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**MEMORANDUM ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE
REPUBLIC, SUBMITTED BY THE SPECIAL MISSION OF
ARMENIA TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT
(28 OCTOBER 1919)***

Key words: Republic of Armenia, USA, government, memorandum, independence, recognition, H. Kajaznuni, R. Lansing.

Introduction

Shortly after the end of the First World War, in December 1918, the Paris Peace Conference held its preparatory meetings in order to resolve post-war problems in the world. The main purpose of the Conference was to conclude agreements with the countries of the losing Quadruple Alliance. The Conference opened on 18 January 1919 in Paris, where about 2,000 delegates from 27 countries gathered to participate in the discussions. The young Republic of Armenia, which participated in the World War, as a "small" Ally, also sent a delegation to Paris.

During these months, the Government of the Republic of Armenia faced numerous problems in its internal and external life; and the issue of food was one of the gravest problems. That is why,

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in February 1919, the Armenian Parliament (Khorurd, Council), on the basis of the government's decision¹, approved a bill, according to which a special civilian mission was formed under the chairmanship of Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia Hovhannes Kajaznuni².

The mission was instructed "to go to Europe and America, to appeal on behalf of the Council of Armenia to the governments of the Entente States and the United States of North America and ask them for help in importing food and other essential goods that Armenia lacks into the country"³.

H. Kajaznuni's mission had been called into existence on 30 May 1919, when a group of selected experts proceeded to Europe through Tiflis and Batum⁴. Upon arrival in Paris on 16 June, Kajaznuni's delegation launched an inspired activity in France and Great Britain in order to receive financial assistance from the Entente Powers. Though Europeans did not give clear answers to its claims, America and the Conference were more active.

Taking into account the leading role of the USA in the whole process of relief, a joint meeting of the delegations of the Republic of Armenia and the National one in Paris had decided to appeal officially to the American Government in Washington⁵.

¹ NAA, fund 199, reg. 1, file 43, f. 15-16. Հայաստանի Հանրապետության կառավարության նիստերի արձանագրություններ 2014, 106-107: **Վրացյան** 1998, 254:

² **Баликян** 1991, 92-93. See also: Հայաստան Հանրապետության պառլամենտի նիստերի արձանագրությունները 2010, 167: Հայաստանի Հանրապետության պառլամենտի օրենքները (1918-1920 թթ.) 1998, 42,47: Also: **Махмуриян** 2018, 181: **Ղամբարյան** 2019, 254-261:

³ Հայաստանի Հանրապետության պառլամենտի նիստերի արձանագրություններ 1918-1920 թթ., 2010, 167:

⁴ NAA, fund 200, reg. 2, file 59, f. 1; fund 276, reg. 1, file 136, f. 6.

⁵ NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 290, f. 55-60.

So, on 1 October 1919, the Armenian mission left Paris for the United States and arrived in New York on 9 October⁶. The delegation under Kajaznuni was joined by a member of the Armenian delegation in Paris, Garegin Pasdermajian (Armen Garo), who was appointed the RA Plenipotentiary Representative to the United States. H. Kajaznuni was authorized to provide solutions both to economic and political problems. Upon arrival his mission went to Washington to present Armenia's problems to the American government. On 10 October 1919 H. Kajaznuni, as the Chairman of the civilian mission of the Republic of Armenia and G. Pasdermajian as the diplomatic representative of the Republic, spoke at the hearings entitled "Maintenance of Peace in Armenia" in the Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate⁷.

These hearings were held on 27, 30 September and 2, 10 October 1919 and were devoted to the Resolution, composed on 9 September by Senator J. Williams together with the Senate Majority Leader, Chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee H. C. Lodge and presented by his colleague Senator G. Hitchcock.

The statements of the Armenian delegates, who spoke about relief and military assistance to Armenians, as well as about the recognition of the Republic, played considerable role in shaping the opinions of the members of the subcommittee. After testifying at the subcommittee, the representatives of the Republic of Armenia met with a number of high-ranking American officials, including

⁶ NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 355, f. 210; fund 370, reg. 1, file 63, f. 2-2B.

⁷ Maintenance of Peace in Armenia. Hearings before Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations. United States Senate, Sixty-Sixth Congress, First Session on S.J.R., 1919, 109-114. **Нованнисян** 1982, 383-385. **Махмурян** 2018, 258-259, 264. **Ղամբարյան** 2019, 258-261: **Ղամբարյան** 2020, 89-93: **Ղամբարյան** 2022, 276-286:

Secretary of State R. Lansing. During the meeting with R. Lansing, in response to recognize the Republic of Armenia, presented by H. Kajaznuni, the American official advised them to submit an official memorandum.

Thus, the Memorandum entitled “The Republic of Armenia” was prepared under the guidance of Kajaznuni and submitted to the Secretary of State by G. Pasdermajian on 28 October 1919⁸. Later on, it was presented to the Senate by its member H. C. Lodge⁹. On 10 November 1919, the Memorandum was printed as a Senate Document № 151 of the 1st Session of the 66th Congress in a separate booklet¹⁰.

The document contained, although brief, but rich information about the Republic of Armenia, including both the establishment of independence and the needs and urgent assistance to the young Republic. In addition to providing details about the Memorandum, the purpose of this article is also to show how, through the noted document, the representatives of the Armenian Republic tried to convey to the US Government that the young Republic of Armenia, having overcome the hardships of the last year and a half and despite the still existing serious difficulties of various kinds, was already an established state worthy of international recognition. Highlighting the content of the Memorandum in the article, the task

⁸ NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 498, f. 20-60; fund 450, reg. 2, file 8. Also «Պահակ», 1920, թիվ 1, 3, 6: **Hovannisian** 1982, 388. **Ованнисян** 2007, 286. **Հովհաննիսյան** 2014, 464-465:

⁹ **Hovannisian** 1982, 465. **Ованнисян** 2007, 287. **Հովհաննիսյան** 2014, 465:

¹⁰ The Republic of Armenia. A Memorandum on the Recognition of the Government of the Republic of Armenia Submitted by the Special Mission of the Republic of Armenia to the United States. Presented by Mr. Lodge, November 10, 1919.- Ordered to be printed, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919, 15 pages, (following: A Memorandum); Also: Journal of Senate, 66 Congress, 1st Session, 244-245, 250, 271, 273.

was set to show through the information provided in the document that in the case of military-political support, together with the economic assistance already received, the Republic of Armenia would be able to take its place among developed countries in a short time; that, having received assistance, the Armenians would be able to ensure their self-defense, as well as, thanks to their hard work and the country's natural resources, they would be able to repay the loans taken; that recognition of the Government of the Republic, in particular by the United States, would be of great importance for the reunification of the Republic of Armenia with Western Armenia and the creation of a Unified and Integral Armenia.

A Memorandum on the Recognition of the Government of the Republic of Armenia

The Armenian Special Mission's Memorandum contained information of various kinds about the Republic of Armenia, including the country's location, territory, climate, population, state construction, economy, neighbors, and so on. It covers the following 10 chapters:

“I. The formation of the republic. II. The constitution of the republic. III. The judiciary. IV. The army. V. Finances. VI. Territory and physiography. VII. Population. VIII. Economic conditions. IX. Life of the republic during the past 16 months. X. The present need for external aid”¹¹.

The first chapter told about the formation of the Republic of Armenia. It contained a short introduction with the events of the spring and autumn of 1917, as well as the first half of 1918, which took place in the Russian Empire. This fragment highlighted the

¹¹ A Memorandum, 2.

changes that took place in the Transcaucasia by the time of September 1919. It had been mentioned in the text that when the three principal peoples of Transcaucasia - Armenians, Georgians and the local Tartars¹² composed the federation on 22 April 1918, they had their respective territories and were conflicting with each other. The cause of animosity had been their different political tendencies and very diverse attitude to the World war, which devastated the whole region. The Memorandum emphasized that only Armenians chose to stay and were loyal to the cause of the Allied and Associated Powers, since they continued the war against Turkey till the end.

These internal conflicts, more and more emphatic, made it impossible for Armenians, Georgians, and Tartars to collaborate within the single state. On 26 May 1918, the regional Same declared the termination of the Federal Republic of Transcaucasia and relinquished its authority. As it was stated in the Memorandum, the very "same day Georgia declared her independence; and after two days, namely, on 28 May, 1918, Armenia and Azerbaijan likewise declared their own independence. From that day began the existence of the republic of Armenia"¹³.

The second chapter "The Constitution of the Republic" admitted that the Republic had not a written constitution, because "that important task had been reserved to the future constitutional convention which is expected to assemble when the State of united and integral Armenia has been instituted and when the present republic of Armenia shall form a part of that united and integral Armenia"¹⁴. Pending that event, the Armenian republic had been

¹² The spelling is given in accordance with the original source.

¹³ A Memorandum, 4.

¹⁴ A Memorandum, 4.

operated as a democratic, parliamentary republic. Under this form of government, the State had already a legislative branch, i. e. an elected Parliament, and an executive branch, embodied in a Cabinet. The information about the parliament in session and the cabinet was given in the Memorandum. It was noted that the Prime Minister was at the head of the government and the president of the council of ministers. The republic had not a president, but the powers of the president was exercised in part by the parliament and in part by the cabinet¹⁵.

It was also reported, that every citizen of Armenia of full age has an equal right to participate in all elections without regard to sex, race, or religion; the language of the Republic is Armenian, but citizens not acquainted with Armenian are permitted to use their mother tongues or the Russian language; all religions enjoy entire freedom and equal rights in the Republic.

The third chapter, devoted to “Judiciary”, mentioned that the system of Russian jurisprudence and administration of justice was temporarily continued in force, except in so far as it was modified or repealed by acts of Parliament or was in conflict with the spirit and order of a democratic-republican system of government¹⁶.

The fourth chapter covered information about the Army, which was modeled after the Russian Army and was administered according to its regulations. The document told that the body of Armenian officers had been educated in the Russian technical schools, and the greater part of the soldiers have served and have received their training in the Russian Army. It was mentioned that the Armenian troops and people generally were not affected by the Bolshevism; so, the discipline in armed forces was satisfactory, with

¹⁵ A Memorandum, 4-5.

¹⁶ A Memorandum, 4.

the morale and patriotism being exemplary. The Armed forces were “composed of all branches of the service” with the number of enlisted men in July, 1919, equal to 18,000. “The country needs and has a capacity of raising an army double that number, but the lack of physical equipment, arms, clothing, food, supplies, etc., makes the realization of that number of troops at present impossible. Even the physical equipment of the troops now under arms is inadequate, and is tolerable only because the Armenian is hardly and sturdy soldier”¹⁷.

The Memorandum also apprised, there were no Muslims in the Armenian Army. “For political reasons, military service was not obligatory upon Mohammedans, as it was not also under the former Russian regime”¹⁸.

Chapters 5 and 8 are devoted to the financial and economic situation in the Republic of Armenia. The document provides information on sources of income, direct and indirect taxes, as well as disbursements, both ordinary and extraordinary. The difficult financial position of the country was depicted as follows: “The extraordinary disbursements are for the relief of the sufferers of the war and for the reconstruction of the economic life of the people. Food, clothing and shelter must be provided for orphans and those unable to work, the deported and exiled people must be repatriated, ruined villages must be rebuilt, and seed and agricultural tools must be furnished to the despoiled farmers”¹⁹.

As for economic conditions, the document conveyed, that the great majority of the population (nearly 85 percent of them) were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Large cities and large industrial

¹⁷ A Memorandum, 6.

¹⁸ A Memorandum, 6.

¹⁹ A Memorandum, 6.

enterprises (with a few exceptions) do not exist. “Armenian mercantile and manufacturing houses of considerable magnitude have their central locations outside the limits of Armenia, at Tiflis, Baku, Rostov, Moscow, and Petrograd”²⁰. All the branches of agricultural industry, i. e. the cultivation of grain, cotton, gardening, winemaking, and the breeding of cattle, production of milk and its products, got considerable level. There was also manufacturing on a small scale.

Chapter six, entitled “Territory and Physiography” described the location and geographical limits of the State. According to that description the territory contains 67,000 square kilometers; its administrative division and neighbors are also characterized. As it was communicated “the boundaries of the republic are not definitely delimited or settled”. The quantity of outlying regions (Akhalkalak, Borchalu, sections of the Kazakh and Elizavetpol districts, Jivanshir, Shushi, Kariagin) were involved in disputes with “Georgia claiming certain regions lying within the former province of Tiflis, and Azerbaijan (Tartaristan in Transcaucasia) claiming certain regions lying within the former province of Elizabethpol”²¹. The document also tells about mountains, water resources, and climate of Armenia.

The 7th chapter provided information about the population of the country: Armenians amounted here 1,293,000 souls or 60 per cent of all inhabitants; Tatars, Turks, Turkomans and Karapapakhs – 588,000 or 27 per cent; Russians and Greeks – 110,000 or 5 per cent; Kurds – 82,000 or 4 per cent; Yezidies and Gypsies – 73,000 or 3 per cent; Georgians – 13,000 or 1 per cent.

²⁰ A Memorandum, 8.

²¹ A Memorandum, 7.

The Memorandum also conveyed, that “since 1917, as a result of war operation, a part of the Mohammedan population has emigrated from the Armenian Republic”, while 300,000 Armenians from Turkish Armenia have immigrated into or sought refuge in the Armenian Republic. It was said with confidence that “the greater portion of the Armenian population now in foreign countries is awaiting the favourable opportunity for returning to Armenia”²².

The largest, 9th chapter of the document depicted “The Life of the Republic in the Last 16 Months”. It described the general situation in the country, which was born, lived and continues to live under extremely difficult conditions. The document specially stressed two important facts: “First. The Armenians of Russia not only gave to Russian Army nearly 160,000 soldiers under the draft laws, but also from the beginning of the war formed special Armenian volunteer contingents; and after November, 1917, with the breakdown of the Russian Army, the Armenians alone held the fighting front against Turkey. Thus, the youth of Armenia was constantly engaged in fighting.

Second. In Transcaucasia the war was being waged not only on the front against Turkey, but also in the rear, in the interior against the native Tartars”. The latter were exempt under Russian law from conscription “consequently, the Tartar youth, capable of bearing arms and well equipped with arms, remained in their homes, in the rear or in the midst of Armenians, while the Armenian youth had gone to the war fronts. The Tartars, in order to impede the operations of the front, led by the secret emissaries of Turkey, kept the country in the rear in constant turmoil and apprehension,

²² A Memorandum, 8.

raided the Armenian villages, killed the people and looted their movables. So that the Armenians remaining at home, instead of devoting themselves to constructive labor, were obliged to defend themselves against these attacks and to carry on a small factional warfare with their Tartar countrymen. So that while the Russian Army, aided by Armenian volunteer troops, was conquering the vilayets of Erzerum, Van, and Bitlis, Caucasian-Armenia was being devastated in the rear by the Tartars”²³.

Addressing to the situation of the autumn of 1917, the document reminded how the Russian forces, infected with the Bolshevism, abandoned the Caucasian front since November and fled to Russia without permission. Thereat profiting Tartars openly made common cause with Turkey; the Georgians engaged in negotiations with Germany and assumed a neutral position towards the belligerents, and the Armenians alone actually held the ground against Turkey.

The period of November, 1917 - May, 1918 had been referred to in detail. During six months the Armenian forces, hastily collected and organized in the midst of confusion and anarchy, fought against the Turkish armies in the front and against the Tartars in the rear. “Yielding before superior numbers, the Armenians retreated step by step, carrying on a rearguard fight from Erzingian and Mamakhatoun, through Erzroum, on to the former Russian-Turkish frontier, at the same time protecting the Armenian civilian population who were fleeing to the north from the menace of Turkish massacres”²⁴.

It is well known, that the Turkish Army, enforced by two divisions from the Syrian front, did not stop at the frontier, but rushed on to the Caucasus. The Armenian troops retreated and gained a foothold

²³ A Memorandum, 10.

²⁴ A Memorandum, 11.

at Kars, where they received orders from the Georgian-ruled Transcaucasian government to surrender this fortress to the Turks and, in accordance with the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, to hold the line at Alexandropol. The Turkish Armenian refugees also moved from Kars with the retreating Armenian army. Thus, they overcrowded the district of Alexandropol; though the Ottoman Divisions, disregarding the terms of the Brest Litovsk treaty, did not stop at the previsaged line and pressed through Alexandropol in two directions. They moved to the east, into the plain of Ararat, and to the north, to Pambak and Lori. The Armenian detachments and the whole nation, men and women, stubbornly resisted the Turkish advance. On 21-29 May 1918 three severe battles were fought, at Karaklis (Pambak), Bash Aparan and Sardarabat (Ararat) in which the Turkish “advance was decisively checked”. As a consequence, the Ottoman Government signed a Treaty and recognized the independence of Armenia within a diminutive territory.

Turkey was obliged to take that course owing to the Armenian resistance, organized afterwards on all its way into the city and province of Baku. The Armenian stubborn and desperate resistance on the territory of their Republic had considerable impeded the Turkish advance. The Ottoman Army was obliged to protect its rear until September, 1918. The Memorandum stated that owing to Armenian resistance, Turkey was actually indulged to agree to an armistice and to recognize the independence of Armenia, so as she could to concentrate all her forces on Baku. Only on 15 September 1918 the 24,000 Ottoman Army occupied this city with its oil fields and committed the 3-day massacre of 30,000 Armenians there.

The Document also tells, that when the Armenian government was established in Tiflis on 30 June 1918 and in Erevan on 19 July of the same year, it had to confront the following situation:

The Turkish Army occupied the greater portion of the Republic with her quick-firing guns only 7 kilometers from Erevan. Azerbaijan, supported by the Ottoman troops, was pressing the eastern and northern frontiers of Armenia and was threatening to put the Armenian people to the sword. "Georgia had accepted German protection, had welcomed German troops, and by their aid, had occupied in northwestern Armenia two exclusively Armenian districts, Akhalkalak and Lori"²⁵. Thus, Armenia was left alone, surrounded by hostile armies, without any external aid or support. The internal conditions of the country were desperate. More than half of the people were refugees without food, clothing or shelter. The villages and farms had been ruined and farm labor had ceased. The peasants were obliged to consume their grain seed and to kill their yoke animals for food. Starvation, with the accompanying contagious diseases, particularly typhus, began to scourge the people. Drugs were scarce, with drug stores empty.

External communication was completely cut owing to Turkish control over the single railway line. Import of goods had ceased, since all ties with Russia, Persia, and Europe had been cut. There was scarcity of every product. Chaos and anarchy reigned in the country. The Government had to erect a new national life on the ruins of the old one.

The Memorandum represents new conditions that complicated even more the situation since the end of 1918. In December of this year, in pursuance of the Mudros Armistice with the Allied Powers, the Ottoman Army began its evacuation from the Transcaucasia, including the Russian Armenia. The Turk departed slowly, completing the destruction of our devastated country. They carried

²⁵ A Memorandum, 12.

away everything they could, and everything they could not take away, they burned or demolished. The people in that territory had been severely looted and made destitute.

Such were the conditions that the republic had to overcome in the first year of her life. The Armenian Government worked tirelessly, to meet those conditions. During 1919 “the Government (1) organized central and local police forces to protect life and property and the means of communication; (2) reorganized the judicial system and recommenced the regular sessions of the lawcourts; (3) reorganized the army, small in number, but great in morale and in discipline; (4) reopened the schools; (5) as far as possible put in order the postal, telegraph, and telephone communications; (6) in a measure restored rail communications which had become almost impossible by the destruction wrought by the Turks, and by inadequacy of locomotives and cars; (7) put the finances in order, organized a system of taxation, and the machinery of collection; (8) reorganized and established medico-sanitary institutions to fight against epidemics; and (9) devoted its greatest energy and effort to the relief of the famished and incapacitated people and the reconstruction of the ruined economic life of the people, more than half of its budget being appropriated for that purpose”²⁶.

Summing up the results of this work, the authors of the memorandum emphasized: «The results of the labors of the government are far from being sufficient. There are still numerous crying needs awaiting attention. But considering the exceptional conditions surrounding the government, it is no exaggeration to say that these results were greater than could be asked or expected.

²⁶ A Memorandum, 13.

The one-year life of the republic is convincing proof of its stability and of the capacity of the Armenian people for self-rule. ...

The people, though in distress, proved their intrepidity and patriotism to an unlimited degree. The idea of an independent Armenia has so far stirred their souls that they were ready to submit to any sacrifice or want in order to consolidate their independence. ... Only by this devotion and patriotism of the people can be explained the fact that the Armenian republic passed the first year of its life without internal turmoils and disturbances and the government was enabled to establish order and to engage in its constructive efforts”²⁷.

In connection with the aforesaid, the document thankfully reminded that “the Armenian republic has received a measure of economic aid from America, notably the supply of flour being received since April, 1919, in pursuance of an arrangement with the Hoover Food Administration, also supplies of various kinds from the Near East Relief, which aid has materially contributed to the amelioration of the suffering brought on by the war and cruelty of the enemy”²⁸.

Coming to “The Present Need for External Aid” in chapter 10, it started with the assertion, that Armenian land and its nation had all requirements for the maintenance of the autonomous state. It mentioned wealth of the national resources and capability of people to attain the highest type of civilization, since they respect law, are industrious, enterprising and saving. Being sturdy and healthy peasantry, the nation was firmly attached to the soil and accustomed

²⁷ A Memorandum, 13-14.

²⁸ A Memorandum, 14.

to all kinds of farming. “There is a host of artisans and mechanics, who in Transcaucasia and especially in Asiatic Turkey, have for centuries held in their hands almost all the arts and trades in the country. There is an extensive class of merchants and manufactures of large and small proportions, furnishing proof of the capacity of the Armenians to develop and conduct industry and trade along the same broad lines as among highly civilized nations. There is a numerous intellectual class, thousands of specialists and professional men, educated in the universities of Europe and America, competent to conduct the various affairs of the state. Finally, there are military men and officers of all ranks who have received their training in the service of the Russian Army and are competent to conduct an orderly and disciplined army.

The economic and financial future of the country is safe. The republic under the present most distressing conditions in a devastated and ruined territory has already met its ordinary expenses by ordinary revenues”²⁹.

However, the Memorandum noted that although Armenia has all the resources for a national life, at the present critical period of convalescence and rehabilitation after a terrible war, she needed of friendly assistance from outside to organize and develop her possibilities. At the same time, the document emphasized that “these needs of Armenia are less than were those of other newly formed states in the past”. Current Armenia had already been “organized and prepared for national life to a greater extent than were Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, or Roumania during the first few years of their independence. The present needs of Armenia from outside are more moderate than were the needs of those states

²⁹ A Memorandum, 14.

during the years of their infancy”³⁰.

At the end the Memorandum asked for the recognition and temporary aid, to be afforded by the Allied and Associated Powers, above all, by “the great democracy and Government of the United States of America”. Therefore, it respectfully requested:

1. “That the United States recognize the government of the republic of Armenia.
2. That the rail line from Batum to the Armenian frontier be held, if possible, by a few thousand American troops or marines.
3. That the United States lend to the republic of Armenia, or enable it to procure a loan in the United States, for the following purposes:
 - (a) To purchase in the United States goods, munitions, and supplies for shipment to Armenia for the organization of an Armenian army of 30,000 men; and
 - (b) To purchase in the United States provisions and supplies for the relief of the civil population of Armenia until the crop of 1920.

The question of the unification of the present Armenian republic with Turkish Armenia is now before the peace conference at Paris. The whole Armenian nation is awaiting with hope and confidence for the decisive word of the United States of America, knowing well that the friendly voice of America will be the greatest guarantee for the favorable solution of the Armenian question”³¹.

³⁰ A Memorandum, 15.

³¹ A Memorandum, 15.

Conclusions

The Memorandum on the recognition of the Government of the Republic of Armenia, presented to the American Government on 28 October 1919, contains a lot of information about the Republic of Armenia. However, it had not particularly attained the goal of the Armenian side. Though it imitated the requirements of the Resolution by Senator Williams, the Memorandum limited Armenian independence to the borders of its Republic. The American side was well aware of the situation in the newly created State even without the aforementioned Memorandum. Its politicians got adequate, fairly detailed and first-hand information from the reports, submitted by the King-Crane and Harbord missions, sent by the American Government to the Middle East and Armenia.

To sum up, we should note that the long months of work of the civilian mission of the Republic of Armenia, sent to the United States, and later joined them as members of the military mission, General Bagratuni and Commander Andranik had very limited results, confined by the financial assistance, afforded by the U.S. Congress.

As for Secretary of State R. Lansing, who requested an official memorandum, he had not attached much importance to this document and did not support the idea of American military and political assistance to the Armenians, except for the humanitarian sphere. While this person remained in his post, he opposed to recognition of Armenia. Only after his resignation on 13 February 1920 as a Secretary of State and few months later than the Allies, the United States recognized the de facto Government of the Republic of Armenia on 23 April 1920.

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**Արմենուհի Վ. Ղամբարյան, ԳԱԱ պարամոլոգիայի ինստիտուտ,
պ.գ.թ., դոցենտ, ԱՄՆ-ի կառավարությանը Հայաստանի հատուկ
առաքելության ներկայացրած հուշագիրը Հանրապետության
ճանաչման մասին (1919 թ. հոկտեմբերի 28)**

Ամփոփում

ՀՀ վարչապետ Հ. Քաջազնունու նախագահությամբ 1919թ. հոկտեմբերի 10-ին հատուկ քաղաքացիական առաքելություն է ժամանում ԱՄՆ: Հ. Քաջազնունին լիազորված էր ոչ միայն տնտեսական աջակցություն ստանալու վերաբերյալ աշխատանքներ տանելու, այլև քաղաքական խնդիրների լուծումներն ապահովելու իրավունքով:

Հանրապետության ներկայացուցիչները հանդիպումներ ունեցան մի շարք ամերիկյան բարձրաստիճան պաշտոնյաների՝ այդ թվում պետական քարտուղար Ռ. Լանսինգի հետ: Վերջինիս հետ հանդիպման ժամանակ, Հ. Քաջազնունու ներկայացրած ՀՀ ճանաչման հարցին ի պատասխան, ամերիկյան պաշտոնյան խորհուրդ էր տվել պաշտոնական հուշագիր ներկայացնել:

«Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն» խորագրով հուշագիրն առաքելության կողմից պատրաստվեց և պետքարտուղարին հանձնվեց հոկտեմբերի 28-ին: Փաստաթուղթը պարունակում էր տարբեր բնույթի համառոտ տեղեկություններ Հայաստանի Հանրապետության՝ անկախության ձեռքբերման, երկրի տարածքի, կլիմայի, ազգաբնակչության, պետական կառուցվածքի, տնտեսության, հարևանների հետ հարաբերությունների և այլնի մասին: Հուշագիրը Սենատին ներկայացվեց ԱՄՆ-ի Սենատի մեծամասնության ղեկավար, Արտաքին գործերի հանձնաժողովի նախագահ Հ. Ք. Լոդջի կողմից և ավելի ուշ՝ 1919 թվականի նոյեմբերի 10-ին, որպես 66-րդ Կոնգրեսի 1-ին նստաշրջանի թիվ 151 Սենատի փաստաթուղթ, տպվեց առանձին գրքույկով:

Ներկայացված հուշագիրը սահմանափակ դեր խաղաց ՀՀ հանդեպ ԱՄՆ-ի քաղաքական կողմնորոշումներում: Այն նպաստեց բյուջեի միջոցների հատկացմանը մարդասիրական մատակարարումների համար:

Ինչ վերաբերում է պետքարտուղար Ռ. Լանսինգին, ապա նա,

իրականում, որևէ նշանակություն այդ փաստաթղթին չէր տալիս և, ընդհանրապես, հայերին բացի հումանիտար որոշ աջակցությունից, ռազմական և քաղաքական օգնություն ցուցաբերելու կողմնակից չէր: Պատահական չէր նաև, որ միայն 1920 թ. փետրվարի 13-ին նրա ներկայացրած հրաժարականից հետո՝ նույն թվականի ապրիլի 23-ին, ԱՄՆ-ը դե ֆակտո ճանաչեց Հայաստանի Հանրապետության կառավարությունը:

Քանալի բաներ՝ Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն, ԱՄՆ, կառավարություն, հուշագիր, անկախություն, ճանաչում, Հ. Քաջազունի, Ռ. Լանսինգ:

Арменуи В. Гамбарян, Институт истории НАН РА, к.и.н., доцент,
Меморандум о признании Республики, представленный специальной миссией Армении правительству США (28 октября 1919 г.)

Резюме

10 октября 1919 г. специальная гражданская миссия под председательством премьер-министра РА О. Качазнуни прибыла в США. О. Качазнуни был уполномочен не только проводить работы по получению экономической помощи, но и обеспечивать решение политических проблем.

Представители Республики имели ряд встреч с высокопоставленными американскими официальными лицами, в том числе с госсекретарем Р. Лансингом. В ходе встречи с ним, в ответ на поставленный О. Качазнуни вопрос о признании РА, американский чиновник посоветовал представить официальный меморандум.

Требуемый меморандум, озаглавленный «Республика Армения», был подготовлен миссией и представлен госсекретарю 28 октября. Документ содержал сведения о Республике Армения, в том числе о приобретении независимости, территории страны, ее климате,

населении, государственном устройстве, экономике, отношениях с соседями.

Меморандум был представлен в Сенат председателем его комиссии по иностранным делам Г. К. Лоджем и 10 ноября 1919 г. был издан отдельной брошюрой как сенатский документ №151 первой сессии 66-го Конгресса.

Документ сыграл ограниченную роль в политической ориентации США в отношении Армении. Он способствовал только выделению бюджетных средств на гуманитарные поставки. Что касается госсекретаря Р. Лансинга, то он, кроме гуманитарной поддержки армянам, не был сторонником оказания им военной и политической помощи. Только после отставки Р. Лансинга 13 февраля 1920 г., 23 апреля того же года США признали де факто правительство Республики Армения.

Ключевые слова: Республика Армения, США, правительство, меморандум, независимость, признание, О. Качазнуни, Р. Лансинг.