l'on admet — ce qui paraît bien difficile, c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire — le recours à une campagne terroriste pour prétendument venger tout un peuple et appeler à l'aide l'opinion internationale — même si l'on accepte, par une vue de l'esprit, le recours à ces procédés criminels — comment expliquer le surgissement brutal d'une vague d'attentats en prétendues « représail-

les » de faits survenus soixante-dix ans plus tôt et totalement oubliés ?

Comment justifier — rationnellement — ce terrorisme à retardement ? S'agit-il d'un sursaut — bien tardif — de la conscience populaire arménienne —, ou bien plutôt d'une machination dont les Arméniens ne seraient que le prétexte ?

La « Croisade des Albigeois », la fameuse guerre du Nord contre le Midi a donné lieu, ici en France, à des horreurs inénarrables. Le massacre de la population de Béziers (en 1209) est resté célèbre. Imagine-t-on aujourd'hui des « Occitans » allant dynamiter la préfecture de Montpellier, avec ses habitants, pour prétendument venger leurs morts ?... Les ravages exercés par les armées suédoises durant la guerre de Trente Ans ont entraîné la disparition des deux tiers de la population de l'Allemagne du Sud-Ouest. Admettrait-on que les terroristes allemands aillent en rendre responsable l'ambassadeur de Suède et aillent l'assassiner pour faire prétendument justice à la population du Würtemberg ?

Or, c'est précisément ce qui se passe avec « l'affaire arménienne » et l'observateur désintéressé ne peut manquer d'être frappé avant même d'avoir ouvert le dossier, par le sentiment que toute cette agitation, criminelle ou non, au sujet de faits aussi anciens paraît fondamentalement artificielle.

Elle le devient bien plus encore quand on constate l'évolution récente du discours des Arméniens : leurs prétendus porte-paroles ne réclament plus seulement le prix du sang : ils prétendent que leurs aïeux ont été chassés de leurs terres sur lesquelles, eux, leurs descendants, auraient un droit d'héritage méconnu. La prétention politique devient plus précise, plus concrète.

Qu'en penser ? Beaucoup de Français, aujourd'hui, sont originaires de pays lointains qu'ils ont dû quitter en catastrophe, en y abandonnant les tombes de leurs ancêtres ; devraient-ils, aujourd'hui, assassiner leurs diplomates, notamment les Algériens ? Le temps reconstruit tout et il consolide définitivement toute situation non contestée pendant un long moment. Que dirait-on

aujourd'hui de terroristes marocains qui s'en prendraient aux Espagnols et leur réclameraient la restitution de Grenade et de l'Andalousie ? On les croirait simplement faibles d'esprit. Or, les prétentions arméniennes n'ont même pas ce poids là...

L'observateur impartial des violences arméniennes actuelles, qu'elles soient verbales ou physiques, ne peut manquer d'être frappé de cette impression fausse. Il a le soupçon d'une mise en scène, fabriquée de toutes pièces par des réalisateurs cachés pour des motifs secrets, et dont les acteurs, qu'il s'agisse de doctes historiens ou de tueurs à gages, récitent un rôle qu'ils ont appris par cœur.

Ce n'est pas ainsi qu'on établit la vérité historique. Nous avons cherché, pour notre part, à comprendre ce qui s'était réellement passé.

Nous l'avons fait en toute indépendance, par sympathie pour les Turcs, mais aussi pour les Arméniens.

Nous avons cherché à comprendre comment ce dernier peuple, sympathique, ouvert, travailleur, intelligent et honnête, qui s'est parfaitement bien adapté en France et n'y a suscité aucune hostilité raciale aurait pu — à en croire la campagne actuelle — susciter chez les Turcs, dont chacun connaît les qualités d'amitié, — une haine inexpiable qui se serait traduite par d'horribles massacres accomplis de propos délibéré.

Mais nous avons aussi voulu contribuer à démystifier une propagande qui nous apparaissait de plus en plus comme fondée sur la déformation mensongère de faits isolés.

Et nous avons, au long de ce travail, gardé à l'esprit, ces paroles clairvoyantes prononcées naguère (10 décembre 1984) par Mme Kirkpatrick, ambassadeur des États-Unis auprès de l'ONU, à propos de l'actuelle campagne contre le sionisme — (qui rappelle par bien des points le complot actuel contre la Turquie) : « Nous avons permis à des mensonges de se répandre sans être contestés ; ils se sont alors transformés en politiques — et ces politiques qui n'ont pas été contestées, se sont

transformées en meurtres... Le sort des nations toutes entières dépend quelquefois de mots... »

C'est donc la contestation que nous allons apporter aujourd'hui, en faisant confiance à la vérité pour se répandre d'elle-même.

EIN MYTHOS DES TERRORS

Five faces of terror



Charged as Armenian avengers

Five men charged with the murder of a British consul in Beirut are accused of being Armenian avengers. The men, who are members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, are charged with the murder of the consul in 1982. The charges are based on evidence that the men were part of a group that was active in the region at the time of the killing.

1915 killings recalled

The 1915 killings in Armenia are recalled as a dark chapter in the country's history. The killings were part of a genocide that resulted in the deaths of an estimated 1.5 million Armenians.

Slain consul's widow 'having a hard time'

The widow of the slain consul is reported to be having a hard time coping with the loss of her husband. She is struggling with the emotional and financial challenges that have arisen since the killing.



Und die islamischen Opfer?^(x)

In der gesamten, sehr umfangreichen Literatur, die von armenischer oder armenierfreundlicher Seite über die tragischen Ereignisse während des Ersten Weltkrieges erschien, wird man vergeblich nach irgendeinem Wort des Bedauerns über die Not und den Tod so vieler unschuldiger Moslems suchen, die im Zuge der Armenieraufstände und ihrer fürchterlichen Folgen umkamen. Nach den verlässlichen Ergebnissen der Forschungen von Univ. - Prof. DDr. McCarthy verloren ungefähr 600.000 Armenier in der Folge der Aufstände, Kriegswirren, Seuchen und Umsiedlung, Flucht und Hungersnot ihr Leben. Zur gleichen Zeit und aus den gleichen Ursachen kamen in den gleichen Gebieten zweieinhalb Millionen Menschen auf islamischer Seite ums Leben - die meisten von ihnen waren Türken.

Die türkische Regierung begann erst in jüngster Zeit, nach den schrecklichen Mordüberfällen auf türkische Diplomaten in aller Welt, der Dokumentation der von den armenischen Fanatikern verübten Greuelthaten vermehrtes Augenmerk zu schenken. Die Wahrheit darüber findet sich gelegentlich zwischen den Zeilen, so etwa in dem Buch Christopher Walkers "Armenia - The Survival of a Nation", auf Seite 247, wenn er über die erbitterten Kämpfe zwischen Türken und Armeniern und ihre entsetzlichen Folgen für die Zivilbevölkerung schreibt: "Greuelthaten und Gegen-Greuelthaten, von Türken und Armeniern gleichermaßen verübt, brachten die Lage zum Flammpunkt, besonders in Erzindschan. Wo immer die Wahrheit über die Geschichten von all den verübten Greuelthaten liegen mag (und es erscheint als wahrscheinlich, daß die Armenier, die Rache für den Völkermord ausüben wollten, Türken ohne Hemmung töteten)..."

(x) Erich Feigl, Ein Mythos Des Terrors, Salzburg 1986, pp. 88-90.

Wie immer in diesen Fällen übersehen die Armenier oder ihnen sympathisch gegenüberstehende Autoren, daß das ganze entsetzliche Elend durch den rücksichtslosen Fanatismus armenischer Einpeitscher verursacht worden war, die ihr armes Volk als "de facto kriegführende Nation" ansahen - wie es der Chef der "Armenischen Delegation", Bogosch Nubar, in seinem Brief am 3. Dezember 1918 an den französischen Außenminister Stephen Pichon formuliert.

Dieser von den Armeniern begonnene Befreiungskrieg hatte ungefähr den gleichen historischen Hintergrund, als hätten die Albaner - als Nachkommen der alten Illyrer - während des Ersten Weltkrieges versucht, den gesamten Balkan und Mitteleuropa mit Hilfe von Aufständen, Bomben, Morden und Attentaten sowie Teilnahme von Freiwilligenformationen an den Kriegshandlungen wieder unter ihre Kontrolle zu bringen, und das mit der "historisch fundierten" Begründung, die Illyrer hätten vor dem Einfall der Kelten über ganz Mittel- und Südosteuropa geherrscht.

Nach dem Krieg erreichte der armenische Terrorismus einen neuen Höhepunkt, es sollte nicht nur auf dem historischen Boden Großarmeniens, eines Reiches also, daß vor zwei Jahrtausenden für wenige Jahrzehnte bestanden hatte und auf dem sich niemals in der Geschichte eine armenische Mehrheit befunden hatte ein neues Großarmenien geschaffen werden, es sollte auch an den Türken im allgemeinen und den Führern des türkischen Volkes im besonderen Rache genommen werden.

Die Alliierten wurden nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg von den armenischen Agitatoren so lange bedrängt und mit Denunziationen versorgt, bis sich die Briten entschlossen, mehr als 140 osmanische Würdenträger - höhere Beamte, höhere Offiziere, Regierungsglieder - nach Malta zu schaffen, um ihnen dort - fast wie in einer versuchten Vorwegnahme des Nürnberger Prozesses - einen Malteser Prozeß zu machen.

Mit feinem britischem Humor stellten die Briten ihre Gefangenen auch gleich im Torbogen des wunderschönen osmanischen Friedhofs

von Malta zum Gruppenfoto auf, als wollten sie das sichere Todesurteil schon vorwegnehmen. Handelte es sich nicht um Massenmörder, Schreibtischtäter und Irre, die man da nach Malta verschifft hatte? Gab es nicht massenweise konkrete Zeugenaussagen und Dokumente?

Mehr als zwei Jahre lang wurden die osmanischen Gefangenen auf Malta festgehalten. Mehr als zwei Jahre lang suchten die Sieger - vor allem die Briten - fieberhaft nach Beweisen.

Schließlich wandten sich die Briten, nachdem auch in Paris keine Beweise auflagen und weder in Istanbul noch in Anatolien irgendeine Evidenz für die den Osmanen in die Schuhe geschobene Absicht einer Massentötung zu finden war, an die Amerikaner. Dort saßen bereits mächtige armenische Lobbies, dort gab es dank der jahrzehntelangen antitürkischen Hetze mancher protestantischer Kreise gewiß mehr zu erfahren, Beweise zu finden.

Die Antwort aus Washington lautete: "I regret to inform Your Lordship..." Seiner Majestät Botschafter in Washington hatte Seine Lordschaft darüber zu informieren, daß auch die Amerikaner keinerlei Beweis gegen die Gefangenen von Malta aufreiben konnten. Kurz darauf wurden die osmanischen Würdenträger wieder freigelassen.

Am 25. Oktober des Jahres 1921 verließen die osmanischen Angeklagten die Gefängnisse der Insel Malta - damals noch britische Kronkolonie -, in denen sie mehr als zwei Jahre lang unschuldig festgehalten worden waren, als freie Männer.

Nach außen hin taten die Briten, als ob nichts geschehen sei. Die Abreise der ehemals osmanischen Gefangenen wurde mit keiner Silbe erwähnt, die Lokalpresse brachte in der Rubrik "Sailed" bloß die Kurznotiz, daß Seiner Majestät Schiffe Chrysanthemum und Montreal, den Hafen von Valette in Richtung Istanbul verlassen hatten. Aber die Chrysanthemum war immerhin die Jacht des Gouverneurs von Malta. Und auf ihr befanden sich - als des Gouverneurs honoured guests - die freien osmanischen Würdenträger, die wieder in ihre Heimat zurückkehrten.

**BRITISH
DOCUMENTS
ON OTTOMAN
ARMENIANS**

VOLUME
I
(1856 - 1880)

Ed. By

BİLÂL N. ŞİMŞİR
Member of the Turkish Historical Society

Consul Palgrave to Lord Stanley.

(Extract.)

TREBIZOND, *January 30, 1868.*
(*Received February 21.*)

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a Report-relating to the respective position of Christians and Mahommedans in Anatolia.

Inclosure in No. 23

Report on the Relative Position of Christian and Mahometan Subjects in the Eastern Provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

DURING my visit at Erzeroom and its adjacent districts of Kars and Ardahan, at Amasia, Chorum, and Yuzgat, places reported the strongholds of Turkish fanaticism; at Sivas, Kaisareeyah, and Kastemouni, towns in the very heart of the interior; in a word, everywhere on my way, I made, and caused to be made, minute inquiries regarding their alleged grievances from the Christians themselves, Greek, Armenian, Protestant, and Catholic.

The result was that not a single grievance, not a single allegation of real weight, as regards the point in question, or which, on examination, did not resolve itself into mere exaggerated generalities, was brought before me.

The cases came under two categories—that of personal insult, and that of judicial injustice.

Regarding the first category, or that of personal insult, it was to be observed:

That, where differences of religion exist, it can hardly be expected that the masses of religionists, especially those of the lower orders, should always abstain from mutual ill-manners. Nor can Turks, in particular, be expected to feel much love for those who, though themselves Ottoman subjects, yet openly parade their sympathy for avowed rebels and for hostile powers, but in such event it is not precisely the Turks who can be held responsible.

However, in every single recorded case of abusive language and reciprocal insult, I found that Government punishment had fallen much more severely on the Mahomedan offenders than on the Christian.

Cases of open violence and bodily hurt were specified in the very badly administered district of Kaisareevah, and there only. The victims were some Mahomedans and some Christians; the cause, not fanaticism or religious hatred, but the weakness of the local Government, seconded by the inefficiency of the

(x) Bilâl N. Şimşir, *British Documents On Ottoman Armenians*, Volume I, (1856-1880), Ankara 1982, pp. 50-53

zaptiehs, or police, who were led by the scantiness of their pay to connive at disorder, sometimes to take share in it; and, if Christians appeared to have been occasionally singled out for assault rather than Mahomedans, it was that their cowardice and their wealth rendered them fitter objects for such treatment.

In what regarded judicial injustice, I found that category subdivided as follows:

1. Cases in which the instigator and real oppressor was some rival or interested Christian who had made a tool of the Ottoman Administration to injure his brother Christians. Thus, for instance, the Christian villages of Ak-Dagh, in the Vilayet of Angora, have been ruined by the infamous usurer.....himself an Armenian Christian of Yuzgat. His tools were....., since made Governor of Koniah, and other Turkish officials, gained over by Armenian bribes.

2. Cases in which weakness or maladministration in high places, injured Christians and Mahomedans alike, but more frequently the latter than the former; for reasons to be stated further on, religious or fanatical motives had nothing to do with it.

Something might here be said regarding the only Turkish Tribunal in which Christian witness is formally and officially non-admitted when given against Mahomedans. I mean the "Mahkemah," or Ecclesiastical Court. None complain more bitterly than do the Turkish officials themselves of the "imperium in imperio" exercised over them through this very Tribunal by the Sheikh-ul-Islam and the Mollahs and Kadees under him. Its inconveniences can, however, in most cases be, in a round-about way, remedied by reference and appeal to the Civil Tribunals; and it is to be hoped that Turkey will, in time, be able to take, with regard to her Ecclesiastical courts, those steps which, even in Europe, have been a matter of time and difficulty; but the proposed reorganisation of the "Mahkemah" belongs to another section of this Report.

Now let us turn the question, and view it from the other side.

1. At the present moment, the whole burden of military service, active and reserve, falls exclusively on the Mahomedan population. The Christians do indeed pay into the public Treasury a small—a trifling sum, bearing no real proportion soever to the advantages it obtains them for their exemption; but, even were the "Bedel Askeri," or Ransom Service Tax, weighty enough to balance the effective value of such exemption to the Christians, it could never equipoise the misery which it entails on their Mahomedan fellow-subjects by the enormous burden of the conscription thus thrown on their unassisted shoulders.

And this, be it well noticed, not vice nor any other book-fancied cause is the true reason why the Mahometan population proportionately decreases, the Christian increases. The whole "unproductive" element of the Empire is formed out of the former alone. It is a crying injustice, and calls for serious consideration and prompt remedy.

2. The Mahometan population is absolutely "unrepresented," at the central, irresponsible, and dissevered Government of Constantinople, where the Mahometan subjects of the Sultan have really no one to whom they can make known their interests or expose their wrongs. Meanwhile the Christians have at the capital and throughout the Empire as many Courts of Appeal and redress-demanding representatives as there are Consulates, Agencies, and, sometimes, Embassies, at hand. Indeed, not only are their complaints listened to when made, but even fabricated for them when not made.

Hence, and it is a deadly consequence, the full weight, firstly, of fiscal oppression so natural to a Government at once centralized and absolute like the Ottoman; and, secondly, the chief weight of local and individual oppression, unavoidable where a weak yet unbalanced power resident at the capital neglects, as it is sure to do, the provinces, falls on the Mahometan and not on the Christian population. For the very reason that the cry of the former is, practically, unheard, the latter have a thousand spokesmen.

3. And this is a corollary of the above-open sedition and abominable crimes severely and speedily punished when perpetrated by Mahometans are only half punished, or are even pardoned altogether when Christians are the culprits; the hands of justice being for them tied up by Consular or analogous intervention.

The subject might be still further investigated, and instances given in illustration; but thus much must suffice for the main. I will only add that a striking and visible confirmation of what has now been stated is afforded not on the coasts only, but in the centremost interior, the very supposed focus of Mahometan fanaticism, by the manner in which the Christians of those districts flaunt their ostentatious wealth in splendid houses, gay dresses, and all the ornament of prosperity—a manner wholly incompatible with anything of that oppression so much talked of for them at a distance. Among the Mahometan population these conditions are sadly reversed.

It is a mistake, though not an unfrequent one, to attribute the evident prosperity of the Christians in Turkey by comparison with the Mahometans to some greater energy on their part, industry, and other virtues. Truth is, that in vigour, in probity, and in steady work the Mahometans are, as a rule, decidedly ahead of their Greek and Armenian fellow-countrymen. But the former have been, and are, systematically overburdened, not to say oppressed; while the latter, under protection of their advantageous position in the Ottoman Empire, have been enriching themselves for the last half century mainly by questionable speculation, or by direct fraud and usury.

Nor can the Ottoman Empire right itself till its burdens are equally distributed on its two shoulders, the Mahometan and the Christian, not exclusively heaped up on the former as they now are. Either the Christians must be

put on a level with the Mahometans by being brought down to them, or, much better, the Mahometans must be brought up to a level with the Christians by a conscription lightened because shared, and by an equable administration, combined with some attention to the interests of the provinces, and of a loyal and hard-working, not merely of an intriguing and money-jobbing, population.

As matters now stand, the Ottoman Government lies under the very serious charge of oppressing its Mahometan in favour of its Christian subjects. I regret to have to confirm the charge.

Such are the observations suggested to me on a somewhat threadbare topic by what I have in person seen and heard during my visits to the inlands.

Turkey No. 16 (1877), pp. 1-3, No. 1/1

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF TURKISH CULTURE

ARMENIAN ATROCITY
According To Ottoman And Russian
Documents

HALİL KEMÂL TÜRKÖZÜ

ANKARA - 1986

Dr. Haraşenko^(x)

Barbarity and cruelty reached to unimaginable proportions. Haraşenko, a Russian inspector at Aksire, in a report he wrote in his own handwriting about Armenian atrocities against the Muslims in Ahilkelek area, inter alia, states.⁽¹⁸⁾

“I shall state the barbarity of the Armenians against the local loyal Muslims in Ahilkelek between November 1917 to May 21, 1918. Here I begin to write, my eyes full of tears, what I have seen myself, and what I was told by local Georgians:

Last year in the end of November, eight Muslims from Akbaba⁽¹⁹⁾ came to Bagdanofka⁽²⁰⁾ to purchase forage from the locals (I should note here that security was prevalent, and the Muslims could move around unarmed). The Armenians of Hocabey Village, who were informed on the presence of the Muslims, immediately surrounded them and killed four of them with swords, and cut out their eyes and their tongues and then burnt them. And later on shot the rest, and delivered their bodies to their fellows from Akbaba. The Armenians began attacking the Muslim villages on Januray 1918. First, they promised saying that, “If you surrender your weapons to us, we will not do any harm to you.” The Muslims, believing the

(x) Halil Kemâl Türközü, Armenian Atrocity According To Ottoman And Russian Documents, Ankara 1986, pp. 78-79.

(18) See also “Ahilkelek'deki Türkler'e Ermeniler'in Yaptığı Vahşet ve Kırgınlar”, Ermeniler Hakkında Makaleler - Derlemeler, Vol. II, pp.279-281; M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, Kars İli ve Çevresinde Ermeni Mezâlimi, pp.50-51.

(19) Akbaba, Arpaçay upstream.

(20) A Russian settlement south of Ahilkelek.

promise of the Armenians, handed them over their weapons. Actually the Armenians had lied. After disarming the Muslims, they burnt and destroyed the Muslim villages of Tospiya, Kokiya, Verivan, Tonokam, Kulilis, Pankana, Sogomakuvaşi, Alovejva, and Gümris. The inhabitants were partly murdered there and then, the rest, including men and women, were taken captive to Ahılkelek. In 24 hours, they were not given anything else to eat except a funt⁽²¹⁾ of bread and water. Because of hunger and dirtiness, typhoid broke out. The Armenians ignored the doctors' advice to feed the Muslims better and take care of their hygenic conditions, and caused many deaths among the Muslims. Nobody came to their help, because the Armenians did not allow anyone to come near the building where the Muslims were confined.

And when the Turkish army arrived Kurzah⁽²²⁾ all the Armenians began to run away, demolished the building where the Muslims were confined. The Muslims were crushed under it. Part of the dead bodies were thrown into ditches and were covered with lime. The rest were burnt in gasoline.

That is the savagery of the civilized Armenians of twentieth century!

(21) A Russian unit of weight equal to 400 gms.

(22) Present Kursah, north-east of Kenarbel Lake, through which Turco-Soviet frontier line passes, Çıldır, Kars.

DOCUMENT NO : 83

Ottoman Army
Acting Supreme Command

Section :
No :
Confidential

Coded Message No : 763 from Gümrü to Chief of Staff
of the Supreme Command

In a cable I received from the Caucasian Islamic Army Command it is stated that in recent days Armenians have murdered over 100 Moslems in Karabağ and blocked the way for 300,000 Moslems in the region, murdering women and children of Moslems who want to return thus necessitating a joint operation from Azerbaidjan to the Southwest and from Nahcivan Region to the Northeast for the protection of the Moslems population.

As the problem of the Armenia - Azerbaidjan boundary is not yet solved, it is certain that Armenians will annihilate the total Moslem population of Karabağ in order to claim the extension of their boundaries. Therefore, dispatching of forces to Karabağ is imperative in order to protect the lives of the Moslem population. Although it is not possible to carry out such an operation with sufficient forces before a solution is found to the Baku problem, it will be proper if the 9 th Army dispatches one regiment for the protection of the lives of the Moslem population for the time being. Militia to be dispatched under the protection of regular forces from the Islamic Army may also be effective in Karabağ region.

Pending for your orders. 24 August 34 (1918)
To Mr Seyfi Eastern Armies Group Commander
Halil

Archive No : 1/2
Cabin No : 113
Drawer No 3
File No : 527
Section No : 718 (2056)
Contents No : 10

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
عَمَّا بَيْنَنَا وَمَنْ بَيْنَهُمْ
بِشْرَافِ الْمَقَامِ

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126-9

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خلاف حقیقت سولہ دن جا رہا ہے۔ قصہ ادا ہوا ہے۔

بجائے حقیقت
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۹۲۵۱

DOCUMENT NO: 88

Ottoman Army
Acting Supreme Command

Section:
No: 3871

From Kars to Chief of Staff of Supreme Command
Attention: Mr. Seyfi

25 Date

To be referred to the Foreign Ministry

Confidential

1. Coded message order No: 2613 of 23.10.34 (1918) from the Prime Ministry was received.

2. There are no soldiers from the 9 th Army in the Karabağ region. The Army has no information on the Baku battles and the happenings there.

3. Since the conclusion of the Batum Agreement until now, in other words for 4-5 months, Armenians in Erivan, Karabağ and Nahcivan, Georgians and Germans joining them in Burcalı and Kıza region, have been committing all kinds of cruelties on the Moslem population. Particularly in Erivan and Karabağ, the Armenians have annihilated the Moslem population by massacres, plunders and by forcing them to leave. Up-to-date, thousands of Moslem families, have been forced to flee for their lives in starvation to the Kars region. Those who could not flee or migrate were annihilated. Files, documents and reports on this matter have been from time to time submitted to the Supreme Command.

4. The Gang Leader named Antranik, who has directed the Armenian policy of cruelty and brutality, has so far shed the blood of hundreds of thousands of people. Also destroyed CDNI (this part of code could not be deciphered) houses, still continuing the same destruction in Karabağ. 2. The forces dispatched by the Islamic Army to Karabağ is to attempt to prevent these atrocities. As a matter of fact, peace and order, even of a temporary nature, has begun in the region with the fleeing of Antranik and his gang, upon the arrival of these forces from the Arezbaidjan direction. These are the facts.

Claims to the contrary are just lies resorted to for political reasons

9 th Army Commander
Sevki

Operations 5224
24.10.34 (1918)

Archive No : 1/2
Cabin No : 113
Drawer No : 3
File No : 527
Section No : 732 (2057)
Contents No : 26-7, 26-8

THE ARMENIAN FILE

**The Myth of Innocence
Exposed**

95.8

64

37

David G. Hogarth^(x)

“In my own experience of western Armenia, extending more or less over four years up to 1894, I have seen no signs of a Reign of Terror.... Life in Christian villages has not shown itself outwardly to me as being very different from life in the villages of Islam, nor the trade and property of Armenians in towns to be less secure than those of Moslems.... There was tension, there was friction, there was a condition of mutual suspicion as to which Armenians have said to me again and again, ‘If only the patriots would leave us to trade and to till!’.... The Turk rules by right of five hundred years’ possession, and before his day the Byzantine, the Persian, the Parthian, the Roman preceded each other as over-lords of Greater Armenia back to the misty days of the first Tigranes. The Turk claims certain rights in this matter - the right to safeguard his own existence, the right to smoke out such hornets’ nests as Zeitun, which has annihilated for centuries past the trade of the Eastern Taurus, the right to remain dominant by all means not outrageous.”

(x) David G. Hogarth, *A. Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, New York 1896, pp. 147-150.

Sir Mark Sykes^(x)

“In 1915, Sir Mark Sykes wrote:

As for the tactics of the revolutionaries, anything more fiendish one could not imagine - the assassination of Moslems in order to bring about the punishment of innocent men, the midnight extortion of money from villages which have just paid their taxes by day, the murder of persons who refuse to contribute to their collection-boxes, are only some of the crimes of which Moslems, Catholics, and Gregorians accuse them with no uncertain voice... the Armenian revolutionaries prefer to plunder their co-religionists to giving battle to their enemies; the anarchists of Constantinople throw bombs with the intention of provoking a massacre of their fellow-countrymen”.

(x) Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliphs Last Heritage*, London 1915, p. 409.

OUR PUBLICATIONS

1. Her Şey Vatan İçin, Ankara - 1984.
2. The Curtain Of Fear, Ankara - 1989.

How to Think About Bosnia

By ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

The threat of military intervention has persuaded the Bosnian Serbs to say they will go along with the United Nations peace plan. At this point, President Clinton's policy must be accounted a considerable success. But every previous agreement among the warring groups in Yugoslavia has broken down. This one may break down too. What then?

Secretary of State Christopher is now on a mission to persuade our European friends that, if the agreement does break down, the next step should be limited military intervention—air strikes, arms to the Bosnian Muslims. The administration will also have to persuade a majority of Americans, according to the polls. In short, the Bosnian debate is far from over—the debate that has already produced such strange reversals and odd alliances, turning Anthony Lewis into a hawk on the side of Jeane Kirkpatrick and Abe Rosenthal into a dove on the side of Pat Buchanan.

On the one hand: It seems unbearable to pass by on the other side while Serbs kill, rape and torture harmless people. Nor is this just a humanitarian concern. Bosnia also places the grand vision of a new world order on test and at risk. If we do not stop aggression there, will not the domino effect spread the infection?—and then no country will be safe. If the agreement collapses, does not the U.S. as the world's only military superpower bear a special and primary responsibility to stop the slaughter of the innocents, punish the ethnic cleansers, murderers, torturers and rapists, and vindicate the essential goal of collective security? What has happened to American idealism? American courage? American decency?

Real Change Unlikely

On the other hand: What practically can we do if the agreement collapses? President Clinton has wisely ruled out unilateral U.S. intervention. If Washington exerts major pressure, it can probably get Britain and possibly France to join in air strikes and even perhaps in providing arms to the Muslims. Such actions would temporarily ease American consciences by giving the impression that the U.S. is doing *something*. But the object of foreign policy is not to gratify ourselves; it is to bring about real changes in a real world. And suppose limited military in-

tervention fails, what is the next step?

It is instructive to consider why the European democracies are so reluctant to enter the Yugoslav civil war. It may of course simply be the hope that the U.S. will solve Europe's problems for them. But it may be more than that. It may be that the Europeans have a different assessment as to what is at stake in Bosnia.

As many Europeans see it, the end of the Cold War encourages the Balkans to be the Balkans again. The Balkan peoples, they say, are fighting among themselves, as they have done throughout their history and, despite the atrocities, there is

agement of aggression elsewhere. It may equally be that the assessment of the NATO allies of the stakes in Bosnia is more correct than that of the American interventionists.

After all, Europeans are more familiar with the territory and will be more endangered by the result. Yet they do not see their vital interests as threatened, nor do they find compelling reasons to send young men to kill and die in Bosnia. Slobodan Milosevic is a wicked scoundrel, but Serbia is not Nazi Germany, nor will it move on from Bosnia to attack Italy and France and Britain. Few Europeans be-

And if we embroil ourselves in the Yugoslav civil war for world-order reasons, what about Yugoslavia? What about Cambodia, Cambodia tries where the... involved? Do we ignore... because th... Where does our c... tion end?

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Mr. Schlesinger... fessor of the hu... sity of New Yor... Prizes in biograp...

Board of Contributors

If Clinton leads the U.S. step by step into a Balkan war, Bosnia will destroy his domestic hopes as surely as Vietnam destroyed Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

not much outsiders can do about Yugoslavia until the Yugoslavs get tired of killing each other. Few Europeans subscribe to the apocalyptic interpretation of the Yugoslav civil war.

The arguments used today for intervention in Bosnia have disquieting echoes of the arguments used 30 years ago for intervention in Vietnam—collective security, domino theory, punishing aggression, defending world order. In 1967, President Johnson sent Clark Clifford on a mission to persuade the Seato allies to increase their token military contributions to Vietnam. Traveling from country to country, Mr. Clifford discovered that the Seato allies, though closer to the scene and more vulnerable to the consequences of a communist victory, did not take the war as tragically as Washington did and were unwilling to put more of their soldiers in the fighting. Mr. Clifford returned from his mission persuaded that there was less at stake in Vietnam than we had supposed.

In retrospect, the assessment of the Seato allies turned out to be correct. North Vietnam won the war, but there was no domino effect (or rather the dominoes fell not against us but against each other, communist Vietnam attacking communist Cambodia and communist China attacking communist Vietnam) and no encour-

lieve that the Yugoslav civil war is going to set off a world war.

And few Europeans believe that, if the agreement breaks down, limited intervention will bring it back to life. Air power is effective in a desert where there is no place to hide. Yugoslavia is not a desert. Bosnia and Serbia are mountainous, forested and filled with places to hide. "Surgical" strikes against Serbian positions are an illusion. As George Ball once remarked, if surgeons used the same criteria that the Air Force does, none of us would ever dare have an operation. We now know that even in the Gulf War the "smart" bombs were not in practice so smart as they were represented as being at the time.

If the agreement breaks down and limited intervention fails to nail that old coonskin to the wall, will the world's only military superpower cravenly retreat? Or, having committed ourselves so far, are we not obligated to go farther and send in ground forces? No doubt in time we could win an all-out war on the ground against Serbia, but it would probably require at least a quarter of a million troops and it would be a messy, murderous affair that no general staff in the West is eager to undertake. And that would not be the end of it. A large military force would have to remain, probably for years, to police a political settlement.

How to Think About Bosnia

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And if we embroil ourselves in the Yugoslav civil war for humanitarian and new-world-order reasons, how can we stop with Yugoslavia? What about Armenia/Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Tibet and other countries where the same principles are involved? Do we ignore these suffering peoples because they are not European? Where does our crusade for world redemption end?

One other consideration must weigh heavily on President Clinton's mind. If he leads the U.S. step by step into a Balkan war, he might as well kiss his program of national renovation and reform goodbye. Bosnia will destroy his domestic hopes as surely as Vietnam destroyed Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

If the agreement breaks down, unless we are prepared to go the distance and send young Americans to kill and die in Bosnia, we may have to settle for longer-run measures of economic and diplomatic ostracism. The barbarous regime in Belgrade cannot hope to escape retribution for the genocidal havoc it has wrought. Should the fighting resume, let us expel Serbia from the U.N., compile the documentation of war crimes and atrocities, and make it clear that, until Serbia has purged itself of its criminal leadership, it cannot return to the fellowship of nations.

Living With Tragedy

Our planet will be filled with barbarism for a long time to come. Violence is epidemic in this post-Cold War world of raging national, religious, ethnic and racial conflict. When vital U.S. interests are directly threatened, of course we must prepare to fight. But in many cases we must accept the sad necessity of living with tragedies that are beyond our power to control and our wisdom to cure.

What President Kennedy said in 1961 applies more than ever today: "We must face the fact that the U.S. is neither omnipotent nor omniscient—that we are only 6% of the world's population—that we cannot impose our will upon the other 94%—that we cannot right every wrong or reverse each adversity—and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem."

Mr. Schlesinger is Albert Schweitzer professor of the humanities at the City University of New York and a winner of Pulitzer Prizes in biography and history.

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