

## SITUATION OF ARMENIANS IN TURKEY IN 1920

Zaven Messerlian

After the Treaty of Sevres was signed (August 10, 1920) the Turkish nationalist forces (*milli*) led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk planned the invasion of the two year old Republic of Armenia. On September 23, 1920 the Turkish nationalist forces led by Gen. Kiazim Karabekir started the aggression, and by their superior forces imposed upon the government of Armenia, the humiliating treaty of Alexandropole, on December 2, 1920 after midnight, while the government of Armenia had transferred its authority to the Soviets at noon the same day.<sup>1</sup>

The Western allies did not help Armenia on the battlefield. President Wilson submitted the arbitration, entrusted to him by the conference of San Remo, concerning the boundaries of Armenia in the Eastern Vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzeroum, and Trebizond, dated November 22, 1920 and published on January 2, 1921. While the second London conference of Great Britain, France and Italy took place between November 26, 1920 and December 4, 1920 discussing amongst others issues concerning Armenia and Cilicia, and refused to admit Armenia in the League of Nations. However, as all the problems put on their agenda were not resolved they decided to hold a third conference in London. This was to be held between February 21, 1921 and March 14, 1921.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, due to a rebellion, the Soviet Armenian authorities were toppled on February 18, 1921 and the last Prime Minister of independent Armenia, Simon Vratsian, led the new government. The latter held its authority until April 2, 1921, when the Red Army drove them out of the country.

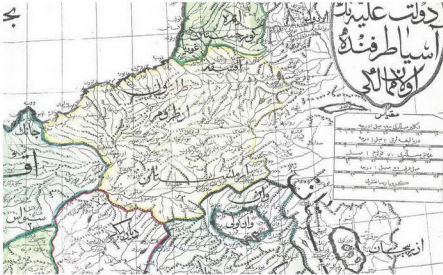
Despite the above developments, Armenia and Cilicia were discussed by the London Conference. The Republic of Armenia was represented by Avedis Aharonian and the representative of Western Armenians the Armenian Delegation, was present in the person of its president Boghos Nubar Pasha. They were invited to participate when Armenia and Cilicia were on the agenda.

The Armenians had been subjected to premeditated genocide planned by the *Ittihad Ve Terakki* (Union and Progress) Turkish party which led the Ottoman government. In 1914 the Armenians totaled 4 million 470.000 and 45.4 percent of which lived in the Ottoman Empire, a total of 2.026.000 persons.<sup>3</sup> 1.5 million people were exterminated by most atrocious means during the genocide particularly in the years 1915 to 1920.

The demography of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire completely changed, especially in the Eastern Vilayets of Turkey, officially known as *Ermenistan Eyaleti* (Province of Armenia) until 1844 by the Ottoman Empire.

The Turks were also divided. In Constantinople (Istanbul) and some areas, the Sultan and his government ruled under the presence of Western allied

forces in the capital city. While in most parts of Asia Minor, including the Eastern Vilayets, the nationalist forces under Kemal ruled. While the Sultan's representative had signed the Treaty of Sevres the nationalists repudiated it. In Cilicia, during 1919-1921 the French were present, until they surrendered it to the Turkish nationalists, on October 20, 1921, due to the French-Turkish Treaty of Ankara, signed by Franklin Bouillon.



A detail of the official map of the Ottoman Empire in 1803-04, where Armenia is clearly indicated (Rouben Galichian, *Historical Maps of Armenia, The Cartographic Heritage*, I.B./Tauris, London, 2003, p. 197)

In the discussions of the London conferences the new demography came into discussions. While the Sultan's internationally recognized Ottoman government was more apt for compromise, the nationalists were adamant.

The British High Commissioner in Constantinople Homer Rumbold informed Prime Minister Curzon on January 29, 1921 that the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sefa Bey, had informed him that he is ready to accept, if any region had 55% or more Armenians to be ceded to Armenia. Rumbold added that Sefa in order to avoid any criticism that "Turks by their own operation [i.e. the genocide] had diminished with premeditation the Armenian population in different regions," he is ready to accept the pre-war statistics of the population of these regions.<sup>4</sup> Needless to say that the Ottoman statistics and censuses were not reliable and they had reduced the population numbers of Armenians.

Rumbold in another document dated February 7, 1921, mentioned that Mustafa Kemal had made "the false insistence of large scale massacres done by Armenians."<sup>5</sup>

During the conference itself the question of the number of Armenians came up several times. In the meeting of February 26, 1921 Boghos Noubar mentioned that the Armenians of Cilicia were in the majority before the war of 1914-1918 and had, as he spoke, more than 150,000 Armenians there.<sup>6</sup> Aharonian stressed that the Mohammedan population in the Vilayets of Van, Bitlis and Erzeroum according to recent information was 96,000, while there were 300,000 Turkish Armenian survivors in the Republic of Armenia, who are waiting to return to their homes.<sup>7</sup>

Boghos Noubar insisted the Armenians were not a minority in Cilicia, mentioned that in the Vilayet of Adana the population consisted of 185,000 Mohammedans and 215,000 Christians. He added these facts were mentioned in the French National Assembly having as sources the *Eastern Yearbook* published in Constantinople.<sup>8</sup>

The French who were planning to abandon Cilicia to the Turkish nationalists disputed Boghos Noubar's numbers. Their representative in the London Conference said the province of Adana had in 1914, 314,000 Mohammedans and 55,000 Armenians and a certain number of Greeks, though it is true that since the Armistice 'many' Armenians had found refuge in Adana, and a "great" number of Turks had left the city. It is possible that "at the present time [February 1921] there is a Christian majority in Adana province."<sup>9</sup>

The British had come prepared for the meeting. They had the Armenian population statistics (i.e. of the Ottoman Empire) in their hand.

The President of Robert College of Constantinople C.F. Gates had requested from the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople Archbishop Zaven Der Yeghiayan to prepare a report on the "present condition of Armenians in Turkey." Gates obtained a somewhat lengthy report of 20 typewritten pages and sent it with a letter dated February 16, 1921 to the British High Commissioner in Constantinople Homer Rumbold stating "The Patriarchate knows nothing in regard to the use I make of this information." He added "the figures given in this statement they may be accepted as approximately correct." Rumbold in his turn sent the report to the British PM Curzon, on February 23, 1921 stating it may be of "considerable value" in the London Conference and stated that the "details therein contained are approximately accurate in so far as it has been possible to judge from such information as in the possession of this High Commission."<sup>10</sup>

Below are given first the letters of Rumbold, Gates and the unsigned report of the Armenian Patriarchate.<sup>11</sup> I have quoted in an article in the past in 1973, only the statistics that appear in the beginning of the report.<sup>12</sup> My remarks follow the report. The underlinings are by Rumbold or the Foreign Office.

British High Commission,  
Constantinople,  
23rd. February, 1921.

No: - 199/1683/1921.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for Your Lordship's information, copy of a letter which I have received from Dr. C. F. Gates, President of Robert College, enclosing a memorandum prepared by the Armenian Patriarchate regarding the numbers, distribution and general condition of the Armenians in Turkey.

2. In view of the discussions on the Near Eastern question which are now taking place in London, I am of opinion that this memorandum, even though somewhat lengthy, may be of considerable value, particularly as the details therein contained are approximately accurate in so far as it has been possible to judge from such other information as is in the possession of this High Commission.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,  
With the highest respect,  
Your Lordship's most obedient  
humble Servant,  
Homer Rumbold  
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Right Honourable,  
The Earl of Kedleston, K. G., P. C.,  
etc., etc., etc.

COPY

Robert College,  
Constantinople,  
16th. February, 1921.

To:- Sir Horace Rumbold,  
British High Commissioner,  
Constantinople.

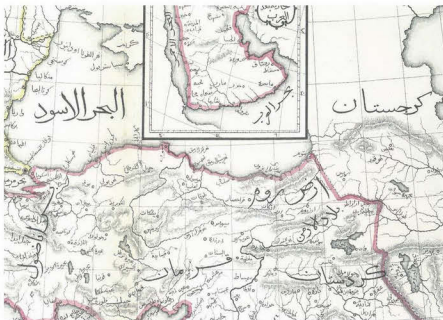
Sir,

The enclosed statement of the present conditions of the Armenians in Turkey was prepared at my request by the Armenian Patriarch in answer to questions of my propounding.

The Patriarchate knows nothing in regard to the use I make of this information.

In regard to the figures given in this statement they may be accepted as approximately correct. In some cases I would question their accuracy. The condition of the country makes it impossible to gain accurate statistics, but the general picture here presented of the condition of the Armenians is undoubtedly a true one.

It must be remembered that the Armenians have not only lost half of their people, but they have lost the better half. The intellectuals, teachers, priests, men of education were sought out and destroyed. Those who now aspire to leadership among the Armenians are not fit to lead or to rule.



A detail of the official map of the Ottoman Empire in 1867, where Armenia is clearly indicated (Rouben Galichian, *Historical Maps of Armenia, The Cartographic Heritage*, I.B./Tauris, London, 2003, p. 215)

I do not venture to make any suggestions as to the method of solving the complicated and difficult problems of the Armenian question, but I should like to make a few remarks:-

First:- the bitter hostility which has been engendered between Turks and Armenians indicates that they cannot live together any longer. A "National Home" should be found for Armenians in the Near East, or else they should be deported to other lands.

Second:- The saner Armenians here have come to take more moderate views of their future "National Home". Their preference would be to have Cilicia given to them even though it should be under Turkish sovereignty. Failing in that they would like to have Trebizond and adjacent territory.

Third:- It would be advantageous if their "National Home" adjoined the territory of some European mandatory.

As the Conference at London will consider the Turkish question it may be of use to them to have the information in this paper.

Respectfully, Yours,  
(Signed) C.F. Gates.  
President of Robert College.

# COPY

## 1. THE NUMBER OF ARMENIANS IN THE BOUNDARIES OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

There are now approximately 600,000 Armenians in the provinces which formed part of the old Ottoman Empire before the Treaty of Sévres.

## 2. HOW ARE THEY DISTRIBUTED?

The following statistics show the number of Armenians in each Sandjak of the Empire. In Vilayets where the Armenian population was small, the number of Armenians living in the whole Vilayet is given:-

1.	Constantinople	150,000
2.	Vilayet of Adrianople	6,000
3.	Nicomedia (Independent Sandjak)	20,000
4.	Khudavendigiar	
	a. Sandjak of Broussa	11,000
	b. Sandjak of Biledjik	4,500
5.	Kalei Sultanie (Independent Sandjak)	900
6.	Karassi " "	5,800
7.	Afion Karahissar " "	7,000
8.	Kutahia " "	
9.	Vilayet of Aidin (Smyrna)	10,000
10.	Vilayet of Kastomouni	8,000
11.	Bolou (Independent Sandjak)	
12.	Angora	
	a. Angora	
	b. Kirshehir	2,500
	c. Chorum	
	d. Yozgat	3,000
13.	Caesarea (Independent Sandjak)	4,000
14.	Vilayet of Konia	10,000
15.	Sivaz	
	Sandjak of Sivaz	12,000
	Sandjak of Tokat	1,800
	Sandjak of Amasia	2,000
	Sandjak of Shabin Karahissar	1,000
16.	Trebizond	
	a. Trebizond	
	b. Lazistan	10,000
	c. Gumush Hane	
17.	Djanik	5,000
18.	Vilayet of Erzeroum	1,500
19.	Vilayet of Van (only in the city)	500
20.	Vilayet of Bitlis	NBODY.
21.	Vilayet of Diarbekir	3,000
22.	Mamouret ul Aziz	
	a. Harpout	30,000
	b. Malatia	2,000
	c. Dersim	3,000

23.	Vilayet of Adana	150,000
24.	Aleppo	
	a. Aleppo	5,000
	b. Aintab	52,000
25.	Ourfa (Independent Vilayet)	9,000
26.	Marash (" ")	10,000
27.	Jerusalem (" ")	2,000
28.	Vilayet of Damascus	400
29.	Vilayet of Beirut	1,000
30.	Vilayet of Bagdad	1,000
31.	Vilayet of Basra	400
32.	Vilayet of Moussoul	800
	TOTAL	546,100
	In the camp of Bakrouba	15,000
		561,000

In addition to this there are still Armenian orphans and young girls in Moslem houses, who have not yet been liberated. It is known that in the Arabian desert a large number of Armenian orphans is still held in bondage by Arab tribes.

Orphans and young girls in the district of Deir el Zor

a.	Near the Ziber, Egedar and Vragora tribes	500
b.	Near the Djibour tribe	600
c.	Near the Shammar tribe	700
d.	Near the Anneze tribe	2000

In Ras-ul-Ain near the Tchetchen tribes	2000
---	------

In Constantinople and its surroundings	6000
Nicodemia	2000
Broussa	
Balikessir	
Karahissar	
Bolou	
Eskishehir	1500
Konia	
Kastamouni	3000
Trebizond	500
Sivaz	2000
Caesarea	3500
Erzeroum	3500
Diarbekir	25000
Mardin	
Harpout	3000
Bitlis	5000
Van	
TOTAL NUMBER	624,900

But, however, the total given above does not represent the entire number. Many Armenians had adopted Islam to get rid of the unspeakable crime and of the persecutions organised by the Ittihad, and many others, who had been deported, lived in different districts in disguise.

Rev. Vartan Amirhanian, who managed to remain in Harpout during the whole period of the war, informed us that a great number of strangers, who were known to be Turks or were disguised in Turkish dress during the war, revealed themselves to be Armenians after the Armistice. Moreover, it is believed that many Armenians are still hiding themselves in some safe shelter, perhaps on the mountains, and do not care to come out for fear of being subject to persecution even now.

It would not be safe to estimate the number of these people but in all probability there are as many as 20,000 of them.

### 3. HOW MANY OF THESE ARMENIANS HAVE RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES AND HOW MANY HAVE RECOVERED THEIR HOUSES AND FARMS?

The Armenians of Constantinople and of the Sandjak of Kotahia and those who lived in different districts in the Vilayet of Aidin, were not deported. The Armenians actually living in the Sandjak of Nicomedia and in the Vilayets of Broussa, Kastamouni, Angora and Konia, are mostly the inhabitants of these places who have come back to their homes after having been deported and decimated in deportation. Part of these suffered a second deportation, voluntary or forced, after the rising of the Nationalist movement. Again, as a precaution against a probable occupation by the Greeks, the Kemalist Government deported the male Armenians of Biledjik, Eski Shehir, Afion Karahisar and their environs.

News has lately arrived that the male Armenians of Konia were gathered and sent into the interior, to Van and Erzeroum, but no certain and official information has yet been received concerning this report.

In the immediate vicinity of Constantinople the Armenians of the villages of Broussa and Nicomedia suffered new massacres by the Millidjis, and, under the fear of this new terror, they once more abandoned their villages and property and escaped to find protection in the districts occupied by the Greeks. They are now wandering around in the seashore villages awaiting a favorable opportunity to return to their homes.

With regard to the situation in the interior, in the Sandjak of Caesarea and in the Vilayets of Sivas, Harpout, Diarbekir, and especially in Cilicia and Constantinople, it may be said that there are many Armenians who returned from deportation with the local population and who are remaining in these places away from their homes, either because of the insecurity of their own districts or on account of economic difficulties.

Especially in the district of Cilicia are gathered the remnants of the Armenian population of Erzeroum and Bitlis Vilayets who could not return to their homes owing to the unsettled conditions and were, therefore, sent by a special arrangement of the Allied Governments to be settled in Cilicia until a favorable opportunity for their return home presented itself.

Moreover, those who still remain in the interior, as in Sivas, Harpout and even in Cilicia, have concentrated themselves in or around the big cities and do not dare to disperse into their own villages.



The Kemalists have already given the order of "White massacre". They have subjected the Armenians to economic boycott, and the Armenians, who are poor and destitute, can scarcely support themselves by petty commerce. At the same time, the Kemalists have spread such terror about them that the peasants do not venture to cultivate their fields and vineyards.

In three of the Armenian Vilayets, in Van, Erzeroum and Bitlis there are no Armenians left. The survivors of these districts and those who have fled to the Caucasus, see no possibility of returning to their homes. The Kemalist Government does not allow them to settle in those districts again, and if any are found there by chance they are persecuted to annihilation.

News came at the beginning of the Kemalist movement that 250 Armenian soldiers, discharged from the Turkish army, had been put to work in coal mines, under unbearable conditions, by the order of Moustafa Kemal. Since then nothing has been heard of them.

About 50 women and orphans were left unmolested in Sivas, almost miraculously it seems. American and Swiss missionaries had tried to send them some kind of assistance but were forbidden by the government to enter into relation of any sort with them. It is very probable that they are dead by this time.

There were about 4,500 Armenians on the islands in the Lake of Van. No news has been received from them since a year owing to the Kemalist movement.

A number of Armenians have returned from the desert and settled themselves in different districts of the Vilayet of Diarbekir. Only part of these are natives of Diarbekir and the rest have migrated from other countries. In the localities inhabited by the Kurds of this Vilayet there are still a number of Armenians who are existing under the same terrible conditions.

The Dersim Kurds in the Vilayet of Harpout have shown a better spirit towards the Armenians and have helped them to a certain extent. There are still some Armenians living there but nothing definite is known about their condition.

The Vilayet of Cilicia was considered the safest place in Asia Minor and has attracted a great number of Armenians who migrated and settled there. Quite a considerable number of Armenians returned from abroad and settled in different Cilician cities. But the Kemalist invasions on one side, and the French withdrawal from the northern part of the Vilayet, on the other, resulted in a fresh slaughter of the Armenians, and forced the new settlers and those recently returned from deportation, to abandon their new homes. As a result of the massacre of Marash, which ended in the slaughter of 20,000 Armenians, the inhabitants of the villages withdrew into the cities. The population of Sis fell back on Adana; Kars Pazar was evacuated, Hadjin fell with 10 to 12,000 victims, and this vilayet, where the Armenians hastened to settle and give themselves up to reconstructive work, became a constant center of trouble where no Armenian settlement could be established with any degree of certainty.

Owing to the break in communications between Constantinople and the interior, our information dates back six months. But this much is evident that, from the signing of the Armistice down to the present, the Armenian people have not been given a chance to enjoy the fruits of peace and to decide upon its future. It is continually shuttled back and forth now subjected to forced deportation as we hear from reports, now migrating

voluntarily in search of a safer shelter, so that, to-day, it has not yet been able, except in a few isolated instances, to find for itself a permanent home.

As a result of these constant shiftings it is not possible to say accurately what percent of the Armenians of Turkey have returned to their former countries and what, percent is still wandering abroad. The probable proportion is, we believe, about half in half. As to the question whether any appreciable remnant has regained its houses and farms it is not possible to answer it without a short survey of the situation.

It is undoubtedly true that, immediately after the Armistice, the Turkish Government was still so overwhelmed that she showed a docile acceptance of her fate. In the first few days of the Armistice, she manifested a readiness to make good, at least in part, the injustice done, and did not raise any serious difficulty about returning the confiscated houses and lands, and especially in places where there were still some Armenians, the public buildings, churches, schools and the property belonging them, were readily restored.

In Cilicia, too, with the help of the French authorities, satisfactory results were attained in this respect.

On the other hand, however, there was no possibility of knowing what had happened to the estates and land belonging to the nation itself, in places now altogether emptied of Armenians such as in Erzeroum, Van and Bitlis.

As to individuals, those who survived the massacres and had immediately returned to their country succeeded for the most part, in getting back, in one way or another, their lands, except such parts as had been given to Moslem immigrants or confiscated by influential Turks.

But later on, when the Turks, recovered from the first effects of the blow, tried to avoid the immediate results of their defeat by political jugglery, they then not only refused to return the properties of the Armenians but embarked upon new confiscations.

It is to be noted also that the Armenian peasant of Harpout or of Sivas Vilayet could not possibly make use of his land inasmuch as his first step towards cultivating his fields would mean for him instant death by a criminal bullet.

In certain cities and villages, too, the houses of the Armenians are burnt or totally pulled down, and those who return find nothing more than a heap of ruins of their once flourishing homes. Consequently, in such cases, the Turkish government had nothing to return to the former owners even if she had had the good will to do so.

Unfortunately, the Armenian Patriarchate has no means of communicating regularly with the Interior, and therefore, is not in a position to make out accurately statistics of the destroyed properties of the Armenians. According to the testimony of those who were in the Armenian Vilayets during the Russian occupation, in many cases, not even a trace is left of certain towns and villages. Only in some of the nearer districts it has been possible to make out statistics which show distinctly the proportion of houses burnt or destroyed.

The following are among the statistics at hand:

From 1400 houses of Broussa	650 destroyed, 350 half ruined
From 1360 houses of Seolez	745 destroyed, 195 half ruined

From 400 houses of Gurle	225 destroyed, 40 half ruined
From 800 houses of Upper Benli	750 destroyed
From 110 houses of Lower Benli	25 destroyed, 5 half ruined
From 70 houses of Gemlik	20 destroyed, 50 half ruined
From 1148 houses of Yenidje*	352 destroyed, 608 half ruined
From 430 houses of Djerah*	83 destroyed, 167 half ruined
From 72 houses of Yeni Shehir*	67 half ruined
From 380 houses of Marmarjik*	100 destroyed, 200 half ruined
From 170 houses of Karsak*	101 destroyed, 10 half ruined
From 2000 houses of Medz Nor Kugh	500 destroyed
From 1000 houses of Tchengiler	650 destroyed
From 750 houses of Michakugh	725 destroyed
From 250 houses of Keremet	150 destroyed
From 1100 houses of Nocomedia	650 destroyed
From 2500 houses of Bardizag	1700 destroyed, 500 half ruined
From 150 houses of Deongeol	150 destroyed, 114 half ruined
From 41 houses of Manishag	39 destroyed
From 780 houses of Ovadjik	350 destroyed, 130 half ruined
From 750 houses of Aslanbeg	150 destroyed in 1915-1918. In 1920 the whole village is destroyed by fire
From 60 houses of Dagh Kugh	12 destroyed, 28 half ruined
From 3500 houses of Adapazar	650 destroyed, 95 half ruined
From 200 houses of Ferizli	138 destroyed, 62 half ruined
From 95 houses of Tamlik	35 destroyed, 40 half ruined
From 22 houses of Findikli	11 destroyed, 9 half ruined
From 85 houses of Almalou	12 destroyed, 31 half ruined
From 110 houses of Aramkugh	30 destroyed, 40 half ruined
From 120 houses of Keghamkugh	45 destroyed, 40 half ruined
From 270 houses of Hayozkugh	130 destroyed
From 180 houses of Geive Ortakeuy	170 destroyed
From 50 houses of Ovinkugh	50 destroyed
From 150 houses of Geive Etchme	70 half ruined
From 756 houses of Kourdbelen	756 destroyed
From 320 houses of Kindjilar	300 half ruined
From 680 houses of Yalakdere Merdigeoz	127 destroyed, 73 half ruined
From 102 houses of Shak Shak	42 half ruined
From 75 houses of Tchoukour	5 destroyed, 70 half ruined
From 236 houses of Karzi	16 destroyed, 35 half ruined
From 124 houses of Kilidikeuy	124 half ruined
From 204 houses of Zakar Kugh	104 half ruined
From 300 houses of Armash	100 half ruined
From 33 houses of Hach Kugh	13 half ruined
From 175 houses of Khasgal	165 half ruined
From 1300 houses of Agn	700 destroyed, 300 half ruined
From 320 houses of Abachougha	150 destroyed, 100 half ruined

From 215 houses of Gamaragab	150 destroyed, 25 half ruined
From 80 houses of Lidjik	40 destroyed, 20 half ruined
From 38 houses of Narver	20 destroyed, 10 half ruined
From 220 houses of Pinguian	160 destroyed, 50 half ruined
From 40 houses of Areki	10 destroyed, 140 half ruined
From 150 houses of Anchrti	80 destroyed, 20 half ruined
From 60 houses of Saghmega	57 destroyed, 1 half ruined
From 70 houses of Mashgerd	10 destroyed, 10 half ruined
From 100 houses of Dzak	40 destroyed, 20 half ruined
From 20 houses of Yenesik	16 destroyed, 2 half ruined
From 30 houses of Dzabelvar	25 destroyed, 5 half ruined
From 20 houses of Huni	15 destroyed, 3 half ruined
From 25 houses of Horoch	10 destroyed, 5 half ruined
From 15 houses of Grani	10 destroyed, 5 half ruined
From 20 houses of Hasgeni	20 destroyed
From 90 houses of Aghin	60 destroyed, 20 half ruined
From 80 houses of Koushna	40 destroyed, 5 half ruined
From 100 houses of Vaghchen	55 destroyed, 10 half ruined
From 50 houses of Vank	30 destroyed, 10 half ruined
From 40 houses of Ziamra	28 destroyed, 2 half ruined
From 62 houses of Gasma	51 destroyed, 8 half ruined
From 1326 houses of Rodosto	229 destroyed
From 473 houses of Tchoulou	34 destroyed, 143 half ruined
From 235 houses of Dardanelles	112 destroyed, 90 half ruined
From 129 houses of Dzak, Balikli, Kizil Kugh	17 destroyed, 92 half ruined
From 2366 houses of Marsovan	1728 destroyed, 170 half ruined
From 400 houses of Vezir Keupru	200 destroyed, 100 half ruined
From 25 houses of Navza	21 destroyed
From 250 houses of Medjid Ezin	100 destroyed, 50 half ruined
From 28 houses of Vanki Kugh	29 destroyed, 24 half ruined
From 50 houses of Yenidje	30 destroyed
From 660 houses of Banderma	30 destroyed, 30 half ruined
From 205 houses of Edinjik	68 destroyed, 28 half ruined
From 252 houses of Hai Kugh	140 destroyed
From 650 houses of BaliKessir	50 destroyed, 200 half ruined
From 150 houses of Mikhalij	55 destroyed, 20 half ruined
From 217 houses of Kirmasti	100 destroyed, 67 half ruined
From 55 houses of Balia Maden	10 destroyed, 25 half ruined
From 30 houses of Armod Ova	30 destroyed
From 15 houses of Burhanie	15 destroyed
From 6 houses of Edremid	6 destroyed

Note:- In the above list the names marked by asterisk show that the statistics were made immediately after the armistice and therefore do not indicate the present condition. These places were later occupied by the Greek army and, the Millis, before their retirement, not only massacred and persecuted the population but burned the houses as well. Therefore, the number of houses destroyed or burnt is much greater than the above statistics would show.

These conditions being given, we may say then, that not more than one third of the real estate, of the Armenians who have returned, has been regained and that the remaining two thirds is still under confiscation or is found in such a condition that it cannot be returned.

#### 4. THE NUMBER OF ARMENIANS WHO ARE STILL IN DEPORTATION CAMPS AND RECEIVE HELP.

In the camp of Bakouba, there are 15,000 Armenians from Van who live on the relief given by the British Government.

In Cilicia, Armenians from different districts receive help from the French Government or from other relief committees.

#### 5. WHAT IS THE RELATION BETWEEN THE KEMALISTS AND THE ARMENIANS IN THESE DISTRICTS? HAS THERE BEEN ANY ATTEMPT MADE TO BETTER THEIR RELATIONS?

The relation of the Kemalists and the Armenians is not the same everywhere. The Kemalists have their special policy towards the Armenians which changes according to place and circumstances. It can be said, however, that, as a rule, they do not show any conciliatory spirit towards the Armenians. The Milli movement being chiefly shaped on the Ittihad policy, follows it in its main lines which is to solve the Armenian question by exterminating the nation.

The only deviation from this common policy, however, lay in the methods of promoting it. So, the Kemalists did not resort to massacre or looting in those places where their influence is absolute and did not encounter foreign control which would annoy them. In all probability, in such places as Diarbekir, Harput, Sivas, Angora and Caesarea the Armenians were not slaughtered according to our information of six months ago.

The Armenians of these districts are condemned to annihilation not by the sword but by starvation and poverty. They live a life of slavery, subject to the caprice of the Milli Tcheté chieftains, which may change from one moment to another. Robbery, oppression and looting are the order of the day. The Armenians are employed in heavy work and are conscripted forcibly. They are a despised element and the Kemalists make use of them to suit their pleasure. They declare economic boycott against them and make them suffer in every way possible. They do not massacre them and this is the only favor they grant them.

Outside of these districts, farther to the East, in the Armenian Vilayets, where there is not a single Armenian soul living now, the Kemalists have absolutely and irrevocably forbidden the Armenians to make a residence there. Their return to these Vilayets has not been allowed ever since the Armistice.

There are Armenians living on the shore of the Black Sea and in the Western Vilayets under Allied control. As a result of the pushing forward of the Greek zone of occupation, massacres took place in the immediate neighborhood as in Geivé, Ak Hissar and Yalova. The Kemalists massacred the Armenian population of Bolou and Wuzdje, too, accusing them that they had given help to Circassians, whom they consider their enemies. Again, in certain districts, such as in Yozgat and Konia, where rebellions against the Kemalists arose, the Armenians were persecuted in a more or less violent fashion.

From this point of view, the Armenians found around the border of the Greek zone of occupation or living on the shore of the Black Sea, are continually threatened by grave danger. The Kemalists annihilate, by actual massacre or by deportation, the Christian population in the direct path of the advance of the Greek occupation before they themselves evacuate this places.

As to the Armenians living under foreign administration as in Cilicia, the Kemalists never restrained themselves from massacring them, accusing them of having desired foreign domination. Marash and Hadjin are the vivid examples of this policy, and the continual attacks on towns and villages, repulsed either by the villagers themselves or by the French military forces, result from outbursts of this same spirit. No effective has been made to relieve this dangerous tension between the Armenians and the Kemalists. In fact there was no occasion or opportunity to undertake such an action.

As a striking fact, however, it is worth while mentioning here, that one of the Bishops in the interior, Sarkis Vartabed Adjemian of Sivas, had personally succeeded in keeping on relatively amicable relations with the local authorities. But no news has arrived from him for six months and therefore it is not known whether or not he has been able to preserve his friends.

#### 6. WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF THE KEMALIST GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE ARMENIANS?

The answer to the previous questions fully explains this one. Only so much is worth while mentioning that the Kemalists pursue one decided policy in the Armenian question. They do all in their power to prevent the formation of an independent Armenian government especially the annexation of Turkish Armenian territories to this government. To carry this plan out, they resort to the question of majority and strive, as far as possible, to lessen the number of the Armenians taking advantage of every possible occasion. In a word, their attitude is not conciliatory but threatening.

The Armenians who have taken refuge in the Caucasus can be classified in two categories. Under the first category come those who had migrated during the massacres of 1895.

Their number is	120,000
The second group has migrated during	
The last world war (1914-'18) their number is	300,000
	Total 420,000

The majority of these Armenians live in the boundaries of the Armenian Republic and a smaller portion in Georgia, Northern Caucasus and in South Russia.

There is no tendency towards bolshevism among the Turkish Armenians. The reason for this is obvious.

In Turkey there is no proper ground for creating a struggle between classes, consequently socialistic ideas here do not amount to any practical value.

As a whole the Turkish Armenians are merchants and farmers and are not interested in the social theories. We can, therefore, state here that there are no real Armenian socialists, to say nothing of Bolsheviks. Even the Bolshevik movement among the Russian Armenians is far from being real. The appearances are misleading if a profound study is not made. But the moment we penetrate into the psychology of the Armenian nation and cast a glance on her past, the true situation reveals itself.

We must first of all remember that the Russians have played a benevolent role for the Armenians and that there exists a strong tie of intellectual relationship which brings these two peoples closer together. Thanks to Russia, large numbers of Armenians were emancipated from the unbearable yoke of the Turk or the Persian, have achieved a really happy life under the Russian rule, have progressed economically and have enjoyed the blessings of honor, safety, and wealth.

The Russian civilization has had a profound influence on the Armenians who have mastered the Russian language and thus have come into intellectual contact with the nation which has produced so many masterpieces. This intellectual intercourse and the bond of common religion have brought these two nations into closer understanding, and their mutual affection is more and more strengthened as the Russians, more than once in the past, have saved the Armenians from the Moslem hordes.

After endless struggles, when this time, too, the Armenian nation found herself face to face with a Moslem invasion, unprotected and abandoned by the civilized world, she threw herself once more upon the mercy of the Russians in despair.

She could not know that this time it was not the same Russia that she had known before. She could not distinguish between the Bolshevik and non Bolshevik Russia. Therefore, she considered the Bolshevik Russia as equally liberator, with the sole object of preserving her physical entity.

It is true that the name of some Armenians are mentioned as Bolsheviks. There are some individuals who were brought up and educated in a purely Russian atmosphere who have worked as Russian citizens and have shown tendencies to Bolshevism, which is basically the offspring of the irrational elements of the Russian intellectuality and is directly opposed to the mentality of the Armenian nation. These Armenians are Armenians by name only. They are cosmopolitans in belief. For them the idea of nationality occupies a secondary and even a trivial plan in the world.

These individuals are very few in number. They have stopped thinking, speaking and acting as Armenians. They are purely Russians in their actions and thought.

The Armenian people has no connection with them whatsoever. She welcomed the Russians, this time in Bolshevik disguise, as her liberator, and for this reason she did not oppose the Bolshevik flag in her country.

#### APPENDIX

The following additional information about the fluctuating population of Cilicia has been received from a reliable source.

The Armenian population of Cilicia in July 1920 was as follows:

Adana	100,000
Mersin	15,000
Tarsus	10,000
Deort Yol	20,000
Osmanie	500
Dijhan & Missis	1000
Nadajarli	
Hassan Beuli	8000
Bahcha Harounie	10,000
Sis Gars Pazar	15,000

Aintab	15,000
Marash	8000
Hadjin Vahga Shar	11,000
Zeitoun	5000
Total	218,000

At the present moment, however, the conditions are changed and the figures given above for the different districts no longer hold good. In certain localities the population has been augmented by an influx of refugees from other districts. Therefore, we think it necessary to give the following explanations:

Adana. 12,000 of the total population of the city of Adana are from other districts. Lately, 15,000 Armenians natives of Cilicia and of surrounding districts, have been taken out of Cilicia. 2,500 of these were sent to Smyrna, Constantinople and Armenia and the remaining 12,500 to Deort Yol, Alexandretta and Beirut.

At the present moment there are 85,000 Armenians in Adana city, 20,000 of whom receive help from the following relief committees: French relief office, Armenian Benevolent Society of Egypt [AGBU], Armenian Orphans' Committee of Alexandretta, Armenian National Union of Adana, Armenian Red Cross, Near East Relief and the Lord Mayor's Fund.

Mersina. 2000 out of the population of Mersina are not natives. The number of needy Armenians in the city is somewhere about 3,000.

Tarsus. In Tarsus there are 2,000 Armenians who are not natives and 4,000 needy.

Deort-Yol. There are 4,000 non-natives in Deort-Yol. Orange growing is the only source of income for the native people, and they have not been able to profit by this during the last few years. Consequently, 10,000 Armenians in the city are now in need of help. The people of Deort Yol are, for the most part, husbandmen and have lands in Tchoukour Ova, and in the district of Ayas, but owing to uncertain conditions, they cannot occupy themselves with agricultural work. The people receive help from the Near East Relief, the Armenian Benevolent Society, and from the Armenian National Union of Adana.

Osmanie. 450 Armenians out of 500 of Osmanie are in need of help. Thus far they have been supported by the Armenian National Union of Adana, Armenian Benevolent Society and the Near East Relief.

In Djihan and Missis Nadjarli there are 800 needy Armenians out of the total population of 1000. Part of the Armenians of Missis had been removed to Adana. The people of Nadjarli, in particular, depend entirely on relief organizations for aid because they dare not work in their fields. The above mentioned relief committees have helped them periodically.

Hassan Beili. The people of Hassan Beili fought unaided against the Kemalists for four months but finally had to abandon everything and were removed to Deort Yol by the arrangement of the French Authorities. They still remain there and are in great need of help.

Bahché Harounié. The people of Ba[h]ché Harounié abandoned their homes on account of constant fighting and retired to Adana and to other big cities. Part of them were sent to the environs of Deort Yol and Alexandretta in September 1920.



Kars-Pazar. The Armenians of Kars Pazar are now in Adana and to a great extent depend on outside help.

Aintab. The Aintab people have been engaged in constant fighting with the Kemalists for a year, as a result of which they cannot leave the city. The whole population is in need of help.

Marash. The people of Marash, 8000 in number, are the survivors of the last massacre. They live amid frightful conditions under the constant fear of Turkish violence.

Hadjin Vahga Shar. Only 500 out of the 11,000 Armenians of Hadjin Vahga Shari have managed to come to Adana and Deort Yol since the fall of Hadjin. There is no certain information about the rest. It is not yet known whether they were all massacred or whether some are still living. We would fain believe that part of them were deported to Caesarea or farther into the interior.

Zeitoun. The relations of Zeitoun with the outer world are broken since a year. It has not been possible to find out what has become of the 5000 Armenians who were gathered there.

From the above statistics, it is made clear that in the total Armenian population of Cilicia there are 20 to 25,000 who are not natives of the country, and from 50 to 60,000 needy.

This large number of needy people would certainly and perceptibly be lessened if security and tranquility prevailed in the country, and each was given free hand to work.

We think it is necessary to mention too that in addition to the numbers given above, there are 4-5000 Armenians from Cilicia who have established themselves in Constantinople, Smyrna, Egypt and Syria.

As to the refugee camps in Cilicia, 14,000 Armenians, natives of Cilicia and people from other countries, were taken care of in the camp of Adana. In September 1920 the French took them out of the city and established French soldiers in the camp.

The orphans in the camp of Mersina are transferred to the orphanage of Adana, and so the Mersina camp is closed.

## REMARKS

The 1919-1923 phase of the Armenian Genocide is less stressed than the 1915-1918 phase in history books and articles. The document prepared by the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople is important as it deals with the demographic changes and situation within Turkey, as far as the Armenians are concerned in 1920. After the Mudros Armistice Agreement and the fall of the Ittihadist government thousands of Armenian survivors of the genocide returned to their original population centers except those living in the provinces of Van, Bitlis and Erzeroum. The Ittihadist government in carrying out its premeditated plan of the genocide of Armenians gave particular attention to the Armenian provinces to annihilate the native Armenians. Talaat gave specific orders in this respect and Behaeddine Shakir led the process of extermination with his collaborators.<sup>13</sup> The Patriarchate report indicated there were almost no

Armenians left in Van, Bitlis and Erzeroum provinces in 1920 and the 4500 Armenians living in the islands of Lake Van were not heard of.

The Patriarchate report is important to know the nationalist's (Kemalist *millîjis*) policy towards the survivors of the genocide.

The report indicates that in July 1920, the Armenians in Cilicia numbered 218,000.

Even though Boghos Nubar agreed that a large portion of Cilicia would be under Turkish sovereignty, however, he insisted on the fact that the Armenians outnumbered the Turks there, and asked for French protection of the Armenians for the establishment of an autonomous administration, with a police force comprised of Christians and Moslems to settle local matters.<sup>14</sup> However, the London conference did not take this demand into consideration.

The conclusion the London conference reached on Armenians was a retreat from the Treaty of Sevres. Curzon said the implementation of the treaty faced serious difficulties and cited two causes: Bolshevism in Armenia and the occupation by Mustafa Kemal's forces of the greater part of the Armenian territory.<sup>15</sup>

Point 9 of the London conference said:

Concerning Armenia, present obligations could be applied, on condition that Turkey acknowledges the rights of Turkish-Armenians for a national homeland within the eastern frontiers of Asiatic Turkey, and accepts the presence of a committee to be assigned by the League of Nations, whose duty would be to study the problem of territories which will be justifiably transferred to Armenia, for that purpose."<sup>16</sup>

#### ENDNOTES

---

<sup>1</sup> For details, see my book, *The Three treaties: the Treaties of Alexandropole, Moscow and Kars*, Beirut, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Chapter III.

<sup>3</sup> *Armenian SSR, Atlas* (in Armenian), Yerevan-Moscow, 1961, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Hayasdane Michazkayin Tivanakidutyany Yev Sovedagan Ardakin Kaghakaganutyany Pasdateghtheroum* (Armenia in International Diplomatic and Soviet Foreign Policy Documents), ed. by John Giragossian, Yerevan, 1972, p. 695, after this footnote Hayasdane...

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 699-700.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 701.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 704.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Crown copyright records in the Public Record Office, London, appear by permission of the controller of H.M. Stationery Office, F.O. 371/6656.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.Chemali

<sup>11</sup> "Norakuyun Spurke" (the Recent Diaspora), *Shirag Monthly*, September-October 1973, pp. 9-10; Zaven Messerlian, *Hayots Tseghasbanutenen Arach Yev Yedk*, Antelias, 2011, pp. 231-2; its English version, *Before and After the Armenian Genocide*, Beirut, 2015, Chemali and Chemali publishing house, pp. 244-6.

<sup>12</sup> It should be remembered that the leadership of the Armenian community in Constantinople was first arrested, then exiled to the interior of Turkey and later cold-bloodedly killed. On April 24, 1915, 270 persons and in later months (particularly in June) 600 were involved. Only 8 persons returned to Constantinople, including Gomidas.

<sup>13</sup> See my book, *The Premeditated Nature of The Genocide Perpetrated on the Armenians*, Antelias, 2001.

<sup>14</sup> *Hayasdane*, p. 700.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 702.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Khadisian, *Hayasani Hanrabedutyun Dzakumn ou Zarkatsume (the Dawn and Development of the Republic of Armenia)*, Beirut, 1968, p. 340.

#### ՀԱՅԵՐՈՒ ՎԻՃԱԿԸ ԹՈՒՐԻՔԻՈՅ ՄԷՋ 1920ԻՆ (Ամփոփում)

ԶԱԽԷՆ ՄԱՐԸՆԵԱՆ

1920ի երկրորդ կիսը ճակատագրական եղաւ Հայաստանի Ա. Հանրապետութեան համար: Սեւրի Պայմանագրի ստորագրումէն առնեն մը ետք, Մուսթաֆա Բենալի գլխաւորած միլլի ուժերը նախապարծակում գործեցին եւ պարտադրեցին Ալեքսանդրապոլի Պայմանագիրը:

Արեւմտեան պետութիւնները որոնք Հայաստանի ռազմական օգնութիւն չցուցաբերեցին օրհասական պահուն, անկէ առաջ Սան Ռեմոյի խորհրդաժողովին պարտականութիւն տուած էին ԱՄՆի նախագահ Ուուդրօ Ուիլսոնին՝ Արեւմտեան Հայաստանի սահմանագծումը կատարելու, զոր ան կատարեց եւ հրապարակեց 22 Նոյեմբեր 1920ին, Կարսի անկումէն շաքաթ մը ետք:

Մինչ Հայաստանի Ա. Հանրապետութիւնը 2 Դեկտեմբեր 1920ին իշխանութիւնը կը փոխանցէր Խորհրդային Հայաստանին, Լոնտոնի մէջ տեղի կ'ունենար արեւմտեան դաշնակիցներու առաջին խորհրդաժողովը (26 Նոյեմբերէն 4 Դեկտեմբեր) եւ ապա Փետրուարեան Ապստամբութեան անմիջական յաջորդող օրերուն կը սկսէր Լոնտոնի երկրորդ խորհրդաժողովը (21 Փետրուարէն 14 Մարտ 1921):

Լոնտոնի խորհրդաժողովին նիստ Կ'ըլլային Արեւմտեան Հայաստանը եւ Կիլիկիան: Առ այդ, Մեծն Բրիտանիոյ վարչապետ Լորտ Քըզըն Կ. Պոլսոյ բրիտանական բարձր յանձնակատար Հոմըր Ռամպոլտէն կը ստանար 23 Փետրուար 1921 թուագրեալ մանրամասն տեղեկագիր մը, որ կը պարզէր Հայոց Յեղասպանութեան 1915-20 հատուածէն ետք Թուրքիոյ հայոց թիւը եւ հայութիւնը:

Ռամպոլտ կը նշէր թէ իր տեղեկութիւնները քաղած էր Կ.Պոլսոյ հայոց պատրիարք Զաւէն Արք. Տէր Եղիայեանին իրեն տուած տեղեկագրէն: Տեղեկագրին մէջ կը նշուէր թէ 1920ին Թուրքիոյ հայոց թիւը նուազած էր 600,000ի, որուն 150,000ը՝ Կ. Պոլսոյ մէջ: Ըստ Ռամպոլտի չափաւորական հայերը հաւկուած էին Կիլիկիոյ մէջ ինքնավարութիւն ունենալու, թէկուզ թրքական գերիշխանութեան

---

տակ: Տեղեկագրին մեջ յառելուամով մը յատուկ տեղ տրուած էր Կիլիկիոյ հայոց թիփն (218,000) մասին, իւրաքանչիւր շրջանի թիւերով եւ տեղեկութիւններով: Ան կը նշէր թէ Սեւրի դաշնագրով հայոց թուղթի վրայ տրուած էրզրումի, Վանի եւ Պիթիսի մէջ հայ չէր մնացած: Տեղեկագիրը կը նշէր հայկական բնակավայրերու քանդումը: Ռամպոլտ կ'աւելցնէր թէ քեմալականները դէմ են հայոց հող զիջելուն, ապա կը խօսէր ռուսահայերուն ռուսասիրութեան մասին, նշելով թէ ռուսը փրկած են հայերը:

Ռամպոլտ տեղեկագիրը Քըրզքնին դրկած էր Լոնտոնի խորհրդածողովին համար, որպէսզի վարչապետը յստակ տեղեկութիւններ ունենար հայկական հարցին քննարման ժամանակ: