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S393/58/6

Armenia

August 11th 1919 - April 30th 1920

V
"THE TIMES". Monday, August 11, 1919.

ARMENIA'S INTERNAL ENEMIES.

A TARTAR RISING.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, Aug. 4.

A rising of Tartars, said to be commanded by a Turkish colonel, resulted in the occupation of the greater part, if not all, of the area between Julia (on the former Russo-Persian frontier) and Sadarak (to the north-west) by insurgents. The Armenian Republic was recently given permission to occupy this area, if it could arrive at an understanding with the Tartar majority of the population. The forces sent were insufficient, and, as was to be expected in Transcaucasia, an understanding proved impossible, although the Turkish story of the massacre of Moslems at Nakhitchevan, in the same district, appears to be untrue, and indeed there is reason to fear massacres of the Armenian minority by the successful Tartars.

It is doubtful whether the Armenian Government will attempt to reoccupy the area. It lacks munitions, and the Moslem element which forms part of the population of the Kars district, which is now administered by the Armenians, is giving trouble in anticipation of the British evacuation of Transcaucasia. The Turks have been accused of having fomented outbreaks in this area also. The Armenian Republic is therefore unlikely to risk war on two fronts. The British and American relief officers in the Nakhitchevan area have escaped to Tabriz. The movement has caused considerable excitement on the Turkish side of the border.

Turkish parties are still discussing their reply to the American Commission on the question of the mandate. At present the majority of representatives are in favour of replying that they will not oppose the formation of an Armenian State outside the present borders of Turkey, but that they reject any concession at the expense of the Turkish Empire. It is still hoped that they may be induced to adopt a less uncompromising attitude. The situation in the provinces, however, is not such as to encourage the partisans of a conciliatory policy.

B.

"LE TEMPS". lundi, le 11 août, 1919.

La situation en Arménie

M. Walter George Smith, membre de la commission américaine de secours en Arménie, écrit dans le *New-York Herald* :

On annonce que sous l'influence de considérations politiques, le cabinet britannique a donné des ordres pour le retrait des troupes britanniques qui gardent actuellement les voies ferrées de Géorgie et de l'ancienne Arménie russe. Le mouvement a déjà commencé et les conséquences de cette décision sont effroyables. Les musulmans, les Tartares et les Kurdes, avec la coopération active des jeunes-turcs, ont massé des troupes sur les frontières de la petite République arménienne ; l'œuvre d'extermination des malheureux chrétiens sera bientôt achevée. Au cas où les ordres du cabinet britannique ne seraient pas rapportés et si on n'affecte pas un nombre suffisant de troupes à la garde des voies de communications, la commission américaine de secours devra interrompre sa tâche.

D'autre part, le colonel américain Haskell, haut-commissaire des alliés en Arménie, a télégraphié à M. Clemenceau pour le prier instamment d'user de toute son influence auprès du gouvernement britannique pour l'amener à maintenir au Caucase les deux divisions qui s'y trouvent depuis huit mois.

B

"THE MORNING POST". Wednesday, August 13, 1919.

Paris, August 12,

Supreme Council:

As regards the Armenian situation, there was yesterday a discussion of a letter received from Mr. Haskell, pointing out the danger to which Armenia was exposed if British troops were withdrawn. I understand that the Italian and American delegates explained why it was impossible for them to send troops to Armenia. The Armenian problem, in fact, appears to be developing very similarly to the old Bela Kun problem. The Allies have not the troops available to enable them to make their wishes respected.

B

"THE TIMES". Wednesday, August 13, 1919.

PROTECTION OF ARMENIA.

PARIS, Aug. 12.—The question of the evacuation of Armenia [by the British troops] led to considerable discussion at to-day's meeting of the Supreme Council. The Italian and American representatives made statements explaining why their respective Governments could not send troops to Armenia.

It is, however, a hopeful sign that a discussion has been engaged in, as hitherto the attitude of the other Powers simply amounted to a demand that Great Britain should indefinitely prolong her military occupation of the country.
—*Reuter.*

X
Armenia's Peril.

The remnant of the Armenians in Armenia is in danger of extinction. Of all the people affected by the war, none—not even the Serbians—has suffered like the Armenians. Had they waited on the turns of fortune they might have done better for themselves, but their faith in us and their feud with the Turks were too deep to let them temporize. In the early campaigns in the Caucasus they boldly sided with the Russians, and provided them with their best auxiliary troops. When the Russians retired they paid the penalty by wholesale massacre and deportation, and it has been calculated that of the Armenians who lived on the high plateau between the Caucasus and the Taurus, from one-third to one-half has been killed by violence, died of disease, or been lost in compulsory exile. Of all the atrocities of the war, none has been on so wholesale a scale of wickedness as this. In the last year of the war we realized how much the East, and especially the bridge between the Black Sea and the Caspian, concerned our interests as an Asiatic Power; and with incredible difficulty we transported across Persia a force to help hold this bridge for the Entente. When the Armistice came, a small British army was keeping order in the Caucasus; and both the course of negotiations and the wording of the mandatory clause in the League of Nations Covenant foreshadowed the creation of an Armenian state which, under the protection of a mandatory Power, should hold this bridge between Europe and Asia, and raise the banner of civilization and economic progress in these regions. The mandatory Power has been chosen by common consent, but the United States Government has not yet accepted its nomination. In the meantime, owing to the delays and uncertainties of Allied policy, the enemies of Armenia are uniting for her destruction. Anti-British Arabs at Diarbekr are intriguing with the Tartar Government of Azerbaijan, the northernmost province of Persia; Azerbaijan is in alliance with Georgia against DENIKIN; and between the Young Turks and the Bolsheviks of Russia there is an understanding like that of which we have seen the first-fruits in Afghanistan. At this grave moment, and in these circumstances, the British have announced their intention of withdrawing from the Caucasus. As a consequence, the Armenians in Armenia are in danger of extinction. For them it is now, or soon will be, a choice between extermination and an abandonment, with peace in sight, of the cause to which they have been faithful through the war.

This is not an alternative to which any loyal Englishman would willingly see his friends put. It is a hard thing to say, but the troops in the Caucasus, conscripts as they are, should not be withdrawn until they have been replaced by new British voluntary troops, or, better still, by troops from the mandatory Power. It would be still harder if, by their withdrawal, a whole race were threatened with

extinction. We believe that if the facts were put to the English people—and why there should be any suppression of them we cannot conceive—many of those who feel most strongly about the retention of our compulsory service men on foreign service would be the first to say that, at any rate, they will wait until they are relieved by others who will prevent their fine work from being thrown away. The strongest argument is that of justice and humanity. But the salvation of Armenia is not a remote crusade. The country is a bridge of civilization on which not only the security of India but the authority and reputation of the League of Nations may rest. All the arguments which bind up Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Serbia with our political hopes for the future apply with similar force to Armenia. It would be a lasting disgrace to the League of Nations if these high ideals were to disappear ignominiously in the interstice between the rule of war and the rule of law which was announced to succeed it. The test of an ideal is in its application and in our willingness, and that of our Allies and Associates, to make sacrifices for it.

In many quarters it will be resented that these sacrifices should so often fall upon us. There is a limit, after all that we have done and suffered in this war, to the extent of our contributions to the ideal, however noble, and with so much on our hands already we are approaching that limit. But we are practical people, too, and must recognize facts. We are in the Caucasus because at present we are the greatest of Asiatic Powers, and have so much to lose by failure here. Occupation is in this case not a privilege, but it does create a presumption of responsibility until fresh arrangements are made, and we are against running away from the responsibility. At the same time the United States, too, have a responsibility, for the conscience of the Allies has singled them out as the appropriate mandatories in Armenia; and while they are free to reject or decline the honour, the enthusiasm of their representatives for the ideals of the League and the honourable part they have taken in drafting the Covenant make it more difficult for them to decline a duty. Alike in Poland, in Czecho-Slovakia, and in Armenia one charge can justly be brought against the Allied counsels. Their ideals have been excellently defined; but between the ideals and their realization the Allies have for various reasons, not all creditable, left exceedingly dangerous gaps. Nowhere is the gap so terrible as in Armenia, and, while we urge that we should still bridge it, we would also ask those who may undertake the duty of the mandatory Power to make ready to relieve and succeed us. And in the period of preparation for that duty, it would be a great advantage if the Allied Powers were to declare that they will treat any crime against Armenians as a crime against themselves. The name of the League of Nations, while it is one of hope for the loyal and the down-trodden, should also be a name of terror for malefactors.

B

"THE TIMES". Thursday, August 14, 1919.

X U.S. MISSION TO ARMENIA.

PARIS, Aug. 13.—General Harbord, of the United States Army, is leaving Paris shortly at the head of a mission to visit Armenia and Trans-Caucasia, under instructions from President Wilson to investigate the conditions there from the military point of view.

His mission is distinct and apart from any other now in those countries. He will inquire especially into conditions in the new Armenian Republic, and by personal investigation obtain complete information, indicating what questions would be involved in taking over and administering the country. General McCoy and General Moseley are also members of the mission.—*Reuter.*

B. "THE TIMES". Thursday, August 14, 1919.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. Wednesday, August 12,.

AFFAIRS IN ARMENIA.

Mr. A. WILLIAMS (Consett, L.) asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the British forces in Transcaucasia or part of them were to be withdrawn, and if so whether arrangements had been made to prevent bloodshed among the different races inhabiting that region; whether the hon. gentleman had information that the Kurds, Tartars, and Georgians were attacking or preparing to attack the Armenian Republic of Eriwan, and if so whether the Armenians, having been our friends in the late war, would be rendered any assistance or left to their fate. He asked, further, whether the Italian Government had withdrawn its promise to send troops to Armenia to prevent massacre after the withdrawal of the British troops; whether the United States Government had accepted a mandate for that region, and if not what steps had been taken to bridge the interval between the withdrawal of our troops and the establishment of some other settled government in the country.

Mr. CECIL HARMSWORTH.—My hon. friend gave me notice of this question only since the House assembled. I have therefore not been able to refresh my memory with regard to the questions he asks. I can, however, assure him that this very important matter is under the immediate consideration of the Peace Conference in Paris.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland, Nat.).—Will the right hon. gentleman communicate to our representatives in Paris the feeling of universal horror that would be caused throughout the country if the Armenians, who were our Allies during the war, were handed over once more without protection to the same people who were guilty of the horrors of the former massacres? Mr. HARMSWORTH.—Yes, Sir; I will certainly convey that message to our representatives in Paris.

Mr. NEIL McLEAN (Glasgow, Govan, Lab.).—Is this not a case where the League of Nations ought to step in in its proper manner to safeguard the people in Armenia? Mr. HARMSWORTH.—I should not like to answer that question off-hand.

LORD R. CECIL (Hitchin, C.U.).—Can my right hon. friend say whether the Government have any hope at all that anything can be done for these unhappy people, and whether they do not recognize that our obligations to the Armenians are at least as strong as our obligations to General Denikin? (Cheers.) Mr. HARMSWORTH.—I am sure that all these circumstances are in the mind of the Government at the present moment.

B

"THE TIMES". Saturday, August 16, 1919.

ARMENIA FACED WITH MASSACRE.

NO SUBSTITUTE FOR BRITISH TROOPS.

(BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Mr. Aneurin Williams have issued the following statement for the British-Armenia Committee:—

To-day, the withdrawal of the British troops from the Caucasus has begun. In consequence, serious bloodshed in that region is certain, and extensive massacres only too probable. In particular, the Armenian Republic of Erivan and the remainder of the Armenian race are in danger of destruction.

The position arises thus. British troops were in possession in the Caucasus on the date of the Armistice, and have remained in possession ever since. It is stated that, as long ago as March, the Peace Conference and the Great Powers concerned were informed that the British troops must shortly be withdrawn. The date was fixed at first for June 1, and afterwards for the middle of August. Meanwhile, it was hoped that America would accept a mandate for that region, and for Turkish Armenia.

It was publicly announced some weeks ago that British troops would be withdrawn and Italian troops would take their place. After the recent change of Ministry in Italy, the Italian Government decided not to send troops, and early this week it was announced that the British troops would begin to be withdrawn at the end of this week, and that no other Power would take their place. It is admitted that terrible bloodshed must ensue, many people (knowing that the Young Turks have organized extensively, and are inciting the Tartars and Kurds and other Mahomedans, throughout the Caucasus and Asia Minor) fear that the withdrawal of the British troops will be the sign for a widespread explosion.

The defence made for the British withdrawal is that we cannot go on spending so much money and keeping so many British troops abroad; but surely public notice of this particular withdrawal and of the fact that the Italians would not, as previously announced, take our place, and of the position certain to arise, ought to have been given to the British and American public weeks before an actual withdrawal took place. Those publics will not be content that the more peaceful elements in the Caucasus should be exterminated. Indeed, a fierce uprising of public opinion is certain against any Government that has any responsibility for such a result.

The only way out would seem to be the immediate sharing of the burden between Great Britain and the United States. If the United States cannot at once send any troops, it can at any rate undertake to bear for a definite time the expense of maintaining Indian and other troops under British officers. In the absence of such arrangements, a complete withdrawal of the British forces, and of all civilized control in the regions in question, is certain.

B

"THE DAILY NEWS". Saturday, August 16, 1919.

ARMENIA'S GREAT PERIL.

Withdrawal of British Troops.

MORE MASSACRES FEARED

From Our Lobby Correspondent.

Friends of the Armenians are gravely concerned as to the fate of that sorely-tried people. The withdrawal of British troops from the Caucasus has increased the apprehension. It was hoped that the United States—whose people have during the war subscribed £6,000,000 for the benefit of the Armenians—would become the mandatory of Armenia, and would send American troops to protect the Armenian race. That hope has not as yet been realised.

All the British forces in trans-Caucasia are now in process of being removed. It was intended to have begun the withdrawal of the two British Divisions in Armenia early in June, and notice to that effect was given in March last. At the request of the Peace Conference in Paris the British Government consented to delay the evacuation until to-day (August 16).

A U.S. COMMISSIONER.

In a reply to a question by Mr. Aneurin Williams, it was stated yesterday that the "British Government regard the position of the Armenians in the Caucasus as extremely unsatisfactory; and they earnestly trust that it may be possible to appoint a mandatory Power in the near future. In the meantime, the Peace Conference has appointed an Allied High Commissioner for Armenia."

This Commissioner is a distinguished American officer, General Harbord, whose representative, Colonel Haskell, U.S.A., has already arrived in the country.

An English political mission, "under the charge of a gentleman specially qualified for the post," is now on its way to Trans-Caucasia. The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs expresses the hope that this mission "will be in a position to exercise a restraining influence on the local governments of the various Republics, both as regards their relations with each other and with the Russian volunteer army to the North."

ITALY'S PROMISE REVOKED.

Yesterday a manifesto was issued by the British-Armenia Committee stating that in consequence of the withdrawal of the British troops from the Caucasus "serious bloodshed is certain and extensive massacres only too probable." "In particular," it is stated, "the Armenian Republic of Erivan and the remainder of the Armenian race are in danger of destruction."

It is pointed out that it had been arranged that Italian troops should take the place of the British troops, but the new Italian Government has decided not to carry out this undertaking. The withdrawal of the British will therefore "be the sign for a widespread explosion." It is suggested that the only way out of the difficulty is the "immediate sharing of the burden between Great Britain and the United States. If the United States cannot at once send any troops, it can, at any rate, undertake to bear for a definite time the expense of maintaining Indian and other troops under British officers. In the absence of such arrangements, a complete withdrawal of the British Forces, and of all civilised control in the regions in question, is certain."

B.

"THE DAILY NEWS".

Monday, August 18, 1919.

ABANDONING ARMENIA.

According to the arrangement made at the Peace Conference the deferred withdrawal of the British forces in Armenia was to begin on Saturday. The Allies have appointed a High Commissioner for Armenia, and an English political mission is now on its way to Trans-Caucasia. Their work should be of the greatest value; but in the meantime we cannot wonder that the friends of Armenia in the English-speaking world are deeply concerned as to the extremely perilous situation of the people. On behalf of the Government the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs expressed the hope last week that the mission would be able to exercise a restraining influence upon the Governments of the new "Republics," as they are officially styled. But it is difficult to see how this can be if, in the terrible circumstances now prevailing, the two British divisions, which alone appear to have been achieving anything in the way of organised restraint, are withdrawn. To us it seems that there is a clear case for keeping them in this most distressful region, at any rate for a brief time longer, until the Allied Governments are in a position to know whether the United States will accept the mandate which so plainly awaits the only Power that is regarded by the people of the Near East as wholly disinterested. Certainly the plight of Armenia offers a great and clamant opportunity.

Armenia



"THE TIMES". Tuesday, August 19, 1919.

THE DANGER TO ARMENIA.

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL TO BE GRADUAL.

The apprehensions of an imminent massacre of Armenians are, it is understood, not shared in official quarters, though the dangerous position in which they would be placed by a sudden withdrawal of British troops is fully realized. The evacuation will be very gradual, extending over two months, beginning from last Saturday. The full strength of the force is about two divisions. It will be some time before even the first of the withdrawn men will be entirely out of touch with Armenia, as the evacuation will begin from the west, the last place of importance to be left being Baku, on the Caspian.

As a matter of fact, very few of the British troops are in Armenia. Most of them are in Georgia; we have never had more than a few outposts actually in Armenia, and these are engaged in guarding property and lines of communication. No doubt their presence has given a sense of security to an area where feeling among the different sections of the populace has always run dangerously high, but the chief restraint on lawless elements has been the knowledge of the proximity of the large British force in other parts of Transcaucasia.

Undoubtedly its withdrawal will diminish security and efforts are consequently being made to secure the effective policing of the country by arrangement among the Allied Powers.

Armenia

"THE TIMES". Thursday, August 28, 1919.

U.S. MISSION TO ARMENIA.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

GIBRALTAR, Aug. 27.

The American Military Mission to Armenia, consisting of 16 officers, headed by General James Harbord, ex-Chief of Staff of the American Expeditionary Force, arrived to-day by the transport Martha Washington. The object of the Mission is to investigate the conditions and needs of Armenia, with special regard to American responsibilities in the event of America becoming further interested in that country.

The Mission is to disembark at Batum, where it will confer with the Allied commanders.

Armenia



"THE DAILY NEWS".

Friday, August 29, 1919.

MR. WILSON'S TOUR.

The Question of the Armenian Mandate.

From Our Special Correspondent,
P. W. WILSON.

New York, Thursday.

The President announces a 25-days' nation-wide tour, in the course of which he will deliver fifty speeches. He will defend the Treaty and handle the industrial situation.

Senators Borah and Johnson, representing the extremists, are also packing their portmanteaus. While criticising the President, they hope for the Republican nomination.

I have looked carefully into the American attitude on Armenia. A withdrawal of the British troops pending a decision is considered unthinkable. No section of the population is believed to be favourable to a French mandate, except possibly some Roman Catholics. Otherwise the people desire either Great Britain or America. Americans realise that this difficult territory lies beyond the route to India, and that Britain is undertaking immense reconstruction in Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Persia. On the whole, Americans, with direct Oriental information, thoroughly approve this activity, which changes the face of the Near East. If invited, America will probably take a mandate, providing the invitation includes cordial French support.

Expert American opinion, also, does not favour two mandatories for Constantinople and Armenia, with the large intervening Turkish territory uncontrolled. There should be united guardianship from the Bosphorus to the Caucasus.

Armenia

V

"THE TIMES". Monday, September 1, 1919.

THE MANDATE FOR ARMENIA.

AMERICAN INTEREST.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

WASHINGTON, AUG. 29.

The Department of State announces that Admiral Bristol, in protesting to the Turkish Government against the slaughter of Armenians, was acting under instructions from Washington. It was further announced that Admiral Bristol had been appointed High Commissioner of the United States in Constantinople.

The criticism of the Admiral's direct action which is reported current in Europe is not supported by public opinion here. Newspapers so different as the *New York World* and *Herald* join in praising his action as worthy of the best American tradition. The renewed advertisement given to Armenian atrocities, together with reports that Britain has told the United States that the only condition under which she can keep troops in Armenia is the willingness of the United States to replace them by Americans within a reasonable period, has for the first time, so far as the general public is concerned, brought prominently to the front the question of an American mandate for Armenia. It is always possible, of course, that disgust at Turkish behaviour may start a movement in favour of shouldering the responsibility, but it is agreed that, as has often been reported, there is at present very slight prospect of anything of the sort happening.

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, which yesterday said editorially that there was a chance of the acceptance of mandates, reports to-day that the outstanding fact in the present situation in the capital is the improbability of the United States taking any action about Armenia in the near future, and the certainty that the Administration regards the sentiment of the country as opposed to American intervention. It is for that reason, the writer explains, that the Administration hesitated to broach to Congress the dispatch of an expedition to Asia Minor. The War Department, he says, estimates the venture would require at least 150,000 men, and the political authorities believe that the country would not tolerate the expense and loss of life that it would entail, especially as the United States has not, like Britain, large forces of native auxiliaries available in that part of the world. Nor is it seen how, in any case, American troops could be got to Armenia within three months, which is stated to be the limit Britain is prepared to remain there.

B

"THE TIMES". Monday, September 15, 1919.

POLICING ARMENIA.

A CASE FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, SEPT. 6 (delayed).

Whether and if the complete evacuation of Trans-Caucasia by the British forces is postponed or not, it should not be supposed at Versailles or elsewhere that the postponement of our evacuation is in any sense a solution of the Armenian and Trans-Caucasian problems. It is thought in some quarters that America may refuse to accept the mandate, or that several months must, in any case, elapse before the American people forms an opinion enabling it to endorse or reject the personal view ascribed to President Wilson—namely, that America should accept it.

In either case the problem of maintaining the necessary minimum of order and security in Trans-Caucasia and for preventing Turkish interference and the ravages of famine will remain. The British Government cannot be expected to keep troops in Trans-Caucasia indefinitely at its own expense. If they are not replaced by American troops, what guarantee is there that order will be maintained after their departure?

The Armenian problem more especially, as *The Times* has pointed out, seems one which concerns the League of Nations more than any one of its principal members. Is it impossible that the League might prove its existence to the somewhat sceptical Near East by undertaking the policing of Trans-Caucasia with a force composed of contingents supplied by its principal members? Is there any reason why the four leading Powers should not each supply two or three battalions for this purpose, and the smaller States, such as Belgium or Rumania, a battalion each? If it is objected that the difficulties of operating with so mixed a force would be considerable, it may be retorted that such a force would be destined for police and garrison duties and not for operations, and that it is extremely improbable that the most foolish of Trans-Caucasians or Turks would risk provoking the League by an attack of any importance upon the Allied and Associated forces.

Meanwhile Turkish extremists seem to be beginning to take an unhealthy interest even at Constantinople in Trans-Caucasian problems. A Neo-Turanian organ, the *Turkdunyasi*—that is, the *Turkish World*—urges Turks closely to follow events in Armenia and in the other countries of Trans-Caucasia which are inhabited "mostly by an overwhelming majority of Turks (*sic*) or by Moslems whose attachment to Turkey is passionate. The question of Trans-Caucasia is an Anatolian question."

UNITED STATES AND MANDATES

THE ARMENIAN TEST.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 28.

The mandate question was up again yesterday, when representatives of Armenian-Americans appeared before a sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and urged the sending of American troops to Armenia. They asked for 20,000 men, and a resolution to send troops has been introduced in the Senate. The fate of the resolution, which is interesting as a test in regard to the assumption of mandates, is highly problematical.

The President's tour has not so far made the Senate more inclined to shoulder foreign obligations. There is likely, indeed, to be a fuss over the reported landing of Americans in Dalmatia. If the outlook for mandates is gloomy, it must not, however, be imagined that the prospects for the League and the Treaty are deteriorating. The significance of such things as Senator Lodge's recent victory in postponing the consideration of the amendments can easily be overestimated. It seems likely that the Senate will authorize the ratification of the Treaty, with reservations, perhaps, but not necessarily crippling.

Present indications are that Mr. Wilson has neither gained nor lost much by his trip.

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN". Thursday, October 30, 1919.

LORD BRYCE ON ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

APPEALS WHICH GERMANY IGNORED.

LONDON, WEDNESDAY.

Lord Bryce, addressing himself especially to the Armenians present at the luncheon given by the Armenian Bureau to-day, at which Lord Gladstone presided, said:

A good deal might be said at this moment which I think it expedient not to say. I have been in Paris watching the question, and have come to knowledge of a certain number of things which it is very important should be known, but the time for discussing them has not arrived, and I cannot say what I should like to. This long strain of suspense is a great trial to you. You knew that the terrible massacres of 1896 might be repeated, but no one could have anticipated the gigantic scale of the massacres in 1915. I do not believe the blood-stained annals of the East contain records of any massacres carried out on such a scale or with such horrors.

Since the publication of the Blue-book we have received many reports confirming it. Some of the most important come from German missionaries, who made the strongest representations to their Government and implored them to stop the massacres. Instead of listening to them the Government stood aloof in callous indifference, and not only allowed Turkey to go on, but tried to prevent the missionaries from letting it be known. I do not think the German people knew anything about it.

Unfortunately, the crisis still continues. It is true that early in the war England and the United States and, I think, Italy and France, had declared that it was impossible to allow Turkey to rule over Christian nations. By massacre and sufferings half the population of Armenia has been destroyed, and further, the Turks made it their business to kill the natural leaders of the people. It is generally felt that some Christian Powers should step in and keep order. Armenians have expressed a strong wish that America should do this. But America has not yet adopted the Peace Treaty or said whether it will enter the League of Nations. Still less can it accept a mandate. I gather that this is the reason why no decision regarding Armenia has been arrived at.

I cannot think any European Power would suggest that Turkey should be restored. It would be a crime against civilisation to send the Turk back. Abdul Hamid was the author of the massacres of 1896, but the Young Turks have surpassed him, and that is conclusive proof that nothing can be expected of the Turk.

Armenia

To Mr. Colban for communication to S.G. if necessary

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RE

DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE CHRISTIAN
POPULATION OF TURKEY.

An extract from the 11th Weekly Report communicated by the Foreign Office says that "On October 17th the Armenian Patriarch and the acting Greek Patriarch took the unprecedented step of calling on the High Commissioners to represent in the strongest terms the danger of the situation created for the Christian populations of Turkey by the national movement and the return of the Government, which is no less than the C.U.P. They consider the situation so grave that they may have no alternative but to resign their functions and leave the Entente to see to the interests and safety of their people".

The Christian peoples of the Near East do not profess Christianity only as a religion but also as embodying the general principles by which their workaday life is regulated and controlled in a moral sense, at least from a social point of view. The Bible is for them as much a civil code as a holy covenant. It does not only regulate men's relation to God but it also embodies the general principles that should govern men's relations with each other. It is in this latter sense that the step taken by the Armenian and

Greek Patriarchs can be explained. Because unfortunately the intercourse between Turk and Christian Greek, or more especially Turk and Armenian, has not been one pertaining to the abstractions of the religious domain, but to such an order of things, as continually suggested to the Christians the hard facts of life and the constant alternatives of being or not being. In fact the Christians in Turkey enjoyed some sort of religious autonomy, entailing for them corresponding independence in jurisdiction concerning marriage, successions and other acts of civil life bearing on them. Such acts were under the jurisdiction of the Christian clergy since the time of the conquest of the Byzantine Empire by the Osmanlis. This limited right of jurisdiction was granted to the Christians by the famous Imperial acts (Hatti Humayun). Therefore the resignation of the Armenian and Greek Patriarchs - a measure resorted to only once in history so far as I can remember - would mean a standstill in the civil life of the Christian population of Turkey.

As to the fear of the two Patriarchs of an eventual return to power of the C.U.P. (Committee of Union and Progress) no one will deny that it is well founded. The Committee of Union and Progress secured the

co-operation of the Christian element of the Turkish Empire before embarking on its revolution of 1908 for the overthrow of the Hamidian regime. Of course the Christians in exchange for their co-operation were promised equality before the law, access to all the functions and a kind of autonomy to the Armenians in the regions of Adana and to the north-north-east of that district. The result was that when the Young Turks were once solidly enthroned in Constantinople they not only did not carry out their promises of equal civil and political rights for the Christians, but in order to radically solve the Armenian difficulty they organized the Adana Massacres of the Armenians applying the Roman adage "accessio cedit principale" in a most cynical way. To do away with the Armenians is, they said, the shortest cut to doing away with their claims on the fulfilment of the Young Turkish promises. These massacres were extended to the Greeks and to a still more appalling extent to the Armenians during the last war. It is easy to understand the fear of the Christians in Turkey especially in view of the fact that since the Armistice the Christians made no secret of their abhorrence of the ^{(Committee Young-} Turk and of their centuries-long desire to at last get freed

from Turkish rule. If the C.U.P. meted out massacre and deportation to the Christians with whose co-operation the Hamidian regime was overthrown, what would they do now if they were again restored to power after the Christians had manifested their relief at the victory of the Entente ? Very heavy would be the price they would have to pay for their naive jubilations. I think you might perhaps ask the Secretary General to communicate with the British Delegation in Paris on this matter before the Conference dissolves. The Conference might enjoin the High Commissioners of the Entente in Constantinople to envisage the possibility of fresh massacres of the Christians by the emissaries of the C.U.P. should the latter - as seems more than probable - be again restored to power. The Entente may easily cow down the C.U.P. by threatening economic and financial war to Turkey should any fresh disorders take place in Turkey to the detriment of the Christians. I think this is the least we can ask Paris to do. Apart from the humanitarian aspect of the question the utility of such a step will be to avert any happenings that are likely to discredit the idea of the League in the Near East. No amount of European goodwill will consolidate the position of the League if the Near Eastern

recalcitrants are not brought to reason or made to realize that everything is not as before the Great Fray, and that the desire for peace is so strong that the Nations of the world or the League of Nations will even go out of their way to preserve order and peace.

Of course the League does not yet exist, but could not Walters, after duly consulting Sir Eric, unofficially ask Paris and suggest as above ?

Ch. Agnew

12.11.19.

I think, the best way will be, that I try to obtain some information on the matter, when I go to Paris again in some days.

S. C.
14. 11. 19.

"THE TIMES". Thursday November 20, 1919.

THE CASE OF KURDISTAN.

AN ESTABLISHED STATE IMPOSSIBLE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The articles on Kurdistan by your Special Correspondent are of supreme interest to me, one of the few Englishmen who know the heart of Kurdistan and the wild and lawless tribes which inhabit those tremendous mountain ranges. He evidently looks to the establishment of a Kurdish State for the solution of some of the appalling difficulties which confront civilization in those regions; that I believe to be an impossible solution. From the dawn of history the Kurds have been professional freebooters; that they have their good qualities I do not deny—I have experienced their courteous hospitality—but robbing and pillage are accounted the natural pursuit of a Kurdish gentleman, and no considerations of consequent bloodshed have the slightest weight. To establish a Kurdish State in the mountains of Kurdistan is to set up a robbers' nest in an impregnable position which can only be reached with difficulty by aeroplanes, to which the tribes in their caves and fortresses will soon get accustomed. The conditions under which the more peaceable inhabitants of the surrounding plains in Turkey and Persia will live may be imagined; as for the Nestorians within that State (if we can get them to go back from the refugee camp at Bakuba, which I doubt), they will soon cease to exist, even as slaves.

What is the solution, then? Alas! it is easier to criticize than to formulate a policy. What is to happen to Armenia proper and to survivors of the appalling massacres? What to Persia? The only hope for all these vast tracts of country lies in some of the Allies accepting mandates; I say some, for it is quite beyond the power of any one. Great Britain may maintain her position up the Tigris to Mosul; that is the utmost we can expect, and that will not help matters very much.

With Russia no longer an ally, but even a pressing danger, in Asia as well as in Europe, the outlook for civilization is black indeed. According to the latest intelligence, Halil Pasha, at the head of a numerous army of Turks and Kurds, is in the neighbourhood of Mount Ararat in the Young Turk interest, and the intrigue between the Young Turks and Bolsheviks is a matter of common knowledge.

The House of Commons has by this time, we may trust, recovered from the enthusiasm it showed at the bidding of Mr. Lloyd George for the Russian Revolution and the dethronement of our ally. That Revolution was from every point of view the great disaster of the war. It has vastly increased, and is still increasing, the sum of human misery, and not the least of its effects has been to leave Great Britain the solitary upholder of order and civilization in the Middle East. Now it seems as if America would renounce all responsibility for Armenia. In that case the position of the Christian races in Turkey will be one of which European statesmen should recognize the gravity.

ATHELSTAN RILEY.

The Athenæum, Nov. 18.

ARMENIA'S PERIL.

Appeal to Allies for Help Against Frontier Foes.

By ROTHAY REYNOLDS.

The difficult situation in which Armenia finds herself to-day was expressed to me yesterday by Avotis Aharonian, Speaker of the Armenian Parliament at Erivan, and delegate of the Armenian Republic at the Peace Conference, who is now in London.

"We never forget our debt of gratitude to 'The Daily News,'" he said, and told me that 30 years ago he remembered a correspondent of the paper, Mr. Fitzgerald, coming to his home near the frontier between Russian Armenia and Turkish Armenia. That frontier still exists, and, before Armenia is free, it must be destroyed.

"Armenians come to me," said Mr. Aharonian, "and ask for help to return to Van or Erzerum. I have to tell them that it is impossible. Turkish Armenia is a desert; 300,000 of the inhabitants have fled before the Turks into Russian Armenia. Hundreds of thousands have been massacred by the Turks, or have died of starvation. Turkish troops are still there. In Russian Armenia we are our own masters, although our difficulties are great.

"To the east of Russian Armenia lies the Tartar Republic of Azerbaizhan, with an army and Government under Turkish influence and a centre of the pan-Turanian movement, which may spread across the Caspian into Asia and exert a deplorable influence most harmful to the interests of the British Empire. It is to your interest to see that a healthy and independent Christian State stands as a barrier between Turkish and Tartar territories.

"We are threatened by the Tartar army, equipped by the Turks, in Azerbaizhan," continued M. Aharonian. "We have to defend ourselves from Turkish troops to the south in Turkish Armenia. It is essential that the Allies should deal with the question of the frontiers of the three Caucasian Republics. The work cannot be left until there is peace in Russia."

A MUSSULMAN REPUBLIC.

Armenia AZERBAIDJAN FRONTIER PROBLEMS.

Mr. Scotland Liddell, who represented the British press in Mesopotamia and afterwards in the Baku region towards the end of the war, in a message from Baku, dated October 14, says:

I have had a long interview with Mr. Djafarov, the Foreign Minister of the Azerbaidjan Republic. Mahomed Josev Djafarov is a young man of about 33, although he impresses one as being very much older than that. A native of Baku, he is a jurist who was educated at Moscow University. He was member of the Russian Duma, representing part of the Caucasus, and during the Kerensky regime he was a member of the Caucasian Soviet.

Mr. Djafarov said, "As regards the foreign policy of Azerbaidjan, I may say very briefly that we have simply aspired to a friendly and peaceful solution of all contestable questions with adjoining nations. There is a characteristic contrast in the proceedings of the Azerbaidjan Government on the one hand, and the Armenian Government on the other, in regard to frontier territories. Enemy agents have for a long time been inciting the people of Karabagh to rise and fight against the Azerbaidjan authorities. In spite of these intrigues of the enemies of Azerbaidjan, however, the Government has succeeded in arriving at a peaceful agreement with the Armenian population of Karabagh, which forms the minority of the population of this region and which occupies only the mountainous part of the province.

"The result of the occupation of Mussulman lands by Armenian troops and the Armenian Administration's neglect of the most important needs of the Mussulmans has soon appeared. At the present time the Armenians have been obliged to leave Nakhitchevan, the greater part of Sharur-Daralagez and part of the district of Erivan. As we desire, if possible, to solve without any acute conflict the question that is inciting the people, our Government has at the present time proposed to the Armenian Government to establish a provisional demarcation line between Azerbaidjan and Armenia, in the hope of finding means to satisfy the local Mussulman population in a way admissible for both nations. The Azerbaidjan Government is willing, regarding this, to accept the proposal of Colonel Haskell, the Allied High Commissioner in Trans-Caucasia, as to the settlement of a neutral zone in the aforementioned regions on certain conditions.

"Both Azerbaidjan and Georgia are keeping outside this great civil war which is taking place in Russia proper. We will on no account tolerate Bolsheviks here, but we are not in a position to take any active part in the Russian war. Like the new Republics of the north and west of the former Russian Empire—Finland, Lithuania, Lettland, Esthonia, and Poland, we will only fight when our enemies threaten our independence.

"Meanwhile, Denikin's plans and intentions are such as to raise considerable apprehensions as to his assurances of his non-interference with the life of the Trans-Caucasian Republics. The handing over of the Caspian fleet to Denikin surprised us. It is really a threat against the capital of Azerbaidjan."

"LE TEMPS". dimanche le 7 decembre, 1919.

DANS LE PROCHE ORIENT

Les bandes nationalistes turques en Cilicie

Notre correspondant d'Adana nous télégraphie :

La situation s'est subitement aggravée. A l'instigation, sans aucun doute, des meneurs nationalistes, des bandes nombreuses, dont quelques-unes très fortes et très bien armées, viennent de faire simultanément leur apparition en différents endroits de la Cilicie et le sang arménien coule de nouveau.

Une de ces bandes opère dans les environs de Djihan. Le 14 octobre elle a razzié les villages de Papakhli, Hamidilli, Keruné, Kaupru, Yénidjé et Merdjén, pillant toutes ces localités. Dans la dernière, tous les habitants de la ferme appartenant à Hadji Artine agha Keklikian ont été passés au fil de l'épée. Les cadavres des victimes, ramenés à Djihan, n'étaient pas encore enterrés quand le bruit s'est répandu que les brigands venaient de tuer trois jeunes hommes et une femme près de Kufchuk Mangheri. Les corps de ces malheureux ont été, comme les autres, ramenés à Djihan et enterrés après examen du médecin français.

Une autre bande a attaqué le même jour le village de Cheikh-Mourad, près d'Adana, tuant onze de ses habitants arméniens, parmi lesquels des femmes et des enfants, et en blessant un grand nombre. D'après les récits des témoins oculaires, cette bande est bien montée, très forte et armée de fusils Mauser allemands. Il faut signaler que beaucoup de ces brigands portent l'uniforme de gendarmes turcs. Cette bande a poursuivi sa route le lendemain, attaquant plusieurs autres villages et tuant les Arméniens. Les cadavres de tous ces malheureux, hommes, femmes et enfants, ont été ramenés à Adana, capitale de la Cilicie, où leur vue a très péniblement impressionné les autorités françaises et la très nombreuse population arménienne.

L'audace de ces brigands est telle qu'ils osent même s'aventurer en pleine ville d'Adana. L'un d'entre eux a été tué à coups de fusil, près de l'hôpital municipal, par ordre du colonel Normand, gouverneur militaire d'Adana.

Le colonel Brémont, administrateur en chef des zones ennemies occupées, après avoir entendu les représentants des Arméniens sur les mesures urgentes qu'il y avait lieu de prendre, a promis de faire tout son possible pour arrêter cette activité meurtrière des bandes turques et a autorisé la formation d'un corps de volontaires arméniens, de 50 hommes environ, qui irait, sous sa responsabilité, à la poursuite de ces bandes turques irrégulières.

Les nouvelles reçues de Marache et d'Ourfa sont aussi alarmantes que celles d'Adana. Les meneurs nationalistes fomentent des troubles à Ourfa et cherchent une occasion propice pour massacrer les Arméniens. Par deux fois, des paniques se sont produites dans cette localité et les magasins de la ville, fermés par la population angoissée, ont été dévalisés par les pillards.

Le bruit court que des massacres ont eu également lieu à Diarbékir.

Il faut voir dans ces faits les symptômes de la menace que les nationalistes turcs veulent diriger sur la Cilicie et les manifestations pratiques de la déclaration de Mustapha Kemal qui reconnaît bien la nécessité de créer une Arménie indépendante, mais qui revendique hautement le vilayet d'Adana comme devant continuer à faire partie de l'empire ottoman.

On ne peut que constater que, la Mésopotamie et l'Arabie étant désormais hors de cause et définitivement libérées du joug turc, le mouvement nationaliste ne s'exerce plus qu'à l'égard des contrées qui sont échues particulièrement à la protection de la France.

Quant aux massacres d'Arméniens, qui n'ont jamais cessé, il faut enregistrer une fois de plus qu'il n'y a rien de changé en Turquie.

✓
"THE TIMES". Tuesday December 9, 1919.

FREE CHURCHES AND ARMENIA.

At a largely attended meeting of the executive committee of the National Free Church Council a resolution was passed, and forwarded to the Prime Minister and Lord Curzon of Kedleston, conveying the deep conviction of the Free Churches of this country that a special obligation rests upon Great Britain to secure the safety and freedom of the Armenian people. In order that this end may be secured, it is strongly urged that the terms of the Peace Treaty with Turkey should fix such boundaries of the Turkish Empire as will effectively prevent the possibility of future massacres of the Armenians, and secure their freedom and safety.

V "THE TIMES". Thursday December 11, 1919.

ARMENIA'S CALL TO AMERICA

The International Committee of the Red Cross, in an appeal to the President and people of the United States on behalf of the Armenians, says that, though during the war it had seemed that the day of deliverance was dawning, and that soon the remnant of this persecuted people, freed from oppression, would revive, Armenia seems now to be forgotten.

The Turkish Army, it declares, is reconstituted, the greatest part of the country which had been liberated is now occupied again, the Armenians cannot return to their homes, and thousands of them live under the constant threat of renewed massacres. Unless the Allied Powers step in Armenia will exist no more. The Committee therefore appeal to the generosity and justice of the American nation to rescue this dying nation from certain extinction.

✓ "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN". Saturday December 13, 1919.

ARMENIA'S DANGER.

THE RED CROSS APPEAL TO AMERICA.

The appeal to the President and people of the United States from the International Committee of the Red Cross on behalf of Armenia, a summary of which has already been given, states, *inter alia*:-

Armenia seems to be forgotten. The Turkish army is reconstituted; the greatest part of the country which had been liberated is now occupied again; the Armenians cannot return to their homes from which they have been driven by violence; thousands of them are still fugitives who have found a temporary asylum where they live a life of misery under the constant threat of renewed massacres.

Unless the Allied Powers step in and resolutely take up the cause of the Armenians, their future is not a mere return under Turkish domination, it is the completion of the work of destruction which has already been carried on with such appalling results. Armenia will no more exist, it will be wiped away from the concert of Christian nations.

We therefore appeal to the feelings of generosity and justice of the American nation. We know that America has gone to war for no selfish purpose, no wish of conquest or aggrandisement, but merely for the cause of justice and right. . . . Is the day in which other peoples joyfully hoist the flag of liberty to be, on the contrary, the day in which Armenia is laid in her grave and her tomb is sealed for ever? We do not believe that America could remain indifferent to such a revolting injustice. Once more let America come forward for the cause of justice and humanity, and rescue a dying nation from a certain extinction. This will be one of the choicest fruits of America's victory.

Politics are strange to us. It is only the feeling of humanity and pity which inspires the Red Cross, which forces us to raise our voice and to entreat America to adopt every measure which will safeguard the life of the Armenians and ensure their independence and liberty.

"LE TEMPS". dimanche le 14 decembre, 1919.

DANS LE LEVANT

Le droit de l'Arménie

Nous recevons du professeur Charles Richey, président du comité français pour l'Arménie, une communication dont voici les passages essentiels :

Sous le titre « le Voyage d'Angleterre », la *Presse de Paris*, dans son numéro du 14 novembre 1919, a donné un rapide aperçu des principales questions qui auraient été examinées au cours des conversations de Londres. Voici, textuellement reproduits, les termes de cet article relatifs aux nationalités qui ont été jusqu'à présent maintenues sous la domination turque : « La question de Turquie a été envisagée. L'Angleterre et la France y agiront en commun. Leur politique demeure d'affranchir de la domination turque les régions non turques et de protéger efficacement les nationalités qui, comme les Arméniens, sont réparties dans plusieurs vilayets turcs, sans qu'on puisse proprement parler d'un pays arménien. »

Le comité français pour l'Arménie serait désireux de présenter à ce sujet les considérations suivantes :

Il est difficile de décrire la stupéfaction douloureuse de tous les Arméniens et l'étonnement de tout homme averti à la lecture du texte cité. L'interprétation la plus naturelle de ce texte semble, en effet, devoir être la suivante : un certain nombre de régions, dites non turques, sans indications plus précises, seront *affranchies* de la domination turque. Par contre, en ce qui concerne les Arméniens, on ne pourra pas affranchir leur pays, puisqu'il n'y a pas à proprement parler de pays arménien, mais on protégera efficacement, dit-on, les Arméniens répartis dans les vilayets turcs.

Il y aurait d'abord beaucoup à dire sur cette promesse de protection efficace qu'il y a lieu de craindre purement illusoire.

Quoi qu'il en soit cependant de cette nouvelle promesse, un fait nouveau et vraiment sensationnel domine aujourd'hui le débat, c'est qu'il n'y a pas à proprement parler de pays arménien, en d'autres termes, il n'y a pas d'Arménie, l'Arménie n'existe pas !

En vérité, sur quoi peut se fonder une pareille affirmation ?

Est-ce parce que les Turcs ont conquis l'Arménie ? Mais alors, aucune nation conquise à un moment donné ne saurait exister davantage. Tel devrait être le cas de la Grèce, de la Bulgarie, de la Serbie, de la Roumanie, de l'Arabie, de la Pologne, de la Bohême, etc.

Est-ce parce qu'il n'y a plus, dit-on, assez d'Arméniens ? Cela équivaudrait à dire qu'il existe un chiffre au-dessous duquel un peuple n'a pas le droit d'être libre. Aucune arithmétique ne peut fournir un pareil critérium. En fait, quel était le chiffre des populations balkaniques affranchies par la guerre russo-turque ? Combien étaient les Grecs lorsqu'ils ont été délivrés ? Ils étaient trois cent mille. Il reste encore environ un million et demi d'Arméniens dans l'ancien empire ottoman. N'est-ce pas assez pour mériter la liberté ? L'argument du nombre est dépourvu de toute valeur, et vouloir en faire état serait plus monstrueux encore que l'acte même d'extermination accompli par les Turcs, car ce serait reconnaître de sang-froid, après un an de réflexion, l'efficacité de cet acte, ce serait le déclarer valable et le ratifier officiellement. Cela, après le mémorandum du 24 mai 1915 !

Il n'est pas moins injuste de refuser aux Arméniens de leur rendre leur patrie, sous le prétexte qu'ils sont actuellement *répartis* dans les vilayets turcs. Personne ne peut ignorer à l'heure actuelle l'ordre du gouvernement turc, en date du 20 mai 1915, relatif aux *changements des lieux de résidence des populations arméniennes*. Ces termes officiels sont assez clairs. L'ordre a été exécuté méthodiquement, en trois phases : les massacres, les caravanes, le désert. C'est la déportation générale de toute la population arménienne qui a vidé l'Arménie. Il y a une étrange cruauté à reprocher aux Arméniens de ne pas être dans leur patrie, alors qu'ils en ont été odieusement arrachés et qu'on refuse de la leur rendre.

Négliger l'Arménie dans le règlement actuel paraît déjà invraisemblable, nier jusqu'à son existence dépasse les limites du possible. Un fait est certain et la négation de ce fait matériel ne peut égarer l'opinion de personne : ethniquement, historiquement, géographiquement, l'Arménie existe. Environ trois millions 1/2 d'Arméniens, en y comprenant ceux de l'héroïque petite République du Caucase, demandent à vivre libres, chez eux, en Arménie. C'est leur droit le plus strict, le plus absolu. Aucune raison ne peut être invoquée pour leur refuser ce droit.

Incontestablement, les Turcs, de même que tous les groupements nationaux, ont droit à un domaine qui leur soit particulier et à l'indépendance dans ce domaine, mais ce droit ne peut pas s'exercer en détruisant la patrie et l'indépendance d'autrui. Par définition on ne peut faire une Turquie qu'avec des Turcs, de même que l'on ne peut demander aux Arméniens de faire nationalement autre chose qu'une Arménie.

"THE TIMES". Thursday December 18, 1919.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, December 17.

ARMENIA.

The ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY called attention to the sufferings of the Christian refugees, Armenian, Nestorian, and Chaldean, who were still prevented from returning to their homes by the Turkish troops who were occupying the districts from which they were driven, and to the repeated declarations made by the Government that all Turkish rule should cease in Armenia and the other districts referred to; and asked whether the Government could give any information as to the steps taken or proposed in relation thereto. Referring to the Blue-book on the subject, he said that it revealed appalling stories of wholesale massacre and of wholesale expulsion of great populations from their homes. Apparently at the very outbreak of the war a deliberate plan was adopted by the Turkish Government that people who were loyal to the Christian faith and had held their own in the face of oppression should be massacred or deported, which simply meant massacre in a different way. The last thing he wished to do was to go in detail into all the horrors that these people had been submitted to. The Principal of the American College had collected details as to the deportations, and from these it appeared that out of one lot of persons of 695 who set out from a certain village for Aleppo, 321 reached Aleppo; 206 men and 57 women were killed, 70 girls and young women and 19 boys were sold, and some 23 were missing. Then there were also a number of massacres of women and children under the most horrible circumstances of savagery. What was the result? There was no dispute as to what happened in 1915. The Armenian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire were everywhere uprooted from their homes and deported to the most remote and unhealthy districts that the Government could select for them. Some were murdered at the outset, some perished on the way, and some died after reaching their destination. The death-roll amounted to upwards of 600,000; perhaps 600,000 more were still alive in their places of exile; and the remaining 600,000 or so had either been converted forcibly to Islam, gone into hiding in the mountains, or escaped beyond the Ottoman frontier. The Ottoman Government could not deny these facts, and they could not justify them. He believed that these stories were an outrage on civilization without parallel in the history of the world. Even under barbarian rule the wildest barbarians had never exceeded the horrors of the kind we had here. And these horrors could be traced to the deliberate plan and scheme of a Government with which Europe was supposed to be on friendly terms. Was it conceivable that we were now going to allow these facts to be forgotten or that we were going to allow conditions to arise again in which their repetition would be possible? The Turkish Government in their reply did not deny the awful charges, but made excuses. They said these were rebellious people and not loyal to Turkish rule, and it was necessary to exercise discipline. They said it was the Ottoman Government's duty to uphold public law and order. We had a right to expect that we were going to receive practical aid from those who shared our responsibilities in the war and who ought to share them now. The story of these hardships had been obliterated from many people's minds by the incidents of the war, but whatever flag flew in these regions, actual control must never again be in Turkish hands.

EARL CURZON'S REPLY.

EARL CURZON (Secretary for Foreign Affairs) in reply said that what the House would be concerned with was what the Government were doing and what was the prospect which lay before the people of whose sufferings they had heard so much. In the vicinity of Baghdad a camp had been established in which about 53,000 refugees had been collected. They had been there from September or October, 1918, and consisted partly of Assyrian Christians from Persia and partly from the regions of Kurdistan, and partly of Armenians. They had been maintained by us at a cost of £2,500,000 a year. They had been engaged in various forms of work, but the important thing was to get them back. The difficulty was manifest. Those of Persian origin could not go back to a country access to which was at

present closed, and where no sort of security existed. We had no right under the terms of the Armistice to repatriate these people to places outside the Armistice area, and we had not the force, even if we had the right, to conduct them back into the regions whence they came. The people themselves were naturally loth to move unless they could do so under conditions of security, and he was afraid nothing substantial could be done until the winter was passed and the spring had come. Meanwhile the administration of this camp had been taken over by the civilian from the military authority; and it was hoped that the expense would thereby be reduced somewhat. The policy of his Majesty's Government was to get the Persian Assyrians back to their own country as soon as conditions admitted of it; and in regard to the Assyrians who lived before and were willing to live again in areas which belonged to the old Turkish Empire, it was desired to place them in territories which, if not actually under our wing, were within easy reach of our protection.

As to the Armenians, about 12,000 refugees were at Aleppo, and arrangements had recently been made between the British and French Governments by which parts of Syria and Cilicia had been vacated by the British troops and handed over to the French. In Cilicia there was an Armenian community which had been under the military charge of the French. In the north there were areas in which large numbers of Armenian exiles were congregated. There the relief work, he was glad to say, was taken up by the Americans. This was the old province of Russian Armenia, and under the new condition of affairs it had claimed for itself national existence and called itself the Armenian Republic. He was afraid there had been great suffering and heavy mortality, and that in many cases the people had reached the absolute limit of their existence. Here the principal relief work had been done by the American Mission. It was a splendid thing to find our efforts being backed up not only by the large heart but by the deep purse of the American nation. (hear, hear.)

A few months ago it was said that there was very grave danger of a massacre of those unhappy people and a repetition of some of the worst horrors of the past. So far as he could make out that was not at all likely to be true, partly because the Armenians in some quarters were armed and able to take care of themselves; and partly because he suspected the old massacres were ordered from Constantinople for political reasons, and now, so far as he could gather there was no means at Constantinople of setting in motion that particular weapon of cruelty. With regard to the various declarations made at different times on behalf of his Majesty's Government, as to this part of the world, he could assure the most reverend prelate that they were still adhered to. They were shared in by all the Allies; and he could say that not many months—he would go further and say, not many weeks—would now lapse before the Allied Powers in Conference were able seriously to come to a solution of the Turkish problem, too long delayed already, and bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. (Hear, hear.)

He was not certain that the larger aspirations which were once entertained of an Armenia stretching from sea to sea would be capable of realization. The problem was not merely one of means and money, it was also one of men. Many others had hoped—he himself cherished the hope for long—that America would be willing to take up this great responsibility. President Wilson was, he believed, earnestly disposed to do so at one moment, and for all he knew he might be so still; and had America taken it up she would, with her large ideas and great resources, have been able to do it on a much larger and more satisfactory scale than anybody else. He was afraid that the omens in the United States were very unfavourable to any such solution being found, and he thought the best that we could do for the time being, without surrendering the hopes of better things, was to try and solidify, consolidate, and build up the fortunes of an Armenian State in that part of the world to which he had referred.

VISCOUNT BRYCE hoped the Government and the House would appreciate the great urgency of the question, and insisted that all possible steps should be taken to free the persecuted territories from the tyranny of the armed bands that were preventing the refugees from returning to their homes and cultivating the land.



"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN". Thursday December 18, 1919

FUTURE OF ARMENIA.

EARL CURZON ON AMERICA'S ATTITUDE.

OMENS AT PRESENT UNFAVOURABLE.

In the House of Lords yesterday the Archbishop of Canterbury called attention to the sufferings of the Armenians and other Christian refugees who were still prevented from returning to their homes by Turkish troops, and to the repeated declarations made by the Government that all Turkish rule should cease in Armenia.

The Archbishop asked whether the Government could give any information as to the steps taken or proposed. Wholesale massacres and expulsions had taken place. The death-roll amounted to 600,000.

Earl Curzon, in reply, said that in the refugee camp at Bakuba, near Bagdad, there were 53,000 Assyrian refugees. The cost of the camp worked out at £2,500,000 a year. Those of the refugees who were of Persian origin could not go back to their country because of the insecurity there, but it was our policy to get them back as soon as the conditions permitted. He was afraid we would not be able to do anything substantial until next spring. Never had the Armenian people been more scattered and dispersed than now. There were 12,000 near Aleppo, who had been handed over to the care of the French Government, and a number in other towns in the north of Syria would also be looked after by the French. In the north there were a much larger number of these exiles. Here there had been for some time close on 25,000 or 30,000 Turkish Armenians.

Relief work among them had been undertaken by the Americans. In the old province of Russian Armenia, which now claimed national existence, there was said to be a population of about 500,000 Armenians, and there was a refugee population crowding in from the west and south-west. The estimated numbers varied from 150,000 to 300,000, and he was afraid there was great suffering. There was very heavy mortality, and in many cases the people had reached the absolute limit of their resistance. The stories about possible Armenian massacres, as far as he could make out, were not at all likely to be realised, partly because the Armenians were well armed in many quarters, and partly because Constantinople, being now powerless, there was not the political reason which he believed originally actuated these outrages.

The Americans and ourselves were doing our best to establish peaceful relations between the Armenian groups and the neighbouring States. He hoped the worst was over, and that there were the germs of a State which would retain an independent existence in the future. He trusted that not many weeks would elapse before the Turkish problem, too long delayed, might be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. They had cherished the hope that America would be willing to take up the great responsibility in connection with Armenia, but he was afraid the omens were at present unfavourable, and the best we could do, without surrendering the hope of better things, was to solidify and build up the fortunes of an Armenian State.

✓
Armenia

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN". Friday December 19, 1919.

THE ARMENIAN PROBLEM.

AN AMERICAN GOVERNOR IN TRANSCAUCASIA.

PARIS, WEDNESDAY.

The Armenian Information Bureau in Paris states that Colonel Rhea, representing Colonel Gaskell, Allied Commissioner in Armenia, has addressed the following letter to the officer in command of the Nakitchevan division and the Mohammedan National Council:—

As representative of the High Commissioner of the Allied Powers I have the honour to inform you that for the preservation of peace in the regions of Nakitchevan and Charour, the Governments of Azerbaijan and Armenia have agreed to leave those regions provisionally under the administration of the Allies, conducted by an American governor. Colonel Edmond L. Delem, engineer of the United States Army, has been appointed Governor of them and has taken up his post.

The Bureau also states that bands continue to pillage the villages around Samsun and Trebizond, while Laza pirates are successfully carrying on their operations along the Black Sea coast. As a result of this state of affairs the small number of Armenians still surviving in these regions have begun to migrate. In spite of the assurances given to them they do not care to expose themselves to the sufferings endured by their compatriots in 1915, preferring privations and misery to massacre.

Most of the refugees are proceeding to the Caucasus, where they have relatives, but so great are their numbers that it will be extremely difficult for them all to secure support through the winter.

In Asia Minor generally the position of the Armenians is more difficult, as they are now not only not allowed to go to Constantinople or into Cilicia but even to move from any one province to another. The reason for this prohibition is not known. Many who had sold up everything with a view to migration now find themselves in a most critical position.—Press Association.

V "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. Tuesday December 23, 1919.

"DIRECT AID" FOR ARMENIA.

AMERICAN SUGGESTION TO MR.
WILSON.

A memorandum opposing American mandates in the Near East, but urging the United States immediately to recognise the Armenian Republic and to extend direct aid to it, has been telegraphed to President Wilson by members of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, headed by Mr. Gerard. Other signatories include Mr. Charles E. Hughes, Senator Elihu Root, Mr. Nicholas M. Butler, Mr. J. G. Schurman, and Mr. Frederic Penfield.—Reuter.

"THE TIMES". Saturday December 27, 1919.

Switzerland has addressed a Note to the five Great Powers, drawing their attention to the tragic situation of the Armenians, and suggesting the inclusion in the Peace Treaty with Turkey of clauses to assure the future liberty and prosperity of Armenia.

"THE TIMES". Thursday January 1, 1920.

A resolution has been passed unanimously by a representative meeting of the Armenian Colony in Egypt protesting against any attempt to sever Cilicia from Armenia, and urging that Armenia has the right to be consulted on its future status and the choice of the mandatory Power.

Armenia.

"THE FUTURE OF TURKEY".

("Daily News" 5.1.20)

see under "Turkey".

✓ Armenia

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN". Monday January 5, 1920.

Armenia and the Turk.

With the new Conference about to open in Paris there is a peculiar timeliness about the article on the settlement of the Near East which Lord Bryce contributes to the January "Contemporary Review." The first and the most important of the questions before the Conference will be the Turkish Treaty. There is, however, a special reason why Lord Bryce's article is helpful at this moment. There can scarcely have been anything on which opinion, in this country at least, was more agreed than that the successful ending of the war would mean the disappearance of the Turk, complete and absolute, from the regions in which he misgoverned a variety of subject races, and, above all, from Armenia, the stage upon which he had finally demonstrated, on a vast scale, the atrocities of which he is capable. To most people it would come with a shock of surprise and disgust to think that, under any circumstances or with any ostensible safeguards, the Turks could again be tolerated in Armenia, yet for some time it has been reported that certain Continental politicians, anxious for the purposes of their own diplomacy to keep the Turks alive, were disposed to recommend that Turkish authority should be maintained in Armenia. We should like to think that no British Government would even consider so infamous a proposal, and that if it did it would soon end its own life as a Government. The solution which Lord Bryce clearly favours, and which would have been the best, though it seems unlikely now to be realised, was for the United States to have taken the Armenian mandate. Her missionaries have done much for Armenia. She is, through Mr. Wilson, largely responsible for the application of the system of mandates to the liberated territories, and there is therefore some sort of obligation upon her to accept a share of the trusteeship that has been proposed in her name as the best solution for territories which, in her own opinion, can no longer be left to their former possessors. There is, again, no task in the fulfilment of which she could do a greater service to the cause of humanity, nor any which would furnish her with a finer opportunity for showing what an upright and unselfish trusteeship can be made to mean among the nations. But if, as is all too likely, the United States will not take up this honourable burden, there are other adequate ways of providing for the future of Armenia without leaving a vestige of authority to the Turks. The work which the League of Nations can carry out through a mandatory, it can also carry out directly through a commission of its own, and although commissions of mixed nationalities have their defects, such an arrangement might conceivably be much better for Armenia than that it should be handed over as a trust to any one of the Powers who in the Near East have so many private interests of the sort which have produced incessant friction during the recent months.

"THE TIMES". Thursday January 8, 1920.

PEACE OF TRANSCAUCASIA.

AN AGREEMENT AND ITS VIOLATION.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, Dec. 31.

An important agreement was concluded at Tiflis on November 23 between the Armenian and Azerbaijan Governments and signed by their respective Prime Ministers, MM. Khatissian and Ussub Bekoff. By the agreement the two Governments pledged themselves to cease all hostilities and not again to resort to force of arms, but to settle all controversies by peaceful agreements. If this proved to be impossible a neutral arbiter would be chosen, whose decision would be accepted by both Governments.

The agreement further provides for the assembly of a Conference at Baku and sub-



sequently at Tiflis, each Government appointing an equal number of delegates. The Conference will discuss all questions in dispute between the two Governments, and will have full powers to settle them by agreement or arbitration.

An agreement has also been arrived at between the Georgian and Armenian Governments whereby the former withdraws restrictions on imports into Armenia by the Georgian State Railways.

It is an open secret that Mr. Wardrop, British High Commissioner in Transcaucasia, who is *persona grata* with the Georgian people, contributed very largely by his persevering efforts on behalf of conciliation to the conclusion of the above agreements, which it is to be hoped will inaugurate an era of peace among the Transcaucasian peoples, and will be a sore disappointment to the Bolshevists and Pan-Islamists.

According to a telegram from a British source at Tiflis, dated December 30, it is reported that some days previously an Armenian Government force attacked the Moslem Zanvi Bazar district, destroying one village, and on the next day destroyed another village. If these reports prove to be true, Armenia has violated the agreement reached between her and Azerbaijan.—*Reuter.*

"THE TIMES". Friday January 9, 1920.

FUTURE ARMENIAN STATE.

PROTEST AGAINST TURK SUZERAINTY.

The British Armenia Committee have submitted a memorandum to the Government, embodying "the minimum programme which, in their opinion, is demanded both by the conscience of the civilized world and by the previous and renewed pledges of Ministers."

The Committee recognize that, if America declines to undertake a mandate and no other mandatory for the whole country can be found, it may not be feasible, at any rate for the time being, to organize the entire area of the former Ottoman provinces properly included in Armenia as a single political unit, but they hold that it is as possible, and as essential, as ever to liberate all these provinces from the sovereignty of the Turk, and they urge that the liberation must be complete. They protest against suggestions that in order to conciliate Moslem opinion, especially in India, Armenia, while receiving "autonomy," should be retained under the suzerainty or semi-sovereignty of the Ottoman Government. Such suzerainty, even if only nominal, would be a moral outrage.

The connexion of Armenia with the Ottoman Empire must be severed completely, and the area so severed must comprise all those former Ottoman provinces, east of the predominantly Turkish and north of the predominantly Arab area, in which there was in 1914 a mixed population of Armenians, Kurds, Greeks, Kyzyl-Bashis, and Turks—that is, all territory north of Alexandretta, Diarbekr, and Hakkari, and east of Selefkah on the Mediterranean, Sivas on the Kyzyl Yrmak River, and Cape Yasun on the Black Sea. In this area the Turkish Government has for many years purposely stirred up enmity and bloodshed.

The Committee understand that the investiture of another Power with a mandate over the southwestern parts (from the Cilician coast as far inland as Diarbekr and Kharput) is a possibility. To this alternative, failing a single mandate for a United Armenia, they make no objection, but such a partial mandate should include complete severance from Turkey and from the new Arab national State in Syria; freedom and equality for all races and religions; an obligation upon the mandatory Power to train the population in self-government; and, finally, that this provisional arrangement should do nothing which would prevent the ultimate reunion of these provinces with the rest of Armenia.

They hold that the remainder of the Armenian area to be severed from Turkey ought to be included at once in the nucleus of an independent Armenian State. The independent Armenia must include from the beginning, not merely the ex-Russian districts of Erivan and Kars, but a zone of ex-Ottoman territory containing at least the towns of Van, Mush, Erzerum, Erzinjan, and a Black Sea port. The last is particularly important as providing Armenia with an outlet to one sea-board. The present economic distress in the Erivan territory is well known to be due very largely to the formidable number of refugees from the adjoining Ottoman provinces who are at present encamped there.

The Committee believe that with reasonable help from outside the surviving man-power of the nation is fully sufficient to start at once upon the construction of a national State extending over this area, which, within the minimum limits defined above, includes no more than half the total Armenian area which has to be severed from Turkey. The Armenians will still be more numerous than any of the several non-Armenian elements in the new State.

The Committee suggest that, within the restricted limits outlined above, Armenia deserves as much effort and outlay on Great Britain's part as Persia. They base this plea first upon grounds of humanity and upon the very direct responsibility for the sufferings of Armenia which Great Britain incurred by her policy in 1877-78. But the territorial changes likely to be produced in the Middle East as a result of the war make the well-being of Armenia an important interest of the British Empire. The insurgent and violent Government of Mustapha Kemal, if it were allowed to "solidify, consolidate, and build up its fortunes" in the place of Armenia, has all the makings of a new and extremely hostile Afghanistan, and will stir up against us the tribes on its own borders.

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN". Thursday January 22, 1920,

ARMENIA'S FUTURE: A PLAN OF LIBERATION.

(From a Correspondent.)

In a previous article I discussed the future of the Turks in Anatolia and the problem of determining their western frontier as against the Greeks. I do not propose to discuss the Italian claim to a "zone" further south-east, centring, it is understood, in Adalia, but conceivably extending to Smyrna, and even to Konia, on the plateau. Protest, not discussion, is the proper response to a claim founded on no ground of nationality or self-determination, but on naked Imperialism, and the issue will be decided not on its merits, which are not a matter of controversy, but by the influence of public opinion upon diplomacy—unless, as we may allow ourselves to hope, the new Italian Government has departed here as in other cases, from the standpoint of its predecessor. I will pass at once to the eastern frontier of Anatolia, or, in other words, to the problem of Armenia and of her Trans-Caucasian neighbours with whom her future is bound up.

The migrant tribes who Turkified Anatolia did not leave nearly so strong an impress on the lands through which they passed on the way. Scattered Turkish settlements lead back like a trail from Anatolia across the countries immediately to the east, till on the far side of Persia, beyond the Caspian, they merge into the immense region of Turkestan, the true homeland of the Turks, where their nationality remains as predominant as it has become in Anatolia itself. In the intervening countries, however, the Turkish race is nowhere in a majority, except in the isolated district of Azerbaijan, which we shall have to consider later. Viewing these countries as a whole, we shall find an extraordinary mixture of nationalities, among which the Turkish element is only one. Before the war these countries were distributed between three States—Turkey, Russia and Persia,—and we will consider first the section belonging to Turkey—that is, the former Ottoman provinces extending east of the Turkish "national home" in Anatolia as far as the Russian and Persian frontiers, and touching the Black Sea on the north, round Trebizond, as well as the Mediterranean along the coast of Cilicia, round Mersina.

Before the deportations, massacres, and oscillations of warfare between the Turkish and Russian armies, which have combined to desolate a large part of this country during the last five years, it was inhabited by the following races:—Armenians, Kurds, pseudo-Kurdish and in some cases crypto-Christian aboriginal tribes, Turks, and Greeks. The Greeks were confined to the Black Sea littoral, the Turks to the district between Trebizond and Erzerum and to the plain of Cilicia; Kurds and pseudo-Kurds were to be found roughly where Turks and Greeks were absent; the Armenians were scattered everywhere. There were compact but widely separated islands of Armenian peasantry in the upland plains, semi-independent communities of Armenian mountaineers in fastnesses overlooking the Cilician plain and the basin of the Upper Tigris, and a predominant Armenian element among the workmen, tradesmen, and professional class of the towns. Since the Armenians were the most ubiquitous of



the several nationalities and have also founded most of the independent States which have arisen in this area from time to time in the course of history, it is convenient to call the whole region "Ottoman Armenia," so long as that name does not lead to the existence of the other nationalities being ignored and is not construed as entitling the Armenians to inherit the political ascendancy latterly exercised and abused by the Turks. By their energy and efficiency the Armenians may in the long run outstrip their neighbours, but that is an open question which cannot be prejudged by political discrimination in the peace settlement.

A Hopeful Feature.

This needs to be insisted upon, first because the distinction between the liberation of Armenia and the subjection of the other nationalities to Armenian domination is sometimes missed, and secondly because the promotion of hatred and uncharitableness between the several races has been the curse of the country. This has, of course, been the deliberate policy of the Ottoman Government, and Armenia has been the scene of their most atrocious crimes. They have set Moslem against Christian, Kurd against Armenian, and in the crowning atrocities of 1915 they attempted to exterminate the Armenians by enlisting against them the fanaticism and cupidity of the other elements. In the terrible picture presented by these atrocities there is one hopeful feature. The evidence seems to show that the nationalities of Armenia, including the local Turks, lived in peace and even in friendship so long as they were left alone. In many places the Moslem notables protested against the treatment of the Armenians by the Government; the Kyzyl Bashis and other mountain tribes gave the fugitives shelter: there were cases of officials, even provincial governors, who refused to carry out their instructions and were recalled; the whole diabolical plan was directed from Constantinople, and the chief agents in executing it were the regular gendarmerie and irregular bands of brigands and criminals recruited from the gaoles.

The source of evil in Armenia has been the Ottoman Government, and the most important thing the Conference has to do for the country is to sweep that Government away. They cannot be too drastic. The whole mixed area east of the predominantly Turkish parts of Anatolia must be severed from Turkey, and the severance must be complete. Not only Turkish administration but Ottoman sovereignty, including nominal suzerainty, must go. Its maintenance would weigh like a nightmare upon the survivors of actual Turkish misrule, and we have had sufficient experience to know that the mere form of Turkish overlordship means intrigue and unrest. Without a clean sweep of Ottoman sovereignty out of these provinces reconstruction cannot begin. This is the true interest of all the local races—Turks and Kurds as well as Armenians and Greeks.

The Question of Mandates.

But who is to rebuild what the Turk has destroyed? For many months it was hoped that America would accept a mandate for a term of years over the whole region from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and would train the races to restore their country in common and co-operate for governing themselves. But we can no longer look forward to her intervention and an alternative must be found. In any case there must be no whittling down of the area to be set free. The new eastern frontier of the Anatolian Turkish State ought to start from a point on the Mediterranean opposite Cyprus and west of Mersina, where the Taurus approaches the coast; it should then run north-eastward along the main chain of Taurus, cutting across the famous pass of the "Cilician Gates." It follows approximately the watershed between the Kyzyl Irmak basin and that of the Euphrates, and bears northwards to a point on the Black Sea coast somewhere between Samsun and Trebizond.

This roughly defines the area of mixed nationality which has to be cut away from Turkey, but in default of America it will probably be impossible to place it under a single administration. It may be conjectured that France will be offered a mandate for the south-western districts from the Cilician coast as far inland as Diarbekr and Kharpout, and the population has everything to gain by this so long as the League of Nations makes the grant on the following conditions:— That the country should be entirely separate from Turkey on the one side and Syria on the other; that the mandatory should prepare the people for self-government; and that they should be given an opportunity of deciding, after a term of years, whether they wish for reunion with the rest of Armenia.

As for the remainder of the area between the probable French mandate and the former Ottoman frontier, corresponding in general to the ex-vilayets of Van and Erzerum, with the addition of some outlet on the Black Sea, it ought to be united at once with the Armenian Republic already in being in Trans-Caucasia. The unlikelihood of American assistance increases the importance of this little State of Erivan. But even if it is enlarged by the incorporation of the ex-Ottoman territories indicated above, and the refugees from these territories, of whom there are several hundred thousand in Erivan, are able to return to their homes, the new Armenia will be dangerously weak to begin with. Short of a formal mandate, much assistance can be given by the Allies, and especially by ourselves; by our support of Turkey in 1878 we have incurred responsibility for what the Armenians have suffered since, and, besides this moral obligation, our new relations to Mesopotamia and Persia will give us a political and military interest in the peace and prosperity of the country beyond their northern borders. But such assistance will be of minor importance to Armenia compared to her relations with her Trans-Caucasian neighbours, Georgia and Azerbaijan. The future of all these three States depends upon the establishment of a good understanding between them.

"THE TIMES". Friday January 23, 1920.

ARMENIA'S CLAIM FOR FREEDOM.

BISHOP GORE ON BRITISH INTERESTS.

A well attended meeting, organized by the British Armenia Committee, was held at Caxton Hall yesterday afternoon, to urge on the Government and the Peace Conference the claims of the Armenians. Mr. Aneurin Williams, M.P., presided, and among others on the platform were Bishop Gore, Dr. J. Clifford, Lady Sykes, Dr. Scott Lidgett, Canon Adderly, and Mr. Noel Buxton. Letters of apology were read from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Bourne, Lord Bryce, Lord Weardale, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Crewe, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

The following resolution was proposed by BISHOP GORE: "That this meeting urges upon the Peace Conference the fulfilment of the Allies' pledges for the liberation of the Armenians and other subject races from the Turks." Dr. Gore referred to the Armenian massacres as "a horrible record almost without parallel." No one could say that the level of political morality in this country was, at this moment, encouraging, but in the name of Christianity and of God we should do the right thing by the Armenians. He believed that it was in our interests, if we were looking only at interests, to secure for them a decent Government.

DR. CLIFFORD, who seconded, said that it was impossible for us to escape the discharge of our obligations to Armenia without being exposed to the guilt of cowardice. We had entered upon the war to rescue Belgium from the tyranny of the Kaiser. The lives of their sons and brothers which had been laid down in that cause called upon them to complete the battle for freedom and secure for the Armenians complete deliverance from the apparently unconvertible Turkish Government. There was an obligation upon them to get rid of the Turk for ever as he had no place among us.

MR. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., said that there was danger in this country in a pro-Turkish movement which was already growing in other countries. He strongly urged that the Government should not consider our interests before our honour.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

A further resolution, moved by Mr. JOSEPH BLISS, and seconded by LADY SYKES, declared "That, in order to meet the immediate needs of the orphans and refugees, and to commence the work of repatriation and reconstruction in Armenia, this meeting urges the Allied Powers to advance sufficient sums to the Armenian community; such sums to be administered under the supervision of the Allies, and to be repaid by the Turkish Government out of compensation due for Armenian property stolen and destroyed by them."

MR. ANEURIN WILLIAMS said that it was the corrupt and iniquitous gang who had got a hold on the country that made such an appeal necessary for Armenia. The war proved that the Turkish attitude was mere "camouflage" and that they had no intention of carrying out their promises for Armenia's betterment. The Armenians now wanted a free Armenia. They had been too moderate in their demands, and the only solution was a cessation of Turkish Government and an Armenian Republic which should include those parts of Turkish Armenia which were adjacent to the borders.

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN". Wednesday January 23, 1920.

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE
RECOGNISED.

Reuter's Agency is informed that the Allies have decided to recognise *de facto* the independence of the Armenian Republic, with its capital at Eriwan. The question of boundaries has still to be settled, and the decision just arrived at will not prejudice any decisions to be reached later in regard to Turkish Armenia.

Armenia

"LE TEMPS". dimanche le 25 janvier, 1920.

L'indépendance de l'Arménie

Les représentants de l'Arménie, Boghos Nubar pacha et M. Aharonian, ont reçu communication de la résolution par laquelle le conseil suprême des alliés a décidé que le gouvernement de l'Etat arménien est reconnu comme gouvernement de fait, sans que cette reconnaissance préjuge la question des frontières de l'Etat arménien.

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN". Tuesday January 27, 1920.

ARMENIAN MANDATE FOR
HOLLAND ?

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

AMSTERDAM, JAN. 25.

The Hague newspaper *Nieuwe Courant* is informed that should the United States refuse to accept the mandate over Armenia, this mandate will be offered to Holland.

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"THE TIMES". Thursday January 29, 1920.

THE "AUCTION OF SOULS" FILM.

Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General to the League of Nations, writes:—"In view of the misunderstanding which appears to exist, may I make it clear that neither the Council of the League of Nations, nor the Secretary-General, have any responsibility whatever for the film *The Auction of Souls* now being shown at the Albert Hall?"

Id. 4 Les épreuves de l'Arménie

Un Français qui vient de visiter l'Arménie nous écrit de Téhéran :

La République d'Arménie emprunte ses territoires à l'ancienne Russie et à la Turquie; elle traverse, en ce moment, une crise grave, difficile à surmonter, et n'est pas encore parvenue à reconstituer la patrie indépendante, but de ses efforts constants.

Entourée d'ennemis, placée, par sa situation géographique, sous la tutelle économique des Géorgiens maîtres du chemin de fer de Batoum et de la plus grande partie du matériel roulant, gênée dans son ravitaillement par l'embargo de ses voisins sur les farines américaines, dépendant de l'Azerbeïdjan pour la fourniture du mazout, combustible de ses locomotives et, au demeurant, presque toujours en guerre avec cet Etat, l'Arménie doit monter une garde vigilante le long de ses frontières.

A l'intérieur, la situation de l'Arménie n'est guère plus favorable; elle se heurte à l'hostilité des Kurdes, des Tartares, des dissidents russes molokhouts (buveurs de lait), voire de quelques bolchevistes, perpétuels éléments de trouble.

Sans la protection des alliés, il est à présumer que le nouvel Etat qui n'a pu armer qu'environ 15.000 soldats réguliers, braves, disciplinés, mais mal équipés, aurait disparu depuis longtemps.

Ce n'est pas sans des sacrifices pénibles que l'Arménie a obtenu cet appui matériel et moral sans lequel elle ne pouvait vivre : elle a dû abandonner à la Géorgie l'administration du district d'Akhalkhalati, où habitent 200.000 enfants de sa race, ainsi que la partie nord de celui de Choulaveri; de leur côté, les Azerbeïdjiens occupent Choucha et ses environs, objets de ses justes revendications.

Détestés par leurs voisins à cause de leurs qualités et de leurs défauts bien connus, les Arméniens passent par une série d'épreuves que leur ténacité finira sans doute par vaincre.

Le ministre-président, M. Khatinian, n'en doute pas; c'est un homme intelligent, cultivé, d'esprit net, s'exprimant avec aisance dans notre langue; il aime rappeler la constante fidélité de ses concitoyens à la cause des alliés; cet attachement ne s'est démenti, en effet, ni quand leur territoire se trouva submergé par les Turcs — les Géorgiens pactisaient alors avec les Allemands, — ni lorsque leurs voisins du nord et de l'est leur offraient de signer, contre Denikine, un traité d'alliance avantageux.

M. Khatinian se rend compte des difficultés qui l'attendent dans son œuvre de reconstitution nationale. Ne faut-il pas garder 580 kilomètres de frontières avec des effectifs réduits, subvenir aux besoins de l'existence de 300.000 réfugiés, compléter l'armement des troupes régulières, rétablir, par camions automobiles, les relations directes avec les ports de la mer Noire? A ces problèmes et à d'autres d'un intérêt tout aussi immédiat, le président et ses collaborateurs s'efforcent d'apporter les meilleures solutions.

A Trébizonde, j'ai pu mesurer toute l'étendue des dévastations matérielles et l'horreur des massacres commis par les Turcs. Dans la ville, il n'est guère resté d'Arméniens; hommes, femmes, enfants, tout a été massacré ou emmené de force dans les sérails. Si, à présent, on ne redoute plus de pareils excès, c'est que la population de cette race a été complètement exterminée dans le vilayet.

La région située au nord de Trébizonde, en direction de Hamsi-Keui, paraît avoir moins souffert; elle est peuplée de Grecs bien armés, ayant constitué des bandes de volontaires; la résistance a été organisée contre les massacreurs, à la solde des comités jeunes-turcs, et qui se montrent toujours lâches devant des adversaires résolus à leur tenir tête.

L'Arménie réclame des alliés la reconnaissance de son autonomie; elle veut s'organiser et vivre en paix dans le travail; il est à souhaiter que les concours sur lesquels elle est en droit de compter ne lui fassent pas défaut. Pour ces malheureuses populations alternativement livrées à l'arbitraire et au despotisme des Turcs ou des Russes, c'est le seul moyen de sortir enfin d'un état anarchique qui ne saurait se prolonger.

L'aide économique de l'Entente n'est pas moins utile à l'Arménie si l'on veut sauver des affres de la faim les habitants des districts encore soumis à l'administration turque, en particulier ceux de Bayazid et de Kara-Kilissa. Les Kurdes occupent les villages où résidaient jadis ces pauvres gens, qui, poussés par le besoin ou par l'amour du sol natal, tentent parfois d'y rentrer et sont massacrés sans pitié.

L'établissement de communications par route et par fer avec la mer Noire est d'une nécessité urgente; ainsi, l'Arménie, devenue indépendante de ses voisins, pourra se développer librement; un projet de chemin de fer entre Batoum et Kars est actuellement à l'étude; on poursuit également la création d'une route automobile reliant le centre du pays au port de Trébizonde.

La présence de troupes alliées permettrait la réalisation prochaine de ce programme. — E. L.

"LE TEMPS"

samedi le 7 février, 1920.

DANS LE LEVANT

L'Arménie et le problème turc

Le British Armenia Committee de Londres remettait ces jours-ci au premier ministre britannique, M. Lloyd George, un mémorandum résumant sinon toutes les légitimes aspirations du peuple arménien, du moins les revendications essentielles de l'Arménie à la veille du règlement définitif du problème turc.

Si le British Armenia Committee regrette, en effet, le doute exprimé à la Chambre des lords, le 17 décembre dernier, par lord Curzon, au sujet de la réalisation totale du programme territorial d'une restauration complète de l'Arménie s'étendant d'une mer à l'autre, il se rend cependant compte que le cours des événements en Amérique rend plus difficile la solution de la question arménienne et il enregistre avec joie les déclarations de lord Curzon et de M. Lloyd George lui-même, tant à la Chambre des lords qu'à la Chambre des communes, en ce qui concerne la libération de l'Arménie. On se rappelle notamment que lord Curzon a déclaré son espoir que la République *de facto* d'Erivan contient « le germe d'un Etat qui conservera dans l'avenir une existence indépendante avec des frontières bien délimitées ».

Esquissant ensuite un programme minimum dicté par la conscience du monde civilisé, le British Armenia Committee reconnaît que si l'Arménie décline la charge d'un mandat et si aucun mandataire ne peut être trouvé pour toute la contrée, il serait difficile d'organiser toutes les provinces ottomanes faisant partie de l'Arménie, au moins pour le moment, en une seule unité politique. Mais la libération définitive de ces provinces de la souveraineté turque lui apparaît comme essentielle, et cette libération doit être complète.

Une suzeraineté ottomane, même nominale, dit-il, serait un outrage moral, étant donné que le gouvernement ottoman a délibérément essayé d'exterminer le peuple arménien.

Ce serait un scandale international, ajoute-t-il, si les mauvais précédents de la Roumélie orientale de la Macédoine et de la Crète étaient suivis dans le cas de l'Arménie, sur le terrain peu solide des expédients. Les relations de l'Arménie avec l'empire ottoman doivent cesser complètement, et le territoire ainsi séparé doit contenir toutes les anciennes provinces ottomanes. Le gouvernement ottoman de Constantinople a, pendant de longues années, entretenu l'hostilité et la guerre civile parmi les différentes races locales, et il existe beaucoup de preuves démontrant que, cette étrange et malveillante souveraineté écartée, les races peuplant ces provinces arriveraient à vivre ensemble en termes d'amitié et d'égalité.

Le British Armenia Committee demande que les territoires arméniens qui seront séparés de la Turquie, soient inclus immédiatement dans le noyau d'un Etat arménien indépendant, non limité « aux seuls territoires complètement insuffisants de la République d'Erivan », lequel comprendrait les districts ex-russes d'Erivan et de Kars, une zone de territoires ex-ottomans avec les villes de Van, Mouch, Erzeroum, Erzindian, etc., etc., et un port sur la mer Noire. Les Arméniens survivants sont suffisamment nombreux, assure-t-il, « pour, sans perdre l'espoir de faire mieux, fortifier, consolider et établir les fortunes d'un Etat arménien dans ces limites ».

La détresse économique qui sévit actuellement dans le territoire d'Erivan, ajoute-t-il, est due au nombre formidable de réfugiés des provinces limitrophes ottomanes qui y sont campés pour le moment. L'inclusion de ces territoires dans l'Etat arménien rendrait facile toute la situation car elle mettrait ces réfugiés à même de retourner chez eux et de cultiver leurs terres. Avec une assistance étrangère raisonnable la force survivante en hommes de la nation serait suffisante pour établir un Etat national sur ce territoire qui ne contient que la moitié du territoire total arménien qui doit être séparé de la Turquie. Dans le nouvel Etat, les Arméniens seront encore plus nombreux que les autres éléments non-arméniens — éléments qui n'ont point d'union entre eux et qui ont été décimés pendant la guerre comme les Arméniens.

Faisant allusion au gouvernement nationaliste turc de Moustapha Kemal, aussi oppresseur pour les Kurdes que pour les Arméniens, le British Armenia-Committee en montre tout le danger pour l'Angleterre comme pour l'Arménie elle-même :

Si, en effet, le gouvernement de Moustapha Kemal reste debout, notre nouvelle frontière kurde ne sera jamais tranquille; les charges de sa défense seront constamment augmentées, et les effets des troubles se feraient sentir jusqu'aux Indes. Si, par contre, ce foyer de troubles est remplacé par un Etat arménien stable, nos charges seront sûrement diminuées.

Enfin, le British Armenia Committee conclut en précisant ses deux principales propositions : l'ex-ottomane Arménie complètement séparée de l'empire ottoman, et, à défaut d'un mandat américain, réunion des provinces de l'Arménie ottomane limitrophes de la République d'Erivan au territoire de cette république, avec un port sur la mer Noire.

Telles sont les revendications sur lesquelles les alliés vont avoir à se prononcer à brève échéance.

— M. H.

"LE TEMPS"

mardi le 10 fevrier, 1920.

DANS LE LEVANT

L'Arménie renaissante

Sous la présidence de notre collaborateur, M. Gaston Deschamps, député des Deux-Sèvres, M. Charles Brun, agrégé de l'Université et professeur au Collège des sciences sociales, a fait hier après-midi, dans la salle de la Société de géographie, une conférence sur l'Arménie renaissante, en présence de Boghos Nubar pacha, chef de la délégation arménienne auprès du conseil suprême des alliés, et du général Bailloud.

Après avoir présenté à ses nombreux auditeurs le conférencier, M. Gaston Deschamps, membre du comité français pour l'Arménie, a célébré la renaissance ou plutôt la résurrection de l'Arménie, que le conseil des ambassadeurs vient de reconnaître comme un Etat de fait.

M. Charles Brun a rappelé le séculaire martyre de l'Arménie, et notamment les massacres récents, la déclaration du chancelier allemand pendant la guerre, affirmant hypocritement que le gouvernement ottoman était contraint de fixer aux populations arméniennes une autre résidence. On sait ce que furent ces déportations de vieillards, de femmes et d'enfants, par une température de feu, sous un soleil torride, les raffinements de torture, les viols, la faim, la soif, les cadavres amoncelés, l'Euphrate charriant des morts, toutes atrocités racontées, consignées dans les actes diplomatiques officiels que publia le Livre bleu du gouvernement britannique.

L'orateur aborde ensuite la question du droit de la nation arménienne à disposer d'elle-même, problème grave pour la France, pour l'Europe, pour toute la civilisation latine. Il ne faut pas traiter en chiffons de papier les engagements solennels pris envers l'Arménie par les gouvernements de l'Entente. Il s'agit d'une nation qui a trente-trois siècles d'histoire glorieuse, que l'on a voulu déraciner, supprimer, et qui veut chanter sa renaissance.

L'Arménie fut pendant de longs siècles à l'avant-garde de la civilisation, et toujours se tourna vers la France. La dernière dynastie de ses rois était une dynastie française, les Lusignan. C'est un peuple de frères éloignés, douloureux et fidèles, demeuré faible et désarmé devant l'envahisseur, et qui a fait un long apprentissage de souffrance et de servitude. Mais c'est aussi un peuple d'héroïsme, et l'orateur évoque à ce propos les guerillas, les rébellions contre Turcs, l'héroïsme dans le martyre des prêtres et des femmes, les engagements volontaires d'Arméniens dès 1914.

Les gouvernements alliés ont pris l'engagement de délivrer les territoires arméniens. Il ne faut pas que cet engagement aboutisse à une faillite envers un peuple qui a vaillamment acquis tant de droits à son indépendance. L'orateur salue la première étape déjà franchie, la reconnaissance officielle de la république russe d'Erivan, cette Arménie du Caucase. Mais il y a d'autres tronçons de l'Arménie qui cherchent à se rejoindre, et notamment l'Arménie ottomane. Et M. Charles Brun, à la veille de la solution si proche du problème turc, exprime le vœu unanime des Arméniens, qui veulent leur nation ressuscitée, intégrale, la grande Arménie sans terres *irredentes*.

Dans sa péroraison très applaudie, le conférencier a exalté le protectorat de la France que les Arméniens, encore courbés sous le joug turc, accepteraient avec joie comme la préface de leur prochaine indépendance.

M. Gaston Deschamps a félicité M. Charles Brun et constaté que le gouvernement et le Parlement sont d'accord pour répondre aux vœux des Arméniens.

"THE TIMES" Saturday, February 14th 1920.

FRESH ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

1,500 VICTIMS OF THE TURK.

The following telegram has been received by Mr. Aneurin Williams, M.P., from the Rev. Harold Buxton, Chief Agent in Asia Minor of the Lord Mayor's Fund for the Relief of Armenian Refugees:—

“CONSTANTINOPLE, FEB. 11.

“Regret must confirm news of massacre of 1,500 Armenians at end of January near Marash (Cilicia) by Nationalist bands. On February 1 two Americans, James Perry, general secretary, International Y.M.C.A., Turkey, and Johnson, his colleague, were murdered, believed by some bands near Aintab.

“Much indignation is aroused among Europeans here, who call for strong hand against these continued outrages.”

The territory from which these occurrences are reported is not in any way under British control.

The number of Armenians massacred is estimated in a Constantinople telegram received by the Armenian National Delegation at 2,000, including civilians murdered at Aintab as well as Marash. “This is a proof,” it is added, “that though the Turkish forces have been worsted by Franco-Armenian regular troops, and driven from the regions of Cilicia above mentioned they are still able and willing to pursue their old methods of treating defenceless Christians.”

Boghos Nubar Pasha, the President of the Armenian Delegation, has come to London from Paris for the purpose of defending the interests of his country, as the settlement of the Armenian question is expected to come up for discussion at the Peace Conference now sitting.

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" Saturday, February 14th 1920.

ARMENIANS MASSACRED.

FRESH CRIMES BY TURKISH NATIONALISTS.

Reuter's Agency is informed by the Armenian National Delegation that it has received from Constantinople a telegram to the effect that during the recent attacks by Turkish Nationalist forces on Marash and Aintab about 2,000 Armenian civilians were murdered in cold blood.

"This is a proof," it is added, "that though the Turkish forces have been worsted by Franco-Armenian regular troops and driven from the regions of Cilicia above mentioned, they are still able and willing to pursue their old methods of treating defenceless Christians."

Boghos Nubar, the president of the Armenian Delegation, has come to London from Paris in view of the discussion at the Peace Conference.

THE MURDERED AMERICANS.

Y.M.C.A. WORKERS IN ASIA MINOR KILLED BY TURKS.

The following telegram has just been received from the Rev. Harold Buxton, chief agent in Asia Minor of the Lord Mayor's fund for the relief of Armenia refugees:—

Constantinople, February 11, 1920.
To Aneurin Williams, M.P.

Regret must confirm news of massacre of fifteen hundred Armenians at end of January near Marash by Nationalist bands. On February 1 two Americans, James Perry, general secretary of the International Y.M.C.A., Turkey, and Johnson, his colleague, were murdered, believed by some bands near Aintab. Much indignation is aroused among Europeans here, who call for strong hand against these continued outrages.

The Press Association is informed that the territory from which these occurrences are reported is not in any way under British control. French troops are in occupation.

Armenia

V
"THE TIMES" Tuesday, February 17th 1920.

A Persian delegation has arrived at Erivan with the object of establishing commercial and economic relations between Persia and Armenia.

V

Armenia

"THE TIMES" Tuesday, February 17th 1920.

ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

Replying to Mr. A. WILLIAMS (Durham, Consett, L.), who asked whether he had received news of the massacre of about 1,500 Armenians by Nationalist bands near Marash at the end of January, whether on February 1 two American citizens were murdered near Aintab, and whether he was aware that much indignation had been aroused among Europeans in Constantinople and Asia Minor, and that they were calling out for protection against those continued outrages, SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD said:—The answer to the first and second parts of the question is, I regret to say, that similar information has been received from a private source by his Majesty's High Commissioner at Constantinople. No special information is available bearing on the last part of the question. Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland, Nat.).—May I ask whether it is not a fact that both the English and the French colonies have, over and over again, been warned of the possibility and probability of these massacres, and whether their appeals for either armed support by the Allies or provision for arming their own population in their defence have not been neglected by the authorities, both of one country and the other. SIR J. D. REES (Nottingham, E., C.U.).—Is not the killing of American citizens a matter for the American Government? (Hear, hear.) SIR H. GREENWOOD.—I have every sympathy with the motive of the first supplementary question, but the hon. member must give me notice to answer such a question of detail. Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR.—May I ask whether these massacres will not confirm the Government in their frequently announced policy that none of the Christian subjects of Turkey, like the Armenians, shall any longer, under the new arrangements with Turkey, be subjected to the possibility of massacre, as in the past. SIR H. GREENWOOD.—I wish it were possible for me to give an answer to the question satisfactory both to the hon. member and to myself. SIR J. D. REES.—Has the British Foreign Office anything to do with the treatment of American citizens? Mr. A. WILLIAMS.—Is it not a fact that the Armenians went back to these districts under the encouragement of the British authorities? SIR H. GREENWOOD.—I must have notice of that question.

THE FATE OF ARMENIANS.

DANGEROUS POWER LEFT TO THE TURKS.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD BRYCE.

LONDON, TUESDAY.

The only certain news we have of the Turkish settlement now being made in London is that Constantinople is to be left to the Turks. This fact, however, strikes a keynote which is causing dismay to all those who still retained a remnant of faith in the good intentions of the Supreme Council. The Armenians, to whose sufferings and aspirations the Allied Governments paid much lip-service during the war, are resigned to the truth of rumours which ascribe a Turkish victory all along the line in the settlement.

Lord Bryce gave the following statement on this subject to a London representative of the "Manchester Guardian" this evening:—

"Every lover of freedom will regard with profound disappointment the decision at which the Supreme Council is said to have arrived to leave the Turkish Government in possession of Constantinople. Constantinople is not a Moslem city, and never has been. There is and there always has been a Christian majority in the population. It is not to the Moslems a sacred city; it is not a place of pilgrimage; no historical traditions attach themselves to it as they do to Adrianople. It has no shred of the sanctity of Mecca or Medina or Jerusalem, or even of Kairwan (Tunis) or Damascus. It is not associated with the Khalifat in the Moslem mind. A Khalif would be just as much a Khalif if he ruled at Brussa or Konia, or any other city of Asia Minor.

The Mohammedan Interest.

"Some member of the Government—was it Mr. Bonar Law?—said we were not going to sacrifice the Mohammedans to the Christians. What does that mean? Apparently that we are not to do what our duty requires if it will give displeasure to any section of our subjects abroad, and, in this case, to that particular section which has never uttered a word of condemnation of the massacres and atrocities in which the Turks have put to death nearly a million Christians. In other words, the Turk is to have impunity whatever his crime because he is of the same faith as some of our subjects 3,000 miles away—subjects of whom there is no reason to believe that they know anything or care anything about the Turk beyond the fact that the Sultan is a Moslem.

"It is hard to believe that after the experience of these many years of the promises of reform which the Turk has never carried out any British Government can still be found to consent to his remaining at Constantinople. At the present moment attention is being concentrated on Cilicia, because news comes to us of fresh massacres perpetrated by Turkish bands there. This was only to be expected as a result of the leniency shown to the Turks in the Armistice, which allowed them to recreate armed forces in Anatolia and Armenia. The Turks have now taken heart to begin afresh the work of destruction which in 1915 Enver and Talaat, and the other ruffians of the Committee of Union and Progress had carried out by the slaughter of nearly a million Christians. The Allied Powers are responsible for the lives of the unfortunate Christians who are now left defenceless.

"Some sensation has been caused by articles in the French press suggesting that Turkish rule should be re-established in Cilicia. Is it conceivable that the Turkish "Nationalist party"—the party of Enver and Talaat—should resume power over the regions it has desolated and left soaked with the blood of its victims? It is clearly necessary to insist on the removal of the men who are responsible. The Governments of France, Britain, and America have promised to Cilicia and Armenia complete deliverance from the Turkish yoke, and the British people expect the fulfilment of that promise."

Armenia

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" Wednesday, February 18th 1920

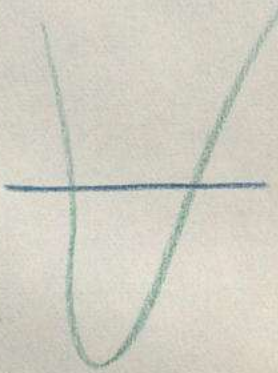
150,000 ARMENIANS IN PERIL.

Reuter's Agency learns from an American source that according to an urgent telegram from a diplomatic source the Armenian population in Cilicia is facing a terrible crisis. The Turkish forces of Mustafa Kemal, taking advantage of the unprotected condition of mountainous Cilicia, have attacked the Armenians of Zeitoun and the vicinity. The total loss so far is 7,000. Fighting continues around Marash.

The Turks are advancing towards the Bagdad Railway and threaten to set up a reign of terror. The Armenians are resisting courageously, but they lack necessary means of self-protection. This message, which comes from an Allied representative on the spot, urges that immediate assistance alone can save from total extermination 150,000 Armenians of Cilicia.—Reuter.

Armenia

"THE TIMES" Wednesday, February 18th 1920.



THE CILICIA MASSACRES.

A WARNING TO THE PORTE.

Sir D. Maclean yesterday in the House of Commons asked whether the Government had any information with regard to the news published in *The Times* about the massacre of Armenians in Cilicia. Mr. Bonar Law, in replying, regretted that he had no further information on the subject, but added that every step was being taken to impress upon the Porte that a continuation of such practices would seriously affect its relations with the Allies.

With reference to the murder of the American relief workers, Mr. James Perry and Mr. Frank Johnson, by Turks near Aintab, Cilicia, reported in *The Times* on the 10th inst., our Constantinople correspondent telegraphs:—Mr. Perry was secretary-general of the American Y.M.C.A. here, and was a most able and popular man. Mr. Johnson was his assistant.

Armenia

"THE TIMES"

Wednesday, February 18th 1920.

"INDEPENDENT ARMENIA."

CATHOLICOS' TELEGRAM TO BRITISH PRIMATE.

The Archbishop of Canterbury received yesterday the following telegram from the Armenian Catholicos at Etchmi Adzin, in view of the Allies' decision to give *de facto* recognition of the Armenian Republic of Erivan, announced in *The Times* on January 23:—

Jan. 28th.—My Lord, On behalf of my people I wish to express our sincere thanks to you for untiring efforts on our behalf which does honour to you and your Christian people that they have championed the cause of the oppressed and have now won for us our first success, the recognition *de facto* of our State. I pray and trust you will not lay down our cause until the larger and united and independent Armenia has been acknowledged throughout the world. Our suffering and our continued loyal support of the Allied cause should guarantee the fulfilment and the justness of our claims. I bless you and your great British people.—ETCHMI ADZIN, George the Fifth, Catholicos of all Armenians.

More Armenian Massacres.

While the Supreme Council in London is preparing to deal indulgently with the Turkish Government, large forces of Turks and Kurds have begun a wholesale massacre of the remnants of the Armenian people in the province of Cilicia, in Asia Minor. These forces are under the control of the recalcitrant general, MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA, who is the head of the "Nationalist" movement in Anatolia, and maintains a sham "Government" at Sivas. It is important to remember that MUSTAPHA KEMAL and his associates exercise a strong influence upon the Turkish Government at Constantinople, and that his alleged task of defending the "eastern frontiers" of the Turkish Empire has received the approval of the GRAND VIZIER. The chain is long, but the links are complete. At one end are the Constantinople Ministers, whom the Supreme Council desire to leave in possession of the Turkish capital. At the other end are the troops, now once more engaged in wholesale murder. MUSTAPHA KEMAL appears to have adopted the policy of ENVER and TALAAT, who sought to "kill the Armenian question by killing the Armenian nation." We doubt the statement that he has 50,000 men engaged in this foul work in Cilicia alone, but unquestionably he disposes of considerable numbers of irregulars. Over fifty per cent. of the two million Armenians in Asia Minor are believed to have been exterminated as a consequence of the terrible "deportations" of 1915. The victims who have already been butchered in the last week or two by MUSTAPHA KEMAL's men are said to number seven thousand. At Zeitun (the Armenian town, which always maintained semi-independence until five years ago), at Furnus, and at other places the Armenians were not able to offer any effective resistance. At Hajin, a lonely town set in the midst of high mountains, the Armenian inhabitants and a party of Frenchmen were, by last report, holding out in the American missionary buildings. Their line of retreat to Aintab was cut off. At the important town of Marash, which was half Armenian before the war, the Armenians are making a stout resistance, but it is feared they may be overwhelmed. Meanwhile other Turkish troops are moving by way of Baghtche towards the Gulf of Alexandretta.

While it is unlikely that the Constantinople authorities can exercise much influence over MUSTAPHA KEMAL, it is admitted that he has a substantial following in the capital, maintains close relations with the Ministry, and helps to sway their decisions. These considerations have a very direct bearing upon the deliberations of the Supreme Council. We have frequently urged the importance of an early peace with Turkey, but how are the Allies to negotiate with a Government which is in friendly touch, at any rate, with the chief perpetrator of these renewed horrors? Still more urgently we may ask: How can the Supreme Council propose to leave in Constantinople a Turkish Administration the head of which may in time conceivably be MUSTAPHA KEMAL himself? There is pressing need for a prompt disclosure of the plans of the Council for the salvation of the remaining fragments of the Armenian nation. After what has happened, Cilicia cannot possibly be left in the hands of the Turks. The only possible solution appears to be to make France the mandatory for Cilicia, if she will undertake the task. Cilicia used to be known as Lesser Armenia, and the remainder of its Armenian inhabitants must be protected. In the Sykes-Picot Agreement Cilicia was included in the French "zone," while the Treaty of London gave France much more extensive authority in Anatolia. As for Armenia Proper, it is understood that the plan is to link up the Turkish vilayets of Bitlis, Van, and Erzerum with the little Armenian Republic of Erivan, in Transcaucasia. With sufficient help, such an Armenian State may be able to hold its own. The one thing the public will not tolerate is the abandonment of the Armenians to destruction. MR. LLOYD GEORGE told the Armenian citizens of Manchester in 1918 that "those responsible for the government of this country are not unmindful of their responsibilities to your martyred race." The time has come to recall these responsibilities, incurred under the Treaty of Berlin and the Cyprus Convention, and still undischarged. Albania is threatened with obliteration, though the last word on the Albanian question is not yet said. Armenia must not share a like doom, or what becomes of our crusade for the salvation of the small nations?

"THE TIMES" Wednesday, February 18th 1920.

PLEDGES TO ARMENIA.

THE FATE OF THE VILAYETS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir.—The intimations you publish to-day with regard to the terms which the representatives of the Allied Powers seem to have agreed upon for the settlement of Asia Minor are calculated to cause the greatest uneasiness to all those who value the principle of liberty and the good name of this country for fidelity to pledges given. You indicate that "two at least" of the vilayets of Armenia will probably be added to the Armenian Republic of Erivan. If so, that means that the greater part of the Armenian vilayets, in which the Armenians were before the massacres of 1915 the largest single element in the population, may still be left under the heel of the Turks. You indicate further that it is doubtful whether Little Armenia or Cilicia will not also be left under Turkish domination. If so, that again means that a large surviving Armenian population and a large territory in which the Armenians were the chief element before the massacres are to be left to the tender mercies of those who organized the massacres.

During the war repeated pledges were given to the Armenians that they should be delivered from the Turks. At a particular moment they were asked by the representative of the French Government, with the knowledge of the British representative, to provide recruits; and they did in fact provide recruits, on an express promise that their country should be delivered from Turkish domination. Is it possible that these promises are only to be carried out at about 30 per cent. of their face value? It is useless to say that guarantees are to be taken from the Turks. That is the futile game which European diplomacy has been playing for the last 50 years. On Saturday you reported massacres of 1,500 or 2,000 Armenians in Cilicia; to-day we learn that the Allied High Commissioners in Constantinople have made representations on the subject to the Grand Vizier. No doubt they will receive most ample assurances in due course, and no doubt these assurances will be followed in due course by further massacres.

Is it too late for the British people to insist that the pledges of our country and the elementary principles of humanity should be observed, and that the domination of the Turks over subject Christian races should be wholly put an end to?

Yours faithfully,

ANEURIN WILLIAMS, Chairman, British
British Armenia Committee.
House of Commons, Feb. 16.

Armenia

An Inconceivable Crime.

MR. BONAR LAW would give no information yesterday as to the decisions which the Peace Conference in London has taken, or is taking, about the fate of the Armenians, but the reports which leak from the conference-room are of the most disturbing kind, and would have been thought to be frankly incredible even a few months ago. It is said that the Allies intend to leave under Turkish rule the province of Cilicia, with its Armenian population, and part of the vilayets of Armenia proper, uniting only the other part with the independent Armenian Republic on the far side of the Turkish border. Mr. LAW would only say that the steps necessary to secure the protection of the Armenians (who in Cilicia are now being freely massacred by the army of MUSTAPHA PASHA) were being considered by the Peace Conference." There is only one step necessary to protect the Armenians, and it need take no time to consider it. It is that they should be released completely and permanently from the authority of the Turks, and no Government in this country ought to be forgiven which, for the sake of the diplomatic game, handed back any section of Armenia to the murderous misrule of the Turk. The system of mandates has its dangers unless it be carefully watched by a strong and vigilant League of Nations, but if neither the United States nor the League itself will undertake the direct protection of the Armenians, better by far that any European Power, Allied or neutral, whether interested or not, should be given a mandate than that this outrage should be done. Mr. LAW seeks to appease resentment by saying that the Turkish Government has been warned that if the massacres in Cilicia do not cease the treaty may be modified to Turkish disadvantage. Could anything be more ingenuous—or disingenuous? Has the Peace Conference suddenly discovered the inclination of the Turk for massacre, the one art in which both his heart and his head have always been sincerely engaged, that they should warn him that a decision based by them on grounds of high policy is imperilled if massacre continues? The Turk has always massacred, and always will. If he gets Cilicia and part of Armenia he will massacre the miserable remnant of the Armenians that has survived his earlier efforts in that line. We all know this, and the Peace Conference knows it. We know too, and it knows, that in this connection guarantees and treaties for the protection of minorities are worthless, and that it would be an insult to the Allied peoples that any such documents should be represented as a protection to the Armenians. Many evil things have been done under the Peace Treaty, and many people of one nationality transferred unnecessarily and without their consent to an alien domination. But nothing has been done that would bring on the Allied peoples responsible, and ourselves among them, such enduring disgrace as the abandonment of the Armenians. The British people, were it not weary of high politics, would cry out at the bare conception, and we should wish to think that even now no Government could commit this crime and live.

TURKS AND ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

THE ALLIED WARNING.

MAINTENANCE OF TURKS IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

In the House of Commons yesterday, in reply to questions put by Mr. A. Herbert (C.U.—Yeovil), Sir S. Hoare (C.U.—Chelsea), Mr. P. Williams (C.L.—Middlesbrough), Mr. T. P. O'Connor (N.—Liverpool), and Mr. A. Williams (L.—Consett).

Mr. BONAR LAW said he need not assure the House that the protection of the Armenian and Christian peoples in the Turkish Empire was one of the most vital subjects to be decided by the Turkish Treaty, and steps necessary to secure that protection were being considered by the Peace Conference. It was not possible, however, to report from day to day the progress of the discussions. In consequence, however, of the massacres in Armenia, and with a view to putting a stop to them, the British representative in Constantinople was authorised to announce that the Peace Conference proposed to leave the Turks in Constantinople, but that unless the massacres ceased the decision of the Peace Conference would probably be modified to the detriment of Turkey.

In reply to Lieutenant Colonel Murray (C.L.—Kincardine), Mr. Law said that from the very beginning the Conference had done its best to prevent the leakage of information.

Sir D. MACLEAN (Leader of the Independent Liberals) asked how that reply was to be reconciled with the answer given to Lord R. Cecil on Thursday. The inquiry with regard to the fate of Constantinople was about the last that could be answered until the whole treaty was finished.

Mr. BONAR LAW believed the view of the delegates was that it would be very undesirable to make public any part of the arrangements until the whole treaty had been completed. On the other hand, the breaking out of these massacres in Armenia raised another question, and we had then to decide whether or not this announcement, coupled with the statement he had made, might not be useful in preventing the massacres.

Turkish Nationalist Defiance.

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (C.U.—Stafford) asked whether the Government were satisfied that the pressure put on Constantinople was likely to be effective, seeing that the massacres were carried out by Mustapha Kamel, the Nationalist leader, who did not recognise the authority of the Sultan.

Mr. BONAR LAW said the Government recognised that the pressure might not be as effective as they would desire, but they did think this pressure would have some effect, because, to put it mildly, there was some connection between the Nationalist movement and the Turkish Government, and Allied influence ought to have some effect upon anyone who desired the continuance of Turkish authority.

Replying to Lord R. Cecil,

Mr. BONAR LAW said he did not think there was any ground for a suggestion of want of courtesy to the House in making the announcement as to the fate of Constantinople in the manner it was made. The decision to send the message to Admiral de Robeck was taken with a view to preventing the massacres.

Criticism of Allies' Decision.

Sir S. HOARE asked whether the right hon. gentleman was aware that the announcement that the Turks were to be left in possession of Constantinople had been received with grave disappointment and resentment by thousands of people in the United Kingdom. (Cheers.)

The SPEAKER: That is a matter of argument.

Sir D. MACLEAN asked whether, in view of the gravity of the information in regard to Constantinople, the Government would give an early day to discuss the matter.

Mr. BONAR LAW thought the best way would be for the right hon. gentleman to put a motion on the paper, and he would see whether it would be possible to give time for it.

Sir Donald Maclean will to-day ask leave to move the adjournment of the House in order to discuss the reported peace terms to Turkey, and, in particular, the decision to leave the Turkish Government in Constantinople and to maintain Turkish rule in Cilicia. It is understood that Lord Robert Cecil and other Unionists will support Sir Donald.

THE MASSACRES IN CILICIA.

In the House of Lords yesterday,

Lord Stanmore, in reply to Viscount Bryce, said the Government had received no information on the position in Armenia and Cilicia other than that reported to the High Commissioner at Constantinople by Mr. Harold Brisson, who left Adana on February 4. According to this report the inhabitants of seven Armenian villages in the neighbourhood of Adana were massacred, the victims being estimated at about 1,500. The two American relief workers, Messrs. Johnstone and Perry, were also stated to have been murdered between Aintab and Killis.

Later communications have appeared in the press relating to further massacres and disturbances in this district. His Majesty's Government were in communication with the French Government and with his Majesty's representative in Constantinople. With regard to these reports the Peace Conference at the present moment were actively engaged on the question, and the Armenian and Greek populations of the Turkish Empire might be sure that promises made to them would be redeemed, but it was impossible to report from day to day the progress of these discussions.

Viscount Bryce said he had received further information showing that the slaughter which had taken place was even greater than he had believed to be the case. It described the state of panic which existed over the country owing to the presence of these bands as being of the gravest nature, showing that the case was one of extreme urgency.

A Very Serious Situation.

The Supreme Council have answered PRESIDENT WILSON'S Memorandum, and their reply is probably now on its way to Washington. In form, at least, it has been thoroughly revised, though in substance it upholds the Franco-British proposals of January 20. The issue, as we contended yesterday, is as fateful as any ever presented to the chief peoples of the world. It is whether the new and closer bonds drawn between Europe and America in the Great War shall be preserved or relaxed, if, indeed, they be not severed. Can anybody, can anybody, more particularly, who speaks the English tongue, conceive a question larger or graver than this? Much about the origin and the actual state of the difference is obscure, and our rulers seem determined to keep it obscure so long as they can. The Foreign Office declared last night that no statement as to the contents of the Reply of the Supreme Council will be made at present, and indeed that it seems improbable that either the PRESIDENT'S communication or the answer of the Supreme Council will be published at all. From Washington we have statements which are hard to reconcile. On the one hand it is officially announced that the PRESIDENT'S Memorandum informed the Allies that America "might have" to consider withdrawing the Treaty of Versailles from the Senate, if the Allies proceeded "with their plans without consulting the United States." French journals, we know not on what authority, go so far as to assert that in such a contingency America would "withdraw" from all connexion with European affairs. On the other, MR. TUMULTY, the PRESIDENT'S Secretary, is reported to have denied that such a threat had been made. What MR. WILSON really had threatened was that America would withdraw from the Adriatic and cease to concern herself with that quarter of the world. A suggestion was added that she might discontinue her assistance to Europe. Surely it is the right of the democracies on both sides of the Atlantic to be told the truth on a matter which concerns them so nearly. This right and the dangers which follow from the autocratic manner in which it is ignored are insisted upon with strong feeling in New York. We believe the same feeling is cherished far more widely than Ministers seem to suppose in the other democracies, and very certainly in this country. Details may be left, and often ought to be left, to statesmen and diplomatists. But here is a broad and simple issue at stake which all of us can judge for ourselves. It is our right to judge it for ourselves. We are not going to stand by and have our friendship and our relations with America jeopardized by any proceedings of a triumvirate sitting behind closed doors. The American democracy, we imagine, will not be less resolved to assert their rights and stifle this effort at secret diplomacy.

The Note of the Supreme Council was handed to the AMERICAN AMBASSADOR last night in its revised form. We shall feel profoundly relieved, if it has been redrafted in a shape acceptable to American feeling. That cannot, we fear, be altogether the case if it still adheres to the January proposals on the Adriatic. The Foreign Office account of the part played by LORD GREY and LORD ROBERT CECIL in inducing the Supreme Council to modify it is an example of the verbal quibbling which inferior intelligences mistake for diplomacy. It may be verbally true, but it conveys, and is designed to convey, what is untrue. The facts, we understand, are that LORD GREY took advantage of an interview which he had with the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER on Monday to explain to him the inevitable ill effects of an ungracious reply upon American feeling. That was enough. Coupled with LORD ROBERT CECIL'S questions in the House, it awoke the triumvirate to a sense of what they were doing, and they proceeded to recast the Note. We are sure that the action of LORD GREY and of LORD ROBERT was beneficent, and we only hope that, together with the unmistakable trend of public opinion, it has led the revisers to do their work thoroughly. We have no evidence that SIR ROBERT BORDEN was consulted, but we can hardly suppose that the propriety of taking his opinion on a matter of high Imperial importance was overlooked. This is not the occasion on which to rediscuss the merits and demerits of the Adriatic problem. It will not be solved by the sort of bluster which we see with regret in some French and Italian journals. The brief summary of the chief points of the statement of December 9, which we publish, will assist all who may be in doubt to judge it for themselves. On the action which ought to be taken in the existing situation we must reserve judgment until we are more fully informed of the effect produced in the United States when the Allied Reply has been received. The happiest solution, as we have consistently maintained, of the whole Adriatic question would be a direct agreement between Italy and the Yugo-Slavs. More than once it has been almost achieved, and then frustrated by the selfish intrigues of members of the Supreme Council, who had their eye on their own domestic interests rather than upon the welfare of Europe. We believe that it could be achieved now, with a little statesmanship and a little generous feeling all round. But should this solution prove impracticable, the Supreme Council, in those very electioneering interests to which the members attach such weight, will have to determine it in a spirit quite different from that which they have so often shown: They cannot afford to trifle with a question of such immeasurable magnitude as the relationship between the peoples of Europe and of the United States out of any conceited regard for a semblance of consistency between their successive improvisations. They will resist PRESIDENT WILSON at their proper peril over a question on which he is substantially right, for if any untoward consequences follow on their handling of a matter which is so momentous and so plain for all men to see as is the preservation of American friendship and American fellowship in the affairs of Europe, the authors of so grievous a calamity

will be made to bear the full responsibility of their acts.

Armenia

"THE TIMES" Saturday, February 21st 1920.

DEFENCELESS ARMENIA.

LESSON OF THE MASSACRES.

Nubar Pasha, head of the Armenian National Delegation, has arrived in London in connexion with the decisions to be taken regarding Armenia by the Peace Conference.

The latest news of the massacres carried out by Mustapha Kemal, he told an interviewer, once more proved how impossible it was that Cilicia or any other part of the Armenian provinces should remain under Turkish rule.

These latest outrages (he continued) were no surprise to us, as my latest advices from Armenia indicated quite clearly that the Armenian authorities knew what was coming and had asked the French to supply them with arms, for it must be remembered that while all demobilized Turks retain their arms, the Armenian refugees are defenceless.

What I am urging is the necessity for an independent Armenia, which we hope will be set up, composed not only of the existing Republic of Erivan, but of portions of Northern Armenia. We are much exercised regarding the fate of Cilicia, for the redemption of which we have provided thousands of volunteers who have fought under the French as well as under the British flag.—*Reuter.*

Arménia

"LE TEMPS" Lundi, le 23 février, 1920.

DANS LE LEVANT

Les événements de Cilicie

Notre correspondant d'Adana nous écrit le 30 janvier :
Les événements que je vous faisais prévoir dans ma dernière lettre se sont produits. Depuis le 21 janvier, les bandes nationalistes que dirige Moustapha Kemal ont commencé une sorte d'offensive dans la région de Marache, assaillant nos postes et massacrant les chrétiens. On parle de 1,500 Arméniens massacrés dans les villages. Il semble d'autre part que Kemal se soit assuré la coopération d'un certain nombre d'éléments arabes venus d'Alep.

Ce qui complique la tâche de nos troupes, c'est le froid terrible qui sévit dans la région montagneuse de Marache. En bien des endroits, on a de la neige jusqu'au cou. Le ravitaillement, sur des pistes souvent impraticables, se heurte à de formidables difficultés. Et cependant nos forces de Marache doivent d'urgence être ravitaillées en vivres, et surtout en munitions. Ce n'est que par un tour de force qu'on y parviendra.

La Cilicie proprement dite, c'est-à-dire la région de la plaine dont Adana est le centre, demeure heureusement calme. Des garnisons viennent d'être installées à Osmanié et à Bagtché pour tenir l'Amanus et préserver la Cilicie de l'agitation qui règne dans la région de Marache, Aintab et Ourfa, situées à l'est et au nord-est de cette petite chaîne.

A l'intérieur de la Cilicie, on n'enregistre ces derniers jours qu'un complot aussitôt arrêté qui aurait été ourdi contre les autorités françaises par les fils de Sadik pacha, ancienne maison princière régnante de Cilicie, en résidence à Tarsous. A la suite de la découverte de ce complot, les deux fils de Sadik pacha ont été expulsés pour cinq années de la Cilicie. L'ensemble de la province demeure calme. Les services administratifs, organisés sous le contrôle de la France, fonctionnent avec régularité de Mersine jusqu'à l'Amanus.

[Cette lettre est antérieure de huit jours à l'arrivée de la colonne Normand à Marache.]

Arménie

"LE TEMPS" Lundi le 23 fevrier, 1920.

Les frontières de l'Arménie

La commission nommée par la Conférence de la paix à Londres, pour s'occuper des frontières arméniennes, s'est réunie hier pour la première fois au Foreign office.

La délégation arménienne a à sa tête Nubar pacha; la France est représentée par M. Kammerer, du ministère des affaires étrangères.

Nubar pacha, au cours d'un ardent plaidoyer en faveur de l'établissement d'une Arménie étendue, a insisté sur la nécessité pour ce pays d'un débouché sur la mer Noire.

Le bureau de presse arménien transmet l'information suivante :

Le patriarche des Arméniens de Turquie, Sa Béatitudo Mgr Zaven der Eghiayan, est arrivé à Paris, pour présenter à la Conférence de la paix les doléances du peuple arménien souffrant encore de l'oppression turque.

Le patriarche Zaven, victime lui-même de la barbarie turque et déporté à Mossoul, n'a recouvré sa liberté qu'après l'armistice et a été réinstallé sur son siège patriarcal par les soins des puissances alliées.

Les derniers massacres qui ensanglantent encore à l'heure actuelle le sol de l'Arménie, quinze mois après la signature de l'armistice et en territoire occupé par les troupes alliées, donnent une douloureuse actualité à la démarche du chef religieux suprême des Arméniens de Turquie, qui demande des mesures de protection efficaces pour son peuple et sa libération définitive de l'oppression turque.

Mgr Zaven se rendra dimanche, à Londres, et le conseil suprême voudra sans aucun doute entendre le patriarche des Arméniens de Turquie avant de prendre une décision finale sur le sort de l'Arménie.

Armenia

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" Tuesday, February 24th 1920.

ARMENIA AND THE TURK.

AN INTERCESSION SERVICE IN MANCHESTER.

At a united meeting of intercession in the Milton Hall, Manchester, yesterday, on behalf of the Armenian people under Turkish rule, it was resolved to send a resolution to the Prime Minister "imploping the Government to deliver the Armenians from Turkish domination." The meeting, which was called by the Council of Christian Congregations, was impressive.

There were no speeches, but the gathering, which consisted mostly of Armenians, stood with bowed heads, while one after another, men and women, prayed that the Almighty might at last have mercy on their distressed brothers and sisters. First came a prayer from the Chairman (the Rev. W. H. Finney), who pleaded that the statesmen of the Allied countries might be delivered from "hide-bound political theories," and stand in this matter for civilisation and justice. After other supplications, one aged Armenian, with flowing white beard, cried, in a broken voice, "Is it not enough, O Lord? Is not the sacrifice yet complete? We look up upon Thee once more, and say with those in our own land, 'How long, O Lord, how long?' We pray Thee to hear us because we have lost so many of our dear ones. Hear us at last! Grant that Thy pitiful face may look out upon us."

As the prayer was uttered a number of those who stood around were weeping. Then followed a prayer that the statesmen concerned might not be "over anxious about Moslem threats in India or elsewhere, or be turned by them from doing what is righteous before God"; and then the Armenian Bishop of London and Manchester pronounced the blessing.

ARMENIAN PATRIARCH COMING TO LONDON.

PARIS, MONDAY.

Mgr. Zaven der Egeian, the Armenian Patriarch, left here at noon to-day for London, where he expects to stay a week.—Reuter.

Armenia

V
"DAILY CHRONICLE" Tuesday, February 25th 1920.

ARMENIA'S FUTURE.

The following resolutions were passed by the Coalition Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons yesterday. Lord Robert Cecil presided.

- (1) That the new Armenian Republic should have an outlet on the Black Sea.
- (2) That his Majesty's Government is urged to encourage the formation in Cilicia of a separate non-Turkish State between the Taurus and the Amanus, and, if possible, under French mandate.

In framing the above resolutions the Committee desire to record their conviction of the necessity for the freest possible commercial relations in the new States.

- (3) That provision should be made in the Peace Terms with Turkey to enable Armenians who wish to migrate from Turkish territory to do so safely and without any hindrance.

Armenia

DAILY CHRONICLE February 27th 1920

**REPORT OF ARMENIAN
MASSACRE.**

**PREMIER'S PROMISE OF INQUIRY
BY PEACE CONFERENCE.**

At the close of the debate in the House of Commons on Turkey yesterday,

Mr. Aneurin Williams asked whether the Government had received any information of more recent and more extensive Armenian massacres at Cilicia.

Since the debate began he had had a telegram handed to him from a trustworthy source stating that the situation in Cilicia was alarming, that the whole of the Armenian population was in danger, and that 20,000 had already been slaughtered in a certain place.

Had the Government any confirmation of this telegram?

PREMIER'S REPLY.

Mr. Lloyd George said he only received the intimation that the hon. member was going to raise the question a few moments ago, and he was handicapped because there was no representative of the Foreign Office present.

The Under Secretary was away ill. He (the Premier) was not in a position to give any information on the subject. All he could say was that, up to now, he had not heard anything which would indicate that this terrible rumour was true.

He sincerely trusted it was not. If it were true it would produce a very serious state of things.

If information came into their hands to-morrow (Friday) it would be considered by the Peace Conference as to what action it would be necessary to take to arrest horrors of this kind.

Armenians

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN February 27th 1920

ARMENIANS MASSACRED IN CILICIA.

FRENCH WITHDRAWAL.

Reuter's Agency is informed that the Armenian Bureau in London has received an urgent telegram from the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople which runs as follows:—



The French have evacuated Marash. Several thousand Armenians killed and prisoners. Adana and other towns in Cilicia in serious danger. Request the French Government to take measures against dreadful possibilities.

IMPORTANT STATEMENT BY MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

In the House of Commons late last night, Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS asked whether the Government had received any information of more recent and more extensive Armenian massacres at Cilicia. Since the debate began he had had a telegram handed to him from a trustworthy source stating that the situation in Cilicia was alarming and that the whole of the Armenian population was in danger and that 20,000 had already been slaughtered in a certain place. It would appear, as the telegram was dated the 24th, that the massacre had taken place since the warning given to the Turks.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said he only received the intimation that the hon. member was going to raise the question a few moments ago, and there was no representative of the Foreign Office present. He was not in a position to give any information on the subject.

All I can say is (the Premier added) that up to this moment I have not heard anything which would indicate that this deplorable rumour is true. It would indicate a very serious state of affairs, and any information of this kind coming to our hands to-morrow would certainly be taken into account by the Peace Conference, and we should consider what action was necessary to arrest such horrors.

The following semi-official statement was issued in London yesterday:—

It is confirmed that the fighting around Marash, in Cilicia, between the French and the irregulars was severe. Heavy losses were inflicted, however, on the insurgents, and reinforcements have been sent in sufficient numbers to enable the French to control the situation. From evidence to hand it appears that the importance of the recent disturbances has been much exaggerated in certain quarters, and that the situation is by no means so serious as at first believed. There is no definite evidence that the Turkish Nationalists are behind the movement. Certain officers may have assisted in raising the irregular levies, but the regular troops are standing fast, and there does not appear to have been a concerted or organised anti-ally scheme of any kind.

Armenia

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN February 27th 1920

LABOUR PROPOSAL FOR
ARMENIA.

FRANCE AND CILICIA.

The Advisory Committee of the Labour party on International questions have issued a long resolution in which they state the Labour party's protest against the treatment of Armenia by the Allied Powers.

In the opinion of the Labour party the minimum programme which the Allied Governments are bound in honour to carry out includes:-

1. The entire region known as Turkish Armenia must be released absolutely from Turkish sovereignty.

2. The best settlement would have been to place the whole of this region for a term of years and under strict conditions under the control of a single mandatory Power, charged to maintain religious and racial equality between the different elements in the population, to promote goodwill between them, and to train them to govern their country in common. But the party recognise that if America stands aside the country may have at least temporarily to be divided. But if a mandate for the south-western districts (Cilicia, Diarbekr, Kharput) is given to France, they demand that it shall be conferred under the strict conditions referred to above, and that at a date to be specified in the mandate the population shall be given an opportunity of deciding whether they wish to govern themselves as a separate State or to reunite with the rest of Armenia.

3. The remainder of Turkish Armenia ought to be attached at once to the independent Armenian Republic, already in being in Transcaucasia.

4. The party protest against any idea of subordinating the Armenian settlement to considerations of Indian policy.

Armenia

DAILY NEWS March 1st 1920

THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

The Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, who recently arrived in London, makes an eloquent appeal on behalf of his afflicted people in a communication he has addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"After wandering with me in the desert," he says, "the surviving 200,000 Armenians, trusting in the protection which the Allied flags seemed to offer them, gathered in Cilicia. But to-day the ruthless enemy has again attacked them, murdering considerable numbers of them."

Preaching at Wesley's Chapel, City-road, yesterday, the Rev. Walter Armstrong said that nearly 1,000,000 Armenians were massacred by the Turks during the war, and the massacres were still going on. "Has the soul gone out of our statesmanship?" he asked.

THE SCANDAL OF ARMENIAN MARTYRDOM.

WHY TURKISH AIMS HAVE BEEN LEFT UNCHECKED.

I.—BEFORE THE ARMISTICE.

(From a Correspondent.)

The relations between Europe and Armenia have been as follows. During the last century the Ottoman Government, angered and alarmed at the loss of their ascendancy and at their failure to hold their own against the Christian peoples, have retaliated by outbreaks against the Christian populations that still remain under their power. As the century advanced and Turkey dwindled, these outbreaks became more frequent, more comprehensive, more cold-blooded, and more atrocious, while the sufferings of the Armenians and their fellow-victims became more patent to the European Powers, and the relative physical strength of these Powers in comparison with Turkey enormously increased.

At almost any time during that century, but more so as the century advanced and the Armenian sufferings, the Turkish atrocities, and Europe's power to prevent them augmented in about the same ratio, Europe could have ended this evil for ever with infinitely less military effort and sacrifice than she lavished on a single day's fighting on any of the recent fronts on European soil. She has not ended it, and as I write these lines fresh massacres are being perpetrated.

Europe did not end the evil before the Great European War because each Power feared that the others might gain more than itself if the *status quo* in Turkey were altered, and if any single Power acted separately it was threatened by its neighbours and there was the danger of a European war.

This phase of European politics was responsible for the abandonment of the Armenian provinces taken from Turkey by Russia in 1878 and for the devilish atrocities of 1895-7 and 1909, but the sacrifice of the subject peoples in Turkey on these, and many lesser occasions did not avert the dreaded catastrophe. The European War duly broke out in 1914 and the second phase in Europe's relations with Armenia followed. Even the fiction of a European concert had vanished, the Powers were engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and the Turkish Government had a freer hand than they had enjoyed for a century past.

They realised this about the spring of 1915, when they began to suspect that the Allies could not force the Dardanelles, and to realise how much Germany's chances of victory depended on the vital line of communication between the Western Allies and Russia being denied them. The Allies could not and Germany would not interfere with Turkey's internal affairs, and if the Turkish Government used the opportunity to destroy the Christians inside her borders while the Christians outside her borders were destroying each other, she might be rid of that incubus of Christian ascendancy which had weighed on her for a hundred years.

The phase of European politics distinguished by the war of 1914-18 was responsible for the Turkish atrocities of 1915. In the spring of 1915 the Ottoman Cabinet worked out a scheme for the extermination of their Armenian subjects throughout the Ottoman territories lying north-east of the Anatolian and Bagdad railways. They selected these territories (which amounted to rather more than a third of the Turkish Empire and included the vast majority of its Armenian inhabitants) because in large parts of them the Turkish nationality was in a small, in many districts in an infinitesimal minority, and their eventual loss was therefore probable unless the proportions of the different elements in the population were artificially—and profoundly—modified.

The scheme did not embrace Constantinople, which was too much under the observation of neutrals; nor Smyrna, where the provincial governor, Ruhmi Bey, disapproved of their policy and was too powerful to be removed; nor the Arab provinces, where the Armenian colonies were numerically insignificant and where there was no Turkish element whatever but a vast majority of non-Turkish Moslems; so that Turkification (except in the imaginations of the wildest "Turanian" Chauvinists) was out of the question. But in the great area selected the scheme

was systematically carried out. Since the Constitution of 1908 the Christians of Turkey had been liable like the Moslems to military service, and also at liberty like them to possess private arms. The first step of the "Union and Progress" Cabinet in 1915 was to pick out the Armenian soldiers who had been taken automatically into the combatant ranks in the mobilisation of the previous autumn and to draft them into unarmed labour battalions; their next was to call in the arms of Armenians still unmobilised, and their next to reinforce the gendarmery in the selected area with convicts drafted out of the prisons and with irregular bands of brigands.

Then they sent orders to the military commanders to shoot down the labour battalions, and to the civil officials in each province, department, and arrondissement to arrest the local Armenians on a given day, seize their property, separate the men from the women and children, and hand them over in batches to the diluted gendarmery for deportation—hundreds of miles across the mountains—to the Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts.

A few officials refused to obey the order and resigned or were dismissed. In certain cases the local Turkish and Kurdish population protected their Armenian neighbours against the Ottoman Government's intentions. In one or two places the Armenians had sufficient warning and resources to defend themselves (e.g. at Urfa, Shabin-Hissar, and Van), but these forlorn hopes were all crushed sooner or later by Turkish regular troops.

On the whole the extermination scheme proceeded according to plan with diabolical exactitude. It was applied by groups of provinces at intervals of a few weeks from one end of the area to the other. The batches of male victims were generally butchered wholesale in some lonely spot a day or two's march from home, the batches of women and children were thinned out capriciously here and there, but were mainly destroyed by the accompaniments of the march itself—by cold, hunger, sickness, ravishment, physical exhaustion, and despair.

Perhaps half of them survived the awful journey, to wither away in the awful surroundings of desert and swamp appointed for their sojourn. Out of an Armenian population in Turkey of about 1,800,000 before the war, two-thirds had probably perished before the Armistice.

The evidence is presented fully in the British Government's Bluebook, miscellaneous, No. 31, 1916. It consists principally of reports from many American and a few German and neutral European eye-witnesses scattered through the area, and the account of the extermination scheme pieced together from their narratives is confirmed by the revelations of Talaat, Enver, and their colleagues to the American Ambassador, Mr. Morgenthau ("Secrets of the Bosphorus," by Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, London, 1918), and by documents from the Berlin archives published by the courageous German philanthropist Lepsius "Deutschland und Armenien," 1914-18: Sammlung Diplomatischer Aktenstücke, Potsdam, 1918).

The facts are overwhelmingly horrible, but they are indisputable; and what during this phase was the attitude of the several European Powers? Germany condoned the extermination scheme and tried to smother it up. The British Government very properly exposed it in the aforementioned Bluebook, which was used quite legitimately for propaganda in the United States. Yet in 1916, while this propaganda was in full swing, other British officials were negotiating for the partition of the Armenian provinces of Turkey between Russia and France.

The secret agreement of May, 1916, was an ugly business; the Tsardom, when it temporarily conquered its allotted zone, planted Cossack settlers on the Armenian lands left untenanted by the Turkish deportations, yet if that agreement had come into effect the third phase in the relations between Europe and Armenia might at least have been averted.

The Allies and Armenia.

We trust that the message from our Constantinople Correspondent which we publish to-day may awaken our readers to the political dangers that the inaction of the Allies and the activity of the Turkish Nationalists are creating far outside the boundaries of Armenia. He shows how the present position has arisen, what those dangers are, and how they will almost certainly develop, unless the plans of the Turks are upset by something very different from the discussions of the Supreme Council. The naval and financial terms of the Treaty with Turkey occupied that august body yesterday and were even made the subject of "provisional decisions"—a formula, we note in passing, both more dignified and more accurate than that of "conclusions," employed after the Wilson bombshell had shown how unsafe were the serene "decisions" of a few weeks ago. There is, however, no word about Armenia in the rather watery *communiqué* on which the Supreme Council feeds the public, and Armenia happens to be the subject upon which millions who care little for foreign affairs of the usual sort are now particularly interested. The correspondence between the ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY and the Bishops of the United States shows, as we had expected, that this interest is not confined to our side of the Atlantic. The question to these millions is not one of territorial or financial gains to this country or to that. It is a question of human life. It is a question of saving the remnant, after former massacres of the Armenian people from the wholesale slaughter which is now being prepared for them. The REVEREND HAROLD BUXTON, who has been for months in Cilicia as agent of the Lord Mayor's Fund for the relief of the refugees, relates in a letter to-day what the Turkish Nationalists have done and what they mean to do. The plot, he alleges, was worked up by the agents of MUSTAPHA KEMAL in November and December. It broke out in January, and has already cost thousands of Armenians, mostly women and children, their lives. It has led to the murder of two American citizens and to the capture and destruction of Marash. At this moment, Mr. Buxton adds, there are gathered together in the rich Cilician plain between 40,000 and 50,000 refugees, Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians, who have taken asylum there from their persecutors. The lives of all these people, he declares, are now in jeopardy, unless the Allies reinforce their troops and recover their lost prestige. To save these people from butchery is a moral duty of the plainest and the most imperious kind.

There is no time to be lost. The Turks must be taught, and taught without delay, to hold their hand by the only argument which influences them, by the direct threat that fresh butcheries will bring down upon them exemplary punishment. We regret to be obliged to differ from the *Temps* on this subject. That journal contends that the news from Cilicia does not justify a "blow of the fist" on the diplomatic table, and it argues, further, that even if the situation should become worse, it would not be bettered by such blows at Constantinople. Demonstrations on the Bosphorus, it suggests, would rather tend to foster a spirit of revolt and violence in Anatolia. That seems to be very much the doctrine which MR. BONAR LAW was deputed to expound more guardedly to the House of Commons last week. The protection of the Armenians, he explained, was one of the most vital subjects to be decided by the Treaty with Turkey, and it was very undesirable that the Turks should learn one part of that instrument before the whole of it was ready. Nevertheless, the massacres had deeply impressed the Supreme Council—or, as he modestly called it, "the Conference"—another recent change of terminology. Not only were they considering the steps which ought to be taken to protect Armenian lives, but "in consequence of the massacres and with the view of putting a stop to them," they had so far departed from considerations of political convenience that ADMIRAL DE ROBECK was authorized to tell the Turks what would not be in the document. He was to assure them that, if only they stopped butchering Armenians, the Peace Conference proposed to leave them in Constantinople. If, however, they preferred to go on with the slaughter—why, then, the decision would "probably" be modified to their detriment. This certainly was very far from a "coup de poing sur la table." The Turks responded—on paper—at once. The MINISTER of the INTERIOR hastily telegraphed to the provincial authorities that attacks on non-Moslems were inadvisable. He did not, it seems, blame them in themselves, but he deprecated them because "they would prejudice the good dispositions of the Powers towards Turkey." We do not know with what feelings MR. BONAR LAW and his colleagues read this announcement. We doubt if it has excited much hope in his bosom. He thought that the promise of Constantinople as a reward for a little temporary restraint might be "useful" as a preventive of massacres just now, but he was not very confident. He and his brother Ministers freely recognized that the remedy "might not be as effective as they desired." Still they "did believe that it would have some effect," and the LEADER of the HOUSE frankly stated why they hold this belief. They hold it "because, to put it mildly, there is some connexion between the Nationalist movement and the Turkish Government." Therefore "there was a hope that the statement might influence the Turk." We do not doubt that it will influence them very strongly. What we deeply apprehend is that it will influence them the wrong way. All Turks and all Orientals will see in it a clear confession that the Powers can be blackmailed. The Nationalist Turks, the followers of ENVER and NURY PASHA, of HALLIL and MUSTAPHA KEMAL, will see in it besides a recognition of their authority. The LEADER of the HOUSE of COMMONS has publicly acknowledged that Ministers are aware of the connexion of these assassins with the Turkish Government. None the less, they are prepared not only to deal with the Government, but to try and sooth it by promises, and, through, it to soothe the assassins. That is like trying to soothe the Soviet by offering to trade with the Cooperatives, or "stroking the dome of St. Paul's to please the Dean and Chapter." It will not permanently protect the Armenians and it will further discredit us all over the East.

The Allies and Armenia.


We trust that the message from our Constantinople Correspondent which we publish to-day may awaken our readers to the political dangers that the inaction of the Allies and the activity of the Turkish Nationalists are creating far outside the boundaries of Armenia. He shows how the present position has arisen, what those dangers are, and how they will almost certainly develop, unless the plans of the Turks are upset, by something very different from the discussions of the Supreme Council. The naval and financial terms of the Treaty with Turkey occupied that august body yesterday and were even made the subject of "provisional decisions"—a formula, we note in passing, both more dignified than...

...the South African parentage, had joined the Air Force. Over 7,000 men, to a large extent of the various units in the Army, the Navy, and at least 12,000 men came over of their own accord to addition to the large South African contingent, and had had his own trouble, but in spite of that, and Sir Otto Beit, responding, said that South Africa as long as they could. The Government had decided to continue men. The Government had decided to continue high level throughout the war. The hospital would be famous for its vocational training of disabled men. The hospital at Richmond had been maintained at would always be held in admiration by this country. The Chairman, in proposing the health of the Edward Thornton commandant, hospital of which Sir Otto Beit is treasurer and Sir speeches largely turned on the activities of that Hospital and Comforts Fund, presided, and the Lord Radsdown, chairman of the South African the Union of South Africa. position of Assistant Secretary of Public Health to Hotel. Sir Edward Thornton is about to take up the farwell dinner given last evening at the Hyde Park...

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THE SCANDAL OF ARMENIAN MARTYRDOM.

II.—AFTER THE ARMISTICE.

(From a Correspondent.)

In October, 1918, when Turkey sued for an armistice, the British Government were as anxious for a passage through the Straits as they had been during the Dardanelles campaign, but this time their object was not to succour Russia, but to attack the new order which had arisen in Russia on the ruins of the Tsar's power. At that moment the Soviet Government was on the point of overthrowing its internal enemies; Denikin was at bay in the very corner where he is fighting his last battles now; if his strength was to be revived by assistance from the Allies not a moment was to be lost in recovering the right of way into the Black Sea, and, to secure this right immediately, the Allied Governments demanded little else of the Turks except the evacuation of Trans-Caucasia, the surrender of some strategic points in the Taurus passes, and the occupation of Ottoman territories from which the Turkish army and administration had already been evicted by the Allied forces.

The entire area subjected in 1915 by the Ottoman Government to their deportation scheme, and "soaked with the blood of innocents," as Mr. Lloyd George has phrased it, was left in 1918, by the draft terms of armistice, under the political and military control of the very Government that had committed these horrors: the protests of British officials who realised the infamy of this proposal merely secured an additional clause empowering the Allies to occupy the six north-eastern vilayets and any other districts should they deem such a step necessary for the prevention of disorder, and with this modification the Armistice was signed.

The Armenians and their advocates in official and unofficial circles were assured that there was no ground for alarm, that the Armistice was a temporary and provisional arrangement, with no bearing on the terms of the peace which would promptly follow; and thus began the third phase in the relations between Europe and Armenia, which has lasted sixteen months already and continues to-day.

European Jealousy.

Given such armistice conditions, it was obvious that delay in making peace would be disastrous, yet peace has been postponed and the consequences have followed which were clearly foreseen at the outset. The postponement has been due partly to the greater urgency of making peace with Germany (a factor which ought to have been taken into account when the Armistice with Turkey was framed), and partly to the indecision of America; but the most potent cause has been the old factor of jealousy between the European Powers. The previous deadlock in Europe, which had prevented European intervention on behalf of the Armenians before and during the war, was removed by the collapse of the Central Powers, only to be superseded by a new deadlock between the victors.



The Turkish question was raised half a dozen times during the winter of 1918-19, and each time it produced such tension between plenipotentiaries and passion in the press that it was dropped in favour of some more sedative subject. The Conference waited to find itself in a better frame of mind, but events did not wait in those tormented regions whose destiny hung upon the moods of Paris. During that winter, in the Trans-Caucasian Republic of Erivan (the one fragment of Armenia which had been liberated by the break-up of the Russian Empire), the refugees from Turkish Armenia were dying by thousands of starvation and exposure because they dared not return to their own homes, of which the Turkish Government were still in armed possession in accordance with the Armistice terms.

In March, 1919, the Armenian Delegation at Paris represented to the British Delegation that unless these refugee peasants were given possession again, within two months at the utmost, of their ravished lands it would be too late for the sowing, there would be no harvest, and the consequent starvation in the overcrowded territory of Erivan would be even worse than the year before. The case and its urgency were submitted to the higher Allied authorities, but nothing was done. The Armenian provinces adjoining Erivan were left in the Turks' hands, and remain in their hands to-day. Of course the liberation of these provinces probably would and will entail operations by Allied military forces, but such operations have actually been undertaken since the Armistice in more lucrative districts.

The additional clause inserted in the Armistice for the Armenians' benefit has been used to cover the successive occupation of the Cilician plain and Smyrna (where in 1915 the Armenians had been spared) and of Adalia (where there are practically no Armenian inhabitants). Allied troops were unavailable only for the occupation of the area where the protection of the non-Turkish population and the prevention of disorders were most urgently required—the area, that is, over which the atrocities had been committed in 1915.

The Cilician Massacres.

If you trace out this area on a map of Turkey, and then trace on the same map

the districts occupied, at the time of the the Armistice or subsequently, by the Allies, you will find that the two areas between them cover the whole of Turkey but that they nowhere coincide. This simple fact is a damning commentary on all the sympathy and good intentions towards Armenia professed by members of the Allied Governments. This is the measure of what they have done for Armenia since the Armistice, and it is to be feared that nothing but the pressure of public opinion will make them do better for her in the long-delayed peace-settlement.

The third phase has its massacres like the phases that preceded it—the Cilician massacres of 1920, which are proceeding at this moment. The perpetrators are the armed forces of the Nationalist Turkish Government at Sivas, a Government which has been enabled to organise itself through the dilatoriness and indifference of the Allies, and which—established as it is in the interior of Anatolia, far from the sea and even from the railways—is entirely unaffected by the presence of Allied warships, guns, and troops within range of Constantinople.

The victims are the survivors of the Armenian deportees of 1915 who still remained alive in their places of exile in Syria and Mesopotamia when the Turks were driven out of those countries in 1918. These survivors were taken in charge by Allied relief organisations and have been gradually moved up into concentration camps on the Cilician plain. It has been impossible to reinstate them in their homes because these homes, like those of the refugees in Erivan, have been left by the Armistice in the Turks' possession, but they have been encamped in Cilicia pending their permanent settlement elsewhere after the conclusion of peace, as being the nearest district to their homes where in the interval they would be safe from molestation.

This was not done by private relief-workers on their own responsibility; it had the official sanction and approval of the Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople; the concentration camps were pitched well behind the line held by the Allied troops of occupation, and the responsibility for the lives of these unhappy people rests beyond all question with the Allied Governments. The reverses inflicted on the Allied garrisons by the Turkish Nationalists, which have made these fresh massacres possible, are due to another instance of that jealousy between European Powers which accounts for so much of the shameful record of Europe in her dealings with Armenia.

The French and British forces in occupation in Cilicia after the Armistice were under Lord Allenby's supreme command, and British troops held part of the front line facing the hill country left under Turkish occupation towards the north. But the French Foreign Office, offended by the British Government's eagerness to modify the 1916 agreement to Great Britain's advantage in the cases of Palestine and of Mosul, took alarm at the instalment of British garrisons and a British command in other parts of the sphere assigned to France under the agreement, and suspected (though unjustly) that the British were using this control as a leverage for ousting the French out of Syria and Cilicia altogether.

French Preoccupation.

The French Government, preoccupied with its desire to get the British off the scene, appear hardly to have concerned themselves with the situation that would arise when Allenby and his troops had withdrawn; but Mustapha Kemal, the Turkish Nationalist commander at Sivas, was organising his forces and biding his time. The British withdrawal duly took place in the last weeks of 1919, and Mustapha has now taken advantage of the military opportunity offered him by the Allies' moral disunion. He has driven the French outposts from the positions they had taken over from the British in the fringe of the hill country round Marash, and has exterminated those Armenian highlanders who had survived deportation and had reoccupied their villages in the Cilician hills in reliance on the Allied detachments posted in these advanced positions.

Witnesses just arrived in England from Cilicia report that the Nationalists are reviving all the methods of 1915, and that unless their advance is checked immediately the 150,000 unarmed Armenians—men, women and children—concentrated, under the aegis of the Allies, on the Cilician plain, are also in danger of extermination. Mr. Lloyd George made light of the news from Cilicia in his speech last Thursday in the House of Commons, but what do the Supreme Council intend to do? To leave Cilicia to Ottoman sovereignty and their protégés there to the Turkish knife? Public opinion should make it clear to them during these critical days that it will not tolerate such a decision, for that would indeed be the crowning infamy of Europe towards Armenia.

The jealousies and cupidities of the European Powers were responsible before the war for the horrors of 1895-7 and of 1909; the consequence of these passions—the war itself—was responsible for the still greater horrors of 1915; and now, sixteen months after the war is over, thousands of Armenians are exposed again to anguish and death by unworthy jealousies between the victorious Allies. Is this third phase to end like the other, or will Europe at last retrieve, if that is possible, in some slight measure her betrayals of Armenia in the past?

To allow Turks to massacre Armenians in territory formally under European occupation is a more shocking disgrace than any which our Governments have incurred in regard to Armenia in the past. If they do not stop this massacre and so order the peace-settlement that its repetition shall be impossible, then the Supreme Council are "the abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not."

ALLIED HELP FOR ARMENIANS.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON SUPREME COUNCIL'S DECISION.

REPORTS OF MASSACRES CONFIRMED.

PERSONAL TESTIMONY FROM CILICIA.

Mr. Lloyd George, questioned in the House of Commons yesterday by Mr. Asquith and other members, said that since the Allied Governments had received the very serious news of the massacres in Armenia the Conference had come to a decision which was communicated to their representatives at Constantinople. They were fully alive, he added, to the need of taking very strong action to protect the minorities, but it was inadvisable to announce the nature of their decision.

An impressive personal story of the terrible things done against Armenians in Cilicia by the Turks has been brought by the Rev. Harold Buxton, who was in Adana during recent Armenian massacres.

Mr. Buxton told a representative of the "Manchester Guardian" that he had good authority for thinking there is still hope that America might change her mind and accept a mandate for Armenia. The Premier stated in the Commons yesterday that the United States had not definitely refused a mandate for Constantinople.

A crowded meeting held in London yesterday under the chairmanship of Lord Bryce passed a resolution expressing the horror and indignation of the country at the crimes committed by the Turks, and calling upon the Powers immediately to occupy Cilicia with adequate forces. The Rev. Harold Buxton, who also gave his testimony at this meeting, said the plans of the Nationalists involved an attack on Cilicia from the east and the cutting of the Bagdad Railway.

PREMIER'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Commons yesterday,

Sir D. MACLEAN (L.—Peebles) asked the Prime Minister whether he could give any further information with regard to the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks, and what steps are being taken by our Government or the French Government for the protection of the Armenians from further massacre and outrage.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: These matters are under discussion by the Allied Governments and between their Governments and their representatives at Constantinople, and I hope my right hon. friend will recognise the inadvisability of making an announcement on the subject at present.

Mr. ASQUITH (who was received with Liberal cheers): Will the Government take steps to keep this House and the public, so far as they can, fully informed of the course of events in that part of the world, in order to relieve the grave and general anxiety?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: I can assure my right hon. friend that that anxiety is shared by the Government and by all the representatives of the Allies. Since we received the very serious news about the massacres in Armenia it has been the subject of very anxious consideration by the Allied Conference. They came to a decision which they communicated to their representatives at Constantinople. It would be inadvisable at the present moment to communicate to the public the nature of that decision, but we are awaiting their advice. We are fully alive to the gravity of the position and to the need of taking very strong action to protect the minorities—(cheers)—in so far as you can do it in a country of this character. I hope to be able to make a statement in a very short time.

Lord R. CECIL (C.U.—Hitchin) thanked the right hon. gentleman for his interesting and satisfactory reply, and asked whether he expected to be able to make a statement on Monday, or would he rather not make any statement?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: It will depend very largely on the replies and on the action taken. It might be inadvisable, if action is to be taken, to make any announcement at all until it becomes quite manifest to the whole world.

Mr. A. WILLIAMS (L.—Consett) asked whether the House might understand that such prompt measures as were possible would be taken to protect the lives in danger in Cilicia.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: The protection of minorities in Cilicia is not the sole concern. It is the charge of the French Government, and they fully recognise that. All the Allies are prepared to give such support as is in their power to ensure that the minorities will be protected.

Mr. WILLIAMS pointed out that Adana is not many miles from the coast, and that British subjects are at present on the coast, including agents of the Lord Mayor of London's Fund.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: That is a very difficult question. It depends on the advice we get from our naval and military advisers as to whether it is better that the naval forces should be at Constantinople or down at the coast.

In reply to General Surtees (C.U.—Gateshead), Mr. Lloyd George said there was unfortunately reason to suppose that the reports as to the Turkish massacres in Asia Minor were well founded.

AMERICA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

In reply to Major David Davies (C.L.—Montgomery), Mr. Lloyd George said that the United States Government had not definitely refused to accept a mandate for Constantinople, but had withdrawn from discussion of the Turkish problem.

TURKEY'S ATTEMPTS AT EXTERMINATION.

A VISIT TO CILICIA.

LONDON, THURSDAY.

Terrible stories of pillage, murder, and brigandage have been brought back from Cilicia by the Rev. Harold Buxton, who returned to England a week ago. Mr. Buxton went to Cilicia last autumn as the agent of the Lord Mayor's Armenian Relief Fund. He crossed Asia Minor four times during the winter and was in Adana during recent Armenian massacres. Though he was not an actual witness of the atrocities, he met and heard evidence from Armenians, who escaped.

One story of a man who got away by leaping death till nightfall is sufficient to indicate the barbaric nature of the Turk. While this man was in hiding near a lonely part of the road he saw a Turkish leader advancing with his small boy. Seizing a child from the arms of an Armenian mother who was passing, he called upon the little boy to cut its throat with a sharp knife. Having done this, the boy was required to dip his hand into the blood of the murdered child and taste it, to indicate that he was a good and loyal subject of Turkey.

To-day large armed bands of brigands are scattered in every direction, murdering and

pillaging and endeavouring to wipe out the Christian population of Cilicia. The disturbances, Mr. Buxton told a London representative of the "Manchester Guardian," broke out towards the end of November last when the Turks began to realise that the French forces which succeeded the British there were insufficient to exercise any firm discipline. Nationalist bands were organised on a much larger scale, the French flag was torn down at Marash and the Turkish flag erected in its place, telegraph wires were cut, and an atmosphere of general disorder and violence prevailed. Government couriers and posts were attacked and Armenian villages looted.

At the end of January Mr. Buxton was staying in Adana, and there he heard of the massacre of 1,500 Armenians in the villages of Firnozu, Fundjak, Zeitun, and Kishif. These places were surrounded and the inhabitants captured. In some cases they were put into large houses, the doors were locked, and they were fired at through the windows. Frequently one bullet would pass through fifteen to twenty bodies. After a time the Turks would begrudge what they called this waste of ammunition and would finish their work of slaughter with axes.

Armenians Burned Alive.

On other occasions the Armenians would be shut up in houses, flames would be started, and the people left to burn alive. Their cries could be heard for miles, and they shrieked for help which did not come.

Since the fall of Marash on February 10 Mr. Buxton believed 16,000 Armenians, most of them women and children, had been put to death. During the massacres a certain number of the men who were only superficially wounded feigned death and afterwards, under cover of darkness, escaped to the hills, but many of those who thus got away are believed to have perished since from cold and hunger.

With regard to the general situation in Asia Minor, Mr. Buxton believed that two circumstances were mainly responsible. First of all, there was the unfortunate prolongation of the Armistice, which had made the Turks more and more restless, and then instead of occupying effectively the provinces of Asia Minor we had poured our troops and money into Russia and allowed the Turkish troops to go away into the hills carrying with them all their munitions and supplies. If, instead of embarking on a great war in Russia, we had retained more troops in Turkey, the present situation, he thought, would never have arisen.

A new feature about the situation was that the attacks were not only upon the native Christians but also upon Europeans. In illustration, Mr. Buxton described how an Armenian orphanage at Barjezag was besieged. The orphanage was in the charge of an English lady and run in co-operation with the Americans. Last January a body of men attacked the building and bullets were fired in at the windows. It was only by great good fortune that a British guard happened to be there and that the attack was beaten off.

Attitude of America.

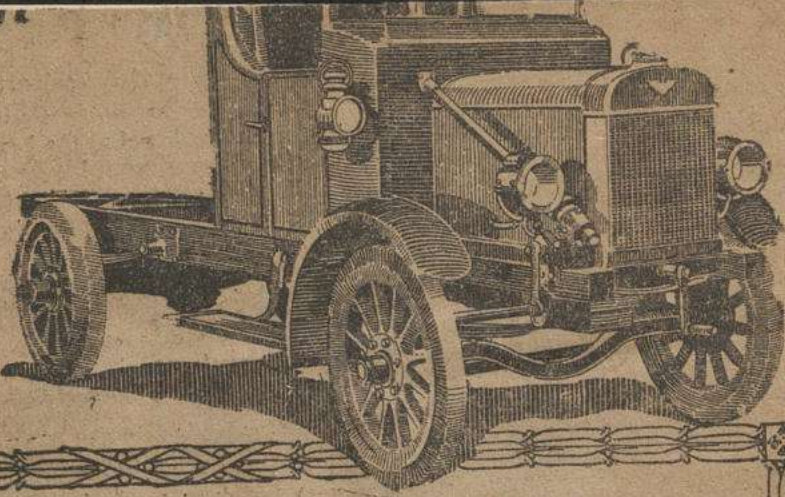
Incidents of that nature were occurring in other places as well, and at the beginning of last month two very great friends of his belonging to the international Y.M.C.A. were murdered by Nationalist hands on a road in Northern Syria.

The revolt was directed primarily against the Allies, but the Armenians were involved because the Turks said that it was the Armenians who helped the Allies to come in. The life of no single European or American, he thought, was safe in Turkey at the present time.

Full particulars as to the state of the country have been given to the British Government, but so far, Mr. Buxton said, no assurance had been received that anything had been done to assist the French by means of a naval demonstration or by the sending of troops from Mosul to attack the Turkish forces.

As to the ultimate settlement of the Turkish question, however, Mr. Buxton had good authority for thinking that there is still hope of America changing her mind. American citizens had been murdered during the past month, and it was possible that public opinion, which had been roused by those events, might influence the Senate to reconsider the whole question of American participation in the settlement.

C.R.



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 and the people left to burn alive. Their
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ENGLAND AND ARMENIA.
DEMAND FOR OCCUPATION
OF CILICIA.

LONDON PROTEST MEETING.

LONDON, THURSDAY.

The Armenian meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, was crowded this afternoon when the Rev. Harold Buxton described what he had seen and heard in Armenia during his stay there.

Subsequently a resolution was passed without dissent expressing "in the strongest terms the indignation and horror universally felt in this country" at the crimes which had been perpetrated, and calling upon the Powers to take immediate steps for the protection of the Christian population by effectively occupying Cilicia with adequate forces.

Lord Bryce, who presided, gave a brief historical survey of Armenian massacres in the past. The Armistice of 1918, he said, was extravagantly indulgent, and was made without due consideration or reference to public opinion in England or America. If those who made it had understood the facts or the character of the Turks they would never have been let off so easily. The leniency of the Armistice was the source of Armenia's subsequent misfortune. But, lenient as the terms were, no serious attempt was made to carry them out. The result was that the Turks, having been allowed to retain their arms, had now come to feel that they were the victims. They had never realised that they were defeated.

The whole Eastern world had seen that the greatest crimes for over a dozen years had gone unpunished. During 1915 the party which held the upper hand in Turkey said: "We want to have a Turkish Empire which consists entirely of Moslems, and therefore we will put an end to the presence of Christians by the simple method of extermination." Nearly a million Christian men, women, and children perished in the massacres of 1915. The Turk felt that they would have a stronger claim to Cilicia if they could show that there were no Christians there. That was why the present massacres had broken out at a time when the Turkish Peace Treaty was being negotiated.

As a nation which had just fought through and sacrificed its best blood in a war undertaken in the cause of humanity and justice, our first and immediate duty was to see that these massacres in Cilicia were stopped and that Allied troops were sent to protect the innocent. If we did not do that, let us at least give them arms to protect themselves with. Our next duty was to insist that the treaty now being negotiated should abolish for ever Turkish rule in Armenia and Cilicia. (Cheers.)

Plight of the Refugees.

The Rev. Harold Buxton described the arrival of refugees at the camps round Adana. There were, he said, old men with their eyes burnt out, mothers without children, young girls who had been outraged, and children who hardly dared show themselves in the light, as they were so weak and emaciated from the sufferings incidental to their flight. There were eight or ten thousand refugees in camps surrounding the town and about thirty thousand within a thirty-mile radius.

For the moment it seemed there was no other remedy for dealing with the situation but force. Drastic measures must be taken without delay. The plans of the Nationalists were known, and they involved an invasion of the Cilician plain. It was to be attacked from the east and the south, and the Bagdad railway was to be cut so that reinforcements would be unable to come up to the French.

He had been told that the Supreme Allied Council was "considering measures" dealing with the situation, but there must be immediate action: not only by the French but by the Allies generally to fulfil the pledges given that these people should be once and for all liberated from the abominable tyranny under which they had suffered for so long.

G.F.

The National Assembly to-day rejected the motion of the Independent Socialists for the withdrawal of the Imperial President's decree relative to the measures for restoring public security and order. Herr Noske said that the terrible seriousness of the country's position did not permit the renunciation of any serious means of coping with it.—Reuter.

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Rochdale Town Council yesterday.
The Rev. Harold Buxton described the arrival of refugees at the camps round Adana. There were, he said, old men with their eyes burnt out, mothers without children, young girls who had been outraged, and children who hardly dared show themselves in the light, as they were so weak and emaciated from the sufferings incident to the flight.

As a nation which had just fought through and sacrificed its best blood in a war undertaken in the cause of humanity and justice, our first and immediate duty was to see that these massacres in Cilicia were stopped and that Allied troops were sent to protect the innocent. If we did not do that, let us at least give them arms to protect themselves with. Our next duty was to insist that the treaty now being negotiated should abolish for ever Turkish rule in Armenia and Cilicia. (Cheers.)

Peace Treaty was being negotiated. had broken out at a time when the Turkish there. That was why the present massacres if they could show that there were no Christians that they would have a stronger claim to Cilicia perished in the massacres of 1915. The Turk felt million Christian men, women, and children simple method of extermination." Nearly a an end to the presence of Christians by the purely of Moslems, and therefore we will put to have a Turkish Empire which consists in the upper hand in Turkey said: "We want unpunished. During 1915 the party which held greatest crimes for over a dozen years had gone

The whole Eastern world had seen that the realized that they were defeated. that they were the victims. They had never to retain their arms, had now come to feel result was that the Turks, having been allowed attempt was made to carry them out. The But, lenient as the terms were, no serious the source of Armenia's subsequent misfortune, so easily. The leniency of the Amistice was the Turks they would never have been let off had understood the facts or the character of in England or America. If those who made it due consideration or reference to public opinion extravagantly indulgent, and was made without past. The Amistice of 1918, he said, was

Lord Bryce, who presided, gave a brief historical survey of Armenian massacres in the Powers to take immediate steps for the protection of the Christian population by effectively occupying Cilicia with adequate forces. had been perpetrated, and calling upon the felt in this country" at the crimes which terms the indignation and horror universally out dissent expressing "in the strongest Subsequently a resolution was passed with- his stay there.

When the Rev. Harold Buxton described what he had seen and heard in Armenia during The Armenian meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, was crowded this afternoon. London, Thursday.

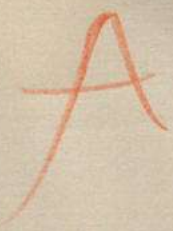
ENGLAND AND ARMENIA.

DEMAND FOR OCCUPATION

OF CILICIA.

LONDON PROTEST MEETING.

Armenia



ALLIED TROOPS FOR ARMENIA.

Turkish Crisis Aggravated by Fall of the Cabinet.

ABDUL HAMID'S "EVIL GENIUS" TO FORM A MINISTRY.

Mr. Lloyd George announced in the Commons yesterday that the Peace Conference had come to a decision regarding the massacres in Armenia, and had communicated it to their representatives in Constantinople.

While declining to indicate the nature of the decision, the Premier said the Allies were fully alive to the need of taking "very strong action." "The Daily News" understands that this action will involve the dispatch of troops. As regards future safeguards, the establishment of a gendarmerie under Allied officers is proposed. The Armenians are also to be provided with arms.

Whether as a consequence of the communication sent to Constantinople or otherwise, the Turkish Cabinet has resigned, and the disquieting news comes from Constantinople that Izzet Pasha, notorious as Abdul Hamid's lord of misrule and as the instigator of the appalling massacres of Armenians under the Hamidian régime, has been appointed to form a new Ministry.

PROPOSED ACTION.

Dispatch of Troops & Arms & Creation of Gendarmerie.

The Supreme Council has adjourned with the details of the Turkish Treaty still unsettled. As to the future, the announcement that the Treaty will be presented to the Turks on March 23 need not be taken too seriously. It is not at all likely that it will be ready by then.

While the main outlines of the Treaty—the disarmament of Turkey by sea and land and air, the subjection of her finances to an international commission of control, the severance from her sovereignty of Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Armenia and much of Thrace—are substantially agreed, what is from many points of view the vital question—the protection of minorities—is still baffling the peacemakers.

With the minorities must be reckoned Armenia, which as an independent State falls properly into a slightly different category. No subject stirs opinion in this country more deeply. Evidence of that, if any were wanted, was provided yesterday by the questions of Sir Donald Maclean and Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons and by the notable meeting presided over by Lord Bryce at the Caxton Hall.

The problem has to be considered, and is being considered, in a double aspect; in reference firstly to the immediate prevention of any recurrence of such massacres as have been reported in the last month from Marash and Aintab, and secondly to the institution of such a régime as shall give permanent and effective protection to the inhabitants of the new independent Armenia and to the Armenian and other minorities scattered through the territories still left to the Turk in Anatolia.

IMMEDIATE MEASURES.

The immediate measures are much the simplest. They will necessarily involve the dispatch of troops, and it may be taken for granted that if the reports of Allied officials in Turkey bear out the stories of such reliable witnesses as Mr. Harold Buxton, who addressed the Caxton Hall meeting yesterday, Allied troops will be dispatched without delay.

That, however, has little bearing on the ultimate problem. The one certain way of protecting the non-Turkish peoples would be to exterminate the Turk. Since that is not practicable, some other way must be found. There is one school of authorities who hold that to expel the Sultan from Constantinople would be to improve the lot of minorities in Asia Minor. Another school maintains that it is better to keep the Government where you can bring pressure to bear on it. Both arguments can safely be neglected in discussing Armenia and kindred problems, for it is certain that any protection of minorities to be effective must be protection accorded them in the place where they live.

The most obvious way to accord such protection is to station Allied troops in the danger areas, but it may be taken for granted that none of the European Allies would be willing to add that burden permanently to the sum of its military commitments. Even the prospect of the acceptance by France of responsibility for Cilicia is understood to be increasingly remote, and in any case that question is complicated by the fact that Cilicia is reckoned to be (apart from its temporary population of refugees) predominantly Turkish, and is not therefore a suitable subject for a mandate under the League of Nations. A practicable compromise would be to police the Bagdad Railway so that troops, though few, could be rapidly concentrated.

GENDARMERIE SCHEME.

Under these circumstances the Supreme Council is turning for a solution to the gendarmerie principle. It is true that there is practically nothing good to be said for the Turkish gendarmerie as it has been known in the past, but that is held to be due to the fact that the Turks have consistently enlisted Moslems and sent them to do their worst among Christian populations.

Under the proposal now being considered, the gendarmerie would be officered by Allied soldiers, and recruited from the population of each district, Moslems and Christians being embodied in a rough relation to the distribution of the two faiths among the people of the area. So far as possible, Turkey will of course be disarmed, but that can obviously apply only to artillery, aeroplanes, and perhaps, machine-guns. No general surrender of rifles could be enforced, though, since Turkey comes under the Arms Convention signed by the principal Allies, it may be possible to control any future import of arms into the country.

Armenia, in this connection, will have separate treatment. The exact area of the country is still undetermined (it will, of course, adjoin the already recognised Erivan), one important factor being the view held in some quarters that it is to the interest of the Armenians themselves to concentrate the population in a com-

paratively limited area for purposes of defence.

In any case, there is every intention of assisting the Armenians, by the provision of arms and probably of instructors, to provide so far as possible for the own protection. How far Allied troops can be furnished for this purpose depends, in part on the commitments of the Allies elsewhere, and in part on the willingness of the Allied peoples to face the addition to their army estimates necessarily involved in such a provision. H. W. H.

TURK CABINET RESIGNS.

Action Forced by the Gravity of the Situation.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Tuesday (delayed).

It is announced that in view of the gravity of the situation the Cabinet has resigned and the Sultan has called upon Marshal Izzet Pasha to form a new Cabinet.—Reuter.

[Izzet Pasha has been described as the evil genius of Abdul Hamid. He was regarded as the instigator of the Armenian massacres which occurred under Abdul's rule, and when the revolution occurred in July, 1908, he fled—on a British steamer. He was amnestied in 1912, and returned to Constantinople in 1914, when he proved himself strongly Germanophile. In 1918 he became Grand Vizier and Minister of War.]

The discussion of the Turkish Peace Terms was continued by the Council of Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers at the Foreign Office yesterday morning.

It is now understood that Thrace will go to Greece, but that arrangements will be made to put the sacred places in Adrianople under Turkish control. Smyrna will probably be under Greek control.

There was no further news yesterday concerning the reported attack by Turkish Nationalists on Rodosto. "The Daily News" learns, however, that on Feb. 19 the Turks threatened to prevent the Allies by force from moving a detachment of troops from Ismid (Asia Minor) 55 miles east of Constantinople. Several British cruisers and infantry reinforcements arrived next morning, and a simultaneous notification was given to the Turkish Commander at Ismid and the Minister of War at Constantinople that force would be used unless the Allied orders were immediately complied with. The Turks at once gave way.

ALLIES' ANXIETY.

Alive to Need of Taking Very Strong Action.

Sir Donald Maclean in the House of Commons yesterday asked the Prime Minister whether he could give any further information with regard to the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks, and what steps were being taken by the Government or the French Government for their protection.

Major David Davies asked whether in the event of further massacres the Supreme Council would consider the advisability of making Constantinople a free city under the League of Nations.

Mr. Lloyd George: These matters are under discussion by the Allied Governments, and between them and their representatives at Constantinople.

Mr. Asquith: Will the Government take steps to keep the House and the public fully informed, as far as they can, of the course of events in that part of the world in order to relieve the grave and general anxiety in this country?

Mr. Lloyd George: I can assure my right hon. friend that that anxiety is shared by the Government, and all the representatives of the Allies. Since we received the very serious news about the massacres in Armenia it has been the subject of very anxious consideration by the Allied Conference. They came to a decision which was communicated to their representatives at Constantinople. It would be inadvisable at the present moment to communicate to the public the character of that decision, because we are waiting for advice from our representatives.

We are fully alive to the gravity of the position and to the need of taking very strong action to protect the minorities so far as we can in a country of this kind.

BRITISH MILITARY COMMITMENTS.

In issuing invitations to a meeting at the House of Commons next Thursday, to be addressed by two experts in the affairs of the Middle East, the Army Committee urges that, in view of the serious character of the present military situation in Asia, and the new obligations that will fall upon this country in defending her frontiers, the whole question should be raised at the earliest opportunity. "The present lack of information concerning British commitments in the Near and Middle East may lead," it is added, "to a serious misconception in regard to the forces that will have to be retained in defence of those territories."

January figures, now ascertained, show an increase of about 5s. per ton over the average for November and December, 1919, the figures adopted by us for estimating for January to March, 1920, we do not consider that it would be right to adopt the January prices, because even if prices to March 31, 1920, are maintained at the January level, that gain arising therefrom on the reduced quantity to be exported would, in our opinion, be counterbalanced by the probability of our costs having, as already indicated, been under-estimated.

"We therefore consider that our estimate is still a fair and reasonable estimate."

RAILWAY CHAOS.

Mr. J. H. Thomas's Arguments for Nationalisation.

Mr. J. H. Thomas was the guest last night of the Economic and Political Circle of the National Liberal Club, and discussed the advantages which he claimed would follow from nationalisation of our railway system, combined with joint control.

He contended that a system of Government control which effected no real change in the system of management, but which guaranteed the high-water mark of dividend without giving any voice in the matter to the taxpayer, simply promoted inefficiency and eliminated initiative.

It was absurd to describe this system as nationalisation in the sense in which the railwaymen used the word, and he laid stress on the fact that Labour, having had no share in the control, could not be saddled with any of the responsibility for results.

The individual companies had spent £200,000,000 in fighting each other's schemes. They had failed to organise a system suitable for rural districts, so that the collection and distribution of agricultural produce could be perfected; they had wasted immense sums by refusing to use pool waggons, and by adopting diverse types of engines, coaches, waggons, and equipment.

A thousand directors had managed the affairs of 130 companies, and not 2 per cent. of them had been appointed because they possessed knowledge and experience of railway management. In fact, Mr. Thomas declared generally, waste and inefficiency on an enormous scale were inherent in the system.

The most efficient service would only be got from the railways when they were nationalised, and the workers were given a full share in the management.

Incidentally Mr. Thomas mentioned that he started work at the age of nine, as a cleaner and a driver.

part on the commitments of the Allies furnished for this purpose depends in of section. How far Allied troops can be provide so far as possible for the own provision of arms and probably of instructors, to assisting the Armenians, by the provision of In any case, there is every intention of defence. paratively limited area for purposes of

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"EVIL GENIUS" TO
MINISTRY.

levan Methodist Church on Wednesday passed the following resolution: "That the Committee of Privileges of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, having recorded from time to time its abhorrence of the massacres of Christians within the Turkish Empire, repeats its expressions of indignation at the recurrence of these outrages and calls emphatically for steps to be taken by the Peace Conference to secure freedom for the people of Armenia, giving them free access and control over a port on the Black Sea.

"That, while recognising the difficulties in which the future of Constantinople is now involved, the Committee regards the continued presence of the Turkish Government in Constantinople as one of the gravest dangers to the peace of S.E. Europe, and that, whether by mandate or commission or otherwise, the Government of Constantinople and the Straits should be under control of the League of Nations."

POLITICAL NOTES.

Mr. Asquith, on rising to put a supplementary to the Prime Minister at question time yesterday afternoon, was received with general applause.

As was foreshadowed by our Parliamentary Correspondent, the Government will on Monday move a resolution allocating the time to be allowed for the discussion of financial business between now and the adjournment for the Easter recess.

THE WOMAN'S VOTE.

The Labour Party is making a new move with the object of stimulating the activities of working women in Labour politics, and focussing public attention on some of the women's most urgent needs.

A national conference of Labour women is to be held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, London, on April 21 and 22, under the auspices of the Labour Party, and with the co-operation of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's organisations.

SENATE AND SHANTUNG.

WASHINGTON, Thursday. — The Senate made the first change in the Republican reservations to-day, when it voted to strike out from the Shantung reservation all reference to Japan and China. Senator Lodge told the Senate that the modification was thought "more civil."—Reuter.

BILLIARDS: CLOSING SCORES.

Falkiner (rec. 1,500), 12,598 (breaks 164, 410, 450, 156); Inman (to play), 12,499 (breaks 235, 139, 143, 104, 129).

Newman (rec. 1,500), in play, 13,585 (breaks 156, 143, 101, 123, 435); Reeca (rec. 1,500), 6,000 (breaks 172, 131).

LONDON MARKETS.

RUBBER.—Plantation crepe spot sold 2/7-2/6 1/2; March 2/7-2/6 1/2; Apr.-June 2/7 1/2-2/7 1/2; July-Sept. 2/7 1/2-2/7 1/2; Standard ribbed smoked sheet spot sold 2/7. Fine hard Para spot 2/6 1/2 lb. OILS.—Lined steader, spot not made, sold 128/-; April 128/-; May-June 120/6; May-Aug 117/3; China Wood Block spot sold 146/6; Hong Kong 126/-; Cokernut, Cochin affoot quoted 125/-; Ceylon 120/-; Singapore 119/-; Japanese and Java Mar.-Apr. 156/-; Palm, softs Mar.-Apr. 95/6; Lagos 66/6; Palma kernels 130/-; Bapa, Cotton, Soya and castor oils unaltered. Turps, quiet. Amer. spot 215/-; May-Aug 170/-; July-Dec. 142/- cwt. Petroleum and rosin remained without change.

OILSEEDS.—Lined steader, Plate Jan.-Feb. quoted 252; Feb.-Mar. 248 5/-; Mar.-Apr. 247; Apr.-May 246. Rapeseed, gill. Toria Mar.-May Hull sellers 254; Antwerp 255 10/-; Cottonseed, slow Egypt, L.A.G. to London Mar. quoted 226 10/-; Saxe-larides 225 10/-; Bombay spot 220; Hull 220; Mar.-Apr. 224; Gungally, Chinese Antwerp-Rotterdam Feb.-Mar. 225 10/-; Castor, Brazilian Mar.-Apr. Liverpool 228 ton.

HAY & STRAW.—Market remains quiet, with liberal supplies available. Best hay, clover, and mixtures quoted 215 10/-; white straw ranges from 100/- to 120/-; sea delivered, according to quality and description.

POTATOES.—King Edwards quoted 16/-16/6; British Queen 15/-15/6; Arran Chief 13/6-14/-; Blacklands 12/6-13/- cwt. FISH.—Billingsgate.—Salmon, Eng. 2/11-3/-; Scot. 3/-; Irish 2/9-2/10; salmon trout 2/-2/6; sole 1/3-1/10; eel 1/2-1/6; red mullet 1/9-2/8; lobsters 1/3-2/-; crabs 8d-9d. D. dorvya 4/-7/-; turbot 11/-14/-; brill 9/-11/-; plaice 8/-11/-; haddock 14/-21/-; selected lemon sole 18/-; whiting 10/-12/-; large mackerel 7/-; cod 4/-7/-; whiting 5/-7/-; hake 7/6-10/6; hake 5/-5/6; gurnet 6/-; ling 3/6; haddock 2/-6; codfish 2/-; catfish 7/-; skate wings 5/-6; bream 4/-; roker wings 7/6-9/6; monkfish 4/-4/6; conger eels 4/-5/6; Scot. fresh herrings 4/-; Norway 2/6; Scot. salted 3/6; cured haddock 8/6-10/6; blotters 3/6-5/-; sippers 2/6-6/-; native eels 10/-20/-; 100.

EGGS.—23/6-35/-; Irish 33/-34/-; 120.



LE TEMPS 16 5 mars 1920



Les frontières de l'Arménie

L'agence Reuter annonce que la délégation arménienne, qui a présenté ses revendications à la commission de délimitation des frontières, est satisfaite du résultat et s'attend à ce que le minimum des revendications avancées par l'Arménie reçoive l'appui de toutes les puissances alliées.

MARASH MASSACRE.

American's Terrible Story of Fire and Sword.

24,000 ARMENIANS PERISH.

Reported Preparations For A New Turkish Mobilisation.

The Allied Council had again under consideration yesterday the terms of the Peace Treaty with Turkey, but all information regarding the future of Constantinople is still withheld.

Meanwhile, it is reported from Constantinople that in case the Allied terms are considered by the Turks to be too hard, the Turkish War Office "is preparing for a mobilisation in case of necessity." It is pointed out that this would be a breach of the Armistice.

Previous reports of the terrible massacre of Armenians at Marash are more than confirmed to-day by the account of an American eye-witness, which is printed below. The Turkish troops bombarded the city, day and night, while hundreds of Armenians were shot down, and scores of women and children were butchered. It is estimated that no fewer than 23,000 Armenians perished in Marash and 1,000 on the march from the city.

FIGHT FOR THE CITY.

Scores of Women and Children Butchered.

PARIS, March 5.

An eye-witness's account of the massacre of the Armenians at Marash, and the fighting between the French troops and the Turks which preceded it, has been received here in a telegram from a correspondent of the Associated Press, dated Adana, March 1.

Even in the recent years of warfare few non-combatants have undergone a more nerve-racking experience than that of the 17 American relief workers who were shut up for 22 days without any communication with the outside world, in the mission compound at Marash, where they were under a constant hail of shot and shell, while French troops, aided by Armenians, battled with the Turkish Nationalists for possession of the city, more than half of which was burned during the fighting, with terrible loss of life.

CITY BOMBARDED.

Mr. Crathern, one of the Americans, accompanied by three men, one lady, and a French lieutenant, first tried to leave Marash for Aintab (50 miles S.E. of Marash) by motor-car on Jan. 20, but the party was driven back to Marash by a fusillade of bullets from the hills, in spite of a free display of the American flag. The day after their return to the city, shooting began in all parts of the city, two French soldiers being killed. Sniping continued throughout the night, and the following morning the American hospital was attacked by shell fire, the doctors and nurses having a narrow escape. All day on Jan. 23 the fighting continued, the Armenians fleeing through the streets before the Turks, who shot them down, while other Turks ensconced among the surrounding hills picked off fugitives attempting to leave the town.

Mr. Crathern described how the Armenians came "staggering into the mission grounds with wild eyes and distorted faces, and telling of the awful massacres which were just beginning."

DANTE'S INFERNO.

In spite of the efforts of the French to secure a cessation of hostilities, the Turks continued to bombard the city day and night, while all the compounds were filled with frightened refugees. The American flag was hoisted, but a dozen guns opened fire on it, 33 shots being counted in one minute, while many machine-guns were also brought into action. The general scene, says Mr. Crathern, reminded one of pictures of Dante's Inferno.

One of the entries in his diary reads: "News came to-day that scores of women and children—a hundred in one house—had been butchered with knives and hatchets. After the men had been taken outside and shot, the women surrendered under promises of protection, but were betrayed."

AEROPLANE'S GOOD NEWS.

The siege and the firing continued for some days, shells falling on the hospital roof, and the Turks trying to fire the Bartell Orphanage. Bullets were continually entering the American buildings, and starvation threatened the city. The account proceeds:

"As the days progressed the position became more and more tragic, but the Americans decided to stay on at all hazards and not desert their post. On the 5th the French killed their horses and mules, and the garrison had roast mule for dinner."

On Feb. 6 Mr. Crathern wrote: "This is the eighteenth day of the siege of Marash, and to-day we had a joyful surprise. An aeroplane flew over the city and dropped several messages, which much cheered us, as we now know we are not forgotten. On Feb. 7 reinforcements finally arrived, and fought their way into the city. The guns in the plain are shelling the hills. All the 80 girls in the rescue home were killed to-day, the Turks afterwards firing the building."

BATTLE IN THE PLAIN.

"We spent the day watching the battle in the plain, and followed with breathless interest the attempt of the French relieving troops to establish connection with the French forces in the barracks, which they finally succeeded in doing. On Feb. 9 Querette (the French officer) informed the Americans he had orders to evacuate the city at midnight. This news caused the wildest alarm among the women and children, already crazed with fear. The Armenians in the compounds were frantic and desperate, and determined to leave the city at the same time as the French, as they feared a general massacre, and the Americans did their best to fit them out for the journey, giving them all the food and cloth they could spare."

The troops and refugees left the burning city at night, in bitterly cold weather, on their 75 mile march over mountains and plain. The column moved on steadily, but many of the weak dropped

by the wayside, to freeze or starve to death. At halts the column had to camp in the open. On February 13 a terrible snowstorm raged all night, increasing to a blizzard at dawn as the column resumed its march, and for six hours soldiers and civilians made their way through snow-drifts in the teeth of a violent gale, many giving up the fight and falling by the wayside through sheer exhaustion. It was estimated that over 1,000 refugees perished before reaching Islahie.

In conclusion, Mr. Crathern estimates that 23,000 Armenians perished at Marash.—Reuter's Special.

[Marash is about 95 miles N. by W. of Aleppo and had a population of some 50,000.]

NEW TURKISH DANGER.

Sultan's War Office Prepares for Mobilisation.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Thursday.

The fall of the Ali Riza Cabinet, which had been foreseen and has surprised nobody, is due to numerous causes, both internal and external.

The Sultan has accepted its resignation, but Marshal Izzet Pasha has not yet accepted the task of forming a new Ministry.

The advent to power of a purely Nationalist Cabinet would indicate what the Powers may expect in the event of what to the Turks would seem

hard peace terms being imposed. It is indeed understood that the Turkish War Office is preparing for a mobilisation in case of necessity. This would naturally be contrary to the terms of the Armistice.

Yesterday's news indicating the possibility of the Supreme Council reconsidering its decision to leave the Turks in Constantinople in consequence of the latest massacre of the Armenians in Cilicia has produced the most painful impression. The massacres are attributed here to disturbances by Armenian agitators.—Reuter.

ALLIED COUNCIL.

A further meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors was held at the Foreign Office yesterday afternoon, under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State, to continue the discussion of the terms of the Peace Treaty with Turkey. There were present Earl Curzon, M. Cambon and M. Berthelot, M. Scialoja and the Marquis Imperiali, Viscount Chinda and various financial and other experts.

A CAUSE OF STRIFE.

Lord Robert Cecil, speaking at a meeting in Kingsway Hall, last night, said he hoped that Constantinople and the Straits would be placed under international control by the League of Nations, and not by groups of nations, however powerful. This control had been the great prize for which many nations had been hoping, and for which many nations were intriguing in a rather sordid and disreputable way, and this was one of the main causes of unrest and international animosity which had arisen over what used to be called the Eastern question. The whole thing should be removed from the sphere of international covetousness.



Izzet Pasha.

Pattishall F.O.W. Camp, Eastcote	23rd, 24th & 25th March	Wise & Bowerman, 4, Horse Fair, Banbury, Oxon.
Lilbourne Aerodrome, near Rugby	Not fixed	Stylos & Whitlock, Bank Street, Rugby.
NORTHUMBERLAND		
Cramlington Aerodrome	24th March	Herbert Hines, 46, Pilgrims Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Gloucester Lodge, Blyth	Not fixed	T. C. Heatley, 40, Bridge Street, Blyth.
Ainwick Camp, "A," "B," "C" and "D" Lines	15th & 19th March	R. Donkin, Bothbury, near Ainwick.
Gosforth Gun and Light Stations	18th March	R. & W. Mack, Blackett Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE		
Rosscliffe Rifle Range	Not fixed	Walker, Walter & Hanson, Nottingham.
OXFORDSHIRE		
Bicester Aerodrome	26th March	Buckell & Ballard, Oxford.
SHEREPSHIRE		
Press Heath Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7 Camps, nr. Whitechurch	24th and 25th March	Hall, Wateridge & Owen, High Street, Shrewsbury.
Press Heath, Nos. 8, 9 and 10 Camps, nr. Whitechurch	Not fixed	Hall, Wateridge & Owen, High Street, Shrewsbury.
SOMERSET		
Esodhill Park, Bishop's Lydeard, near Taunton	22nd March	Riaden & Liversha, Taunton.
Portbury, nr. Bristol	7th, 8th and 9th April	Geo. Nichols, Young, Hunt & Co., Colston Avenue, Bristol.
STAFFORDSHIRE		
Rugeley Camp, Nos. 1 to 10 and 13 Lines	(Nos. 3 and 13 Lines) 15th and 17th March	Evans & Evans, Bank House, Stafford
SUFFOLK		
Felixstowe District Camps	12th March	Robt. Bond & Sons, 6, Butter Market, Ipswich.
SURREY		
L.C.C. Hospital, Horton Lane, Epsom	23rd March	A. H. Davis, 19, Hanover Square, W.L.
Redhill, Reigate and District	22nd, 23rd and 24th March	Tyrell J. Holdsworth, Reigate.
Miford Camp 3rd Sale	22nd March	C. Bridger & Son, Handymen, Surrey.
North Witley Camp (4th Sale)	12th April	
Richmond Park, A.G.S., Beverley Brook	Not fixed	Allison & Co., 141, Park Road, Regent's Park, N.W.8.
SUSSEX		
Forest Row, Ashdown Forest	17th and 18th March	Langridge & Freeman, Tunbridge Wells.
Newhaven and Brighton District	31st March	W. H. T. Collins, 6, Old Steine, Brighton.
WARWICKSHIRE		
Birmingham District	Not fixed	Barr, Son & Thomas, 5, Cherry Street, Birmingham.
WILTSHIRE		
Sandhill Camps, near Warminster	18th and 19th March	D. & D. H. Waddington, Warminster, Wilt.
Chiseldon Camp	7th and 8th April	Wiltshire, Davies & Tod, 37, Regent Street, Swindon.
Fovant A.S.C. Camp	12th April	Woolley & Wallis, Salisbury.
YORKSHIRE		
Halkeswood F.O.W. Camp, Skipton	Not fixed	T. H. Taylor, Skipton.
Helpeby Camp	24th March	Seth. Kirby & Son, Market Place, Thirsk.
Redmires, near Sheffield	24th March	Bush & Co., Church Street, Sheffield.
Acorn Hall, near York	17th March	T. Walker & Son, New Street, York.
Intake, Parkwood, Grewstones, and Ryecroft Gun and Light Stations	15th to 18th March	Bush & Co., Church Street, Sheffield.
Kilnsea Barrack, Hull	March	Anderton & Linnell, Cliff Street Chambers, Bridlington.
	March	A. Preston Thomas, Holyhead.
	March	T. W. Griffith, Town Hall Chambers, Landudno.
	fixed	Diggory, Owen & Evans, Corwen.
	March	Bowling Bros., Pembroke Dock.
	April	Evans & Roach, Milford Haven.
	fixed	Evans & Roach, Milford Haven.
	fixed	J. Croll & Son, Ltd., Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.
	March	Marshall & Johnston, 14, St. Clements Lane, Dundee.
	March	A. C. Robertson, 10, Barnton Street, Stirling.
	March	Shirlaw & Allen & Co., Keith Street, Hamilton.
	fixed	Shirlaw & Allen & Co., Keith Street, Hamilton.
	March	L. S. Smellie & Son, Ltd., 5, Church Street, Hamilton.
	March	G. M. Cameron, Avoch, Ross-shire.
	March	Speeie Bros., Ltd., Stirling.

AND PRIVATE TREATY.

Application for further particulars, Forms of Tender, etc., to be made to:—

The Controller, Huts and Building Materials Section, Surplus Government Property Disposal Board, 76, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

MARASH MASSACRE.

American's Terrible Story of Fire and Sword.

ARMENIANS PERISH.

Mobilisation For A New

C.R.

Armenia
 Manchester Guardian 9th March 1920.

The Armenian Question.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE told the House of Commons yesterday that the French Government were taking the requisite steps for the defence of Cilicia by the despatch of ships and "powerful reinforcements." Mr. GEORGE announced at the same time that "identical instructions for immediate and drastic action" at Constantinople have been sent by the Governments of France, Italy, and Great Britain, though he preferred not at present to specify the character of these instructions. It was certainly time. Whether the precise number of Armenians massacred at Marash be 18,000 or only 15,000, as the PRIME MINISTER optimistically prefers to think, they were Armenians under special promise of Allied, and specifically French, protection. These questions of numbers always arise after a Turkish massacre. We have been familiar with them any time these twenty-five years. Defenders of the Turks have laboured to prove that only five thousand throats were cut here or only six thousand women ravished there, instead of seven or eight thousand, as may have been asserted at first. Turkish massacres deal in numbers which are too large for ready computation, too large assuredly for the imagination to picture the facts, and, though the Turks have in other respects reduced massacres to a fine art, they have not given close attention to the statistical side. Sir J. D. REES, we see, asked the PRIME MINISTER about the origin of the massacres. We do not precisely understand to which of the series of massacres his question referred. Acts of retaliation have doubtless been carried out by the Armenians. The most peaceable race, when it has been subject to murder or outrage at intervals for years, will occasionally turn upon the persecutor, to the great scandal, it appears, of a certain order of mind. What excuse such reprisals may be supposed to offer for the invasion of Cilicia and the massacre of the Armenians concentrated there, who can hardly be guilty of outrages in Turkish territory, we do not understand. We note that the members of the Caliphate Delegation ask for an impartial inquiry into the events at Van, Bitlis, and Erzeroum in 1915. We do not know whether they would like to see more extensive and more detailed reports of the entire dealings of Turks with Armenians and Armenians with Turks during the war. It could hardly help the cause of the Turks. But they may in any case do well to remember that if the Armenians rebelled or attempted to rebel in 1915 they were acting on the side of the Allies, and, whatever view a neutral might take, for the Allies this only constitutes an additional reason for protecting them from Turkish vengeance. There is a certain innocence of mind betrayed in the demand of the Delegation for impartial investigation of Armenian horrors. If they visit the Foreign Office Library they would find shelves stacked with such reports by impartial European and American observers, neatly tabulating, as though they were the figures of cotton or steel exports, the numbers of men, women, and children killed, maimed, outraged, of houses burnt, villages destroyed, and so forth, from 1894 onwards. We have had enough investigation in the past, and while we investigated the Turks massacred. Let us now put a stop to massacre and then investigate

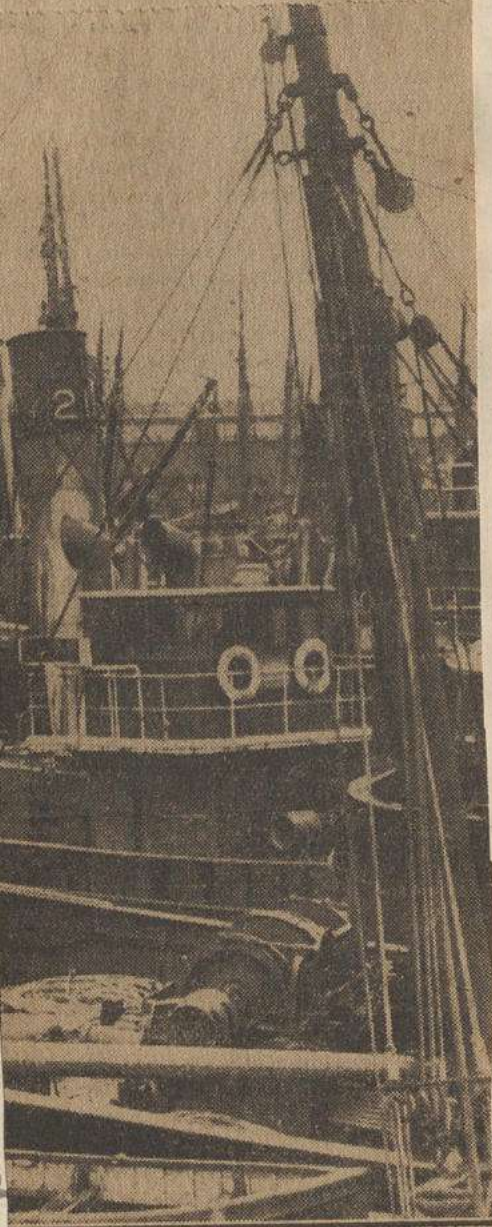
ally prefers to think, they were Armenians under special promise of Allied, and specifically French, protection. These questions of numbers always arise after a Turkish massacre. We have been familiar with them any time these twenty-five years. Defenders of the Turks have laboured to prove that only five thousand throats were cut here or only six thousand women ravished there, instead of seven or eight thousand, as may have been asserted at first. Turkish massacres deal in numbers which are too large for ready computation, too large assuredly for the imagination to picture the facts, and, though the Turks have in other respects reduced massacres to a fine art, they have not given close attention to the statistical side. Sir J. D. REES, we see, asked the PRIME MINISTER about the origin of the massacres. We do not precisely understand to which of the series of massacres his question referred. Acts of retaliation have doubtless been carried out by the Armenians. The most peaceable race, when it has been subject to murder or outrage at intervals for years, will occasionally turn upon the persecutor, to the great scandal, it appears, of a certain order of mind. What excuse such reprisals may be supposed to offer for the invasion of Cilicia and the massacre of the Armenians concentrated there, who can hardly be guilty of outrages in Turkish territory, we do not understand. We note that the members of the Caliphate Delegation ask for an impartial inquiry into the events at Van, Bitlis, and Erzeroum in 1915. We do not know whether they would like to see more extensive and more detailed reports of the entire dealings of Turks with Armenians and Armenians with Turks during the war. It could hardly help the cause of the Turks. But they may in any case do well to remember that if the Armenians rebelled or attempted to rebel in 1915 they were acting on the side of the Allies, and, whatever view a neutral might take, for the Allies this only constitutes an additional reason for protecting them from Turkish vengeance. There is a certain innocence of mind betrayed in the demand of the Delegation for impartial investigation of Armenian horrors. If they visit the Foreign Office Library they would find shelves stacked with such reports by impartial European and American observers, neatly tabulating, as though they were the figures of cotton or steel exports, the numbers of men, women, and children killed, maimed, outraged, of houses burnt, villages destroyed, and so forth, from 1894 onwards. We have had enough investigation in the past, and while we investigated the Turks massacred. Let us now put a stop to massacre and then investigate as much as we please. Indeed, we hope that before we have done judicial investigation will be necessary with a view to the punishment of the worst individual offenders.

We cannot but think that Moslem leaders are ill-advised to associate the question of the Caliphate with the question of massacre. There is every desire to have regard to Moslem feeling on the position of the SULTAN and of Constantinople. But there are some things which cannot be done. We could not, as Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said weeks ago, leave the Turk, after what has passed, in possession of the Straits. With great difficulty, for the sake of Moslem sentiment, public opinion was induced to acquiesce in his retention in Constantinople. It acquiesced in full consciousness that in so doing it was sowing the seeds of future intrigue and possible war. Yet it acquiesced, provided always that the passage of the Straits could be secured and that the safety of the Christians in Turkey could be guaranteed. But the first reaction of the announcement that the Turks were to remain in Constantinople was apparently to encourage the renewal of the massacres. The massacre, accordingly, and the invasion of Cilicia must be taken definitely as cancelling any assurances that have been given and reopening the whole question. As an immediate step not only will the French have to clear Cilicia, but there will have to be an effective occupation of Constantinople. We must test the question, raised by advocates of the Turks, whether the accessibility of Constantinople to Allied pressure will enable us indirectly to curb misgovernment in Asia Minor. The Turks' friends may rejoice that their arguments are so soon to be put to the test. Let us hope they will prove sound and that by sufficiently drastic measures at Constantinople it may turn out practically possible to save the remnant of the Armenian people. The week-end was punctuated with more or less authoritative reports of the concentration of forces upon the capital. Mr. LLOYD GEORGE would vouchsafe no detailed information on the subject yesterday, and we have not yet the means of knowing whether the preparations made are adequate or whether the Governments are following the accustomed course of underestimating the enemy. We are, however, entitled to assume that the need of decisive action is now realised and that the insult to the French flag has done what no plea for defenceless Christians could avail to do.

As to the future, we continue to attach much less importance to the position of the SULTAN than to the fair treatment of his subjects or ex-subjects. We recognise with regret that Moslem feeling, accepting his somewhat doubtful claim to the Caliphate, attaches great importance to everything affecting his dignity and power. We would therefore, in all matters of form—in all matters that do not vitally concern the future of Europe or the immediate calls of humanity,—do everything possible to meet that sentiment. If the Indian Moslems asked for complete justice in their own land, and the stern punishment of the very faintest and feeblest imitation of the Turkish methods there, we should have every sympathy with their demand for absolute equality of treatment. We cannot, however, think that any shortcomings on the part of our rule in India are properly compensated by allowing the sentiment of Indian Moslems to control the disposition of affairs in Europe or Anatolia. The Indian Moslem has hardly the means of instructing himself so fully on the importance of the Straits in the history of Europe as we have, nor has he had the same occasion to follow out the lurid story of the relation of the Turk to his subjects. The Indian Moslem is the representative of a noble and ancient civilisation. It is a pity that he should look to the chief of a barbarous horde, which destroyed a great part of the Moslem civilisation itself and in Europe has never been known but as a destroyer, as the head of his faith and the object of a quasi-religious veneration. But seeing that many Moslems do so look upon the matter we feel bound to do all we can to prove our respect for their sentiment. But on their side they must understand that there are some things that we cannot do—and chiefly, we cannot again abandon the persecuted Armenian people.

the textile trades have to meet the coming advance in the operatives' wages it is to be hoped that they will this time consider the office staff—the cashiers, correspondents, and bookkeepers,—who have usually been overlooked. These men's interests are identical with those of the operatives, but unfortunately they have no powerful union to press their just claims. In the cotton trade at any rate office workers have not participated in the wages advances to the same extent as the manual workers. It was generally worked this way. If the operatives got 25 per cent, the office staff got 10 per cent (if it was lucky), the employers apparently seeking to save at the expense of the few unorganised employees what they are compelled to pay to the greater number of organised operatives. Would it not be possible for one of the big unions to extend their activities in the interests of men in the positions mentioned?

£250 Income Tax Limit.—"Spinster" writes from West Didsbury:—It is surely iniquitous to tax the unmarried living on a fixed or unearned income to pay for the pleasures of the married living on incomes at present being earned in business or on largely increased wage or salary. I am speaking as a woman, unmarried, middle aged, living on a fixed so-called unearned income, and I must say we are in hard case. In



of skippers and mates. The photograph

spindles under his care, the same number of ends to keep up, the same number of cops to look after.

If the millowner dealt with the spinner as the spinner deals with the big-piecer the whole of the Operative Spinners' Amalgamation would rebel against it and stop every mill in Lancashire. Yet this arbitrary relationship between the piecer and the spinner has been allowed to go on for generations. The whole of the trade union movement has been silent on the question. When I was secretary of the Lancashire Cotton Piecers' Association we tried to elicit the sympathy of other trade unions, but it was all in vain. I know that big-piecers are paid much better to-day than they used to be, but on the whole the payment is still less than half of that of the spinner, and it is not at all uncommon to find piecers who are older than the spinners.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

We have received the following books, &c.:

From the Clarendon Press, Oxford:
RAPPOETS. — VITS AUX CONFÉRENCES DE LA HAYE DE 1899 à 1907. Avec une introduction de James Brown Scott. Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale. 15s. net.

From W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge.
THE SUNG EUCHARIST. A Commentary on the Solemn Celebration of the Holy Mysteries. By the Rev. John C. H. How, M.A. 2s. net.—**A LITTLE GUIDE TO EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP.** By B. T. D. Smith. 1s. net.—**THE UNCLOSED VISION.** Compiled by M. C. J. 2s. net.

From Jarrolds:
OMNIANA. The Autobiography of an Irish Octogenarian. By J. F. Palmer. New and enlarged edition. 12s. 6d. net.

From the Kingsgate Press:
THE CHURCHES AT THE CROSS-ROADS. A Study in Church Unity. By J. H. Shakespeare, M.A. Popular edition. 3s. net.

*Arrived
 9th March 1920.*

G.R.

Armenia.

The Times

March 15th 1920

AMERICA AND ARMENIA.

MR. BALFOUR ON BRITAIN'S PART.

We have received copies of telegrams exchanged between Mr. J. W. Gerard, former American Ambassador in Berlin, and Mr. Balfour, the substance of which we append:—

In a telegram addressed to Mr. Balfour, Mr. Gerard asserted that treaties for the partition of Armenia had been concluded during Mr. Balfour's tenure of the post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs and at a time when Allied leaders and statesmen had adopted the principle of self-determination of peoples as their principal war cry. He expresses distress over news that the Allies might cut up Armenia, and says that 20,000 ministers, 85 bishops, 250 college and university presidents, and 40 governors who had "gone on record in favour of integral Armenia will be asked to join in condemnation of decimation of Armenia." He adds that Americans had given £6,000,000 for Armenian relief, and that another £6,000,000 has been asked for. Americans were desirous of aiding Armenia during her formative period. "Ten members of our Committee, including Mr. Hughes and Mr. Root, and with the approval of Senator Lodge, had telegraphed to the President that America should aid Armenia. We are earnestly anxious that Britain should seriously consider American opinion on the Armenian case. Can you not postpone consideration of the Turkish question until after ratification of the Treaty by the Senate, which is likely to take place before March 1?"

MR. BALFOUR'S REPLY.

Mr. Balfour in his reply, dispatched *en clair* on February 24, said:—

1. In reply to your telegram of February 15, I should observe that the first paragraph seems written under a misapprehension. I concluded no treaties about Armenia at all.

2. I do not understand why Great Britain will be held responsible by 20,000 ministers of religion, 85 bishops, 250 University presidents, and 40 governors, if a Greater Armenia is not forthwith created, including Russian Armenia on the north and stretching to the Mediterranean on the south.

Permit me to remind you of the facts.

1. Great Britain has no interests in Armenia, except those based on humanitarian grounds. In this respect her position is precisely that of the United States.

2. I have always urged, whenever I had an opportunity, that the United States should take its share in the burden of improving conditions in the pre-war territories of the Turkish Empire, and, in particular, that it should become the mandatory in Armenia. Events over which Great Britain had no control have prevented this consummation, and have delayed, with most unhappy results, the settlement of the Turkish peace.

3. There appears to be great misconception as to the condition of affairs in Armenia. You make appeal in your first sentence to the principle of self-determination. If this is taken in its ordinary meaning as referring to the wishes of the majority actually inhabiting a district, it must be remembered that in vast regions of Greater Armenia the inhabitants are overwhelmingly Musulman, and if allowed to vote would certainly vote against the Armenians.

I do not think this conclusive; but it must not be forgotten. Whoever undertakes, in your own words, to aid Armenia during her formative period must, I fear, be prepared to use military force. Great Britain finds the utmost difficulty in carrying out the responsibilities she has already undertaken. She cannot add Armenia to their number. America, with her vast population and undiminished resources, and no fresh responsibilities thrown upon her by the war, is much more fortunately situated. She has shown herself most generous towards these much oppressed people; but I greatly fear that even the most lavish charity, unsupported by political and military assistance, will prove quite insufficient to deal with the unhappy consequences of Turkish cruelty and misrule.

If I am right in inferring from your telegram that my attitude on the question has been somewhat misunderstood in America, I should be grateful if you would give publicity to this reply.

MR. GERARD'S REJOINDER.

On February 28 Mr. Gerard telegraphed to Mr. Balfour:

In referring to treaties made during Mr. Balfour's period of office, he says he had in mind the Sykes-Picot compact. After saying that Great Britain and France could not be justified in requiring American aid to Armenia as a condition precedent to their doing justice to Armenia, he declares:—"We believe Armenians' plight since 1878 is not unrelated to series of arrangements, well meant no doubt, in which Great Britain played directive rôle." He expresses the view that Armenia can be saved. Existing artificial conditions must be cured by repatriation, emigration, and immigration. In 1914 there was an Armenian population of 1,400,000 in Turkish Armenia, constituting about 40 per cent. of the population. One half of Armenians had been destroyed and possibly 30 per cent. of Moslems had perished. He sketches the manner in which the adjustment might be effected in order that the Armenian population could be a majority within area claimed by the Armenians.

"Our faith in chivalry of Great Britain and France and our deliberate conviction in ultimate inexpediency of allowing Turkish threat to override concerted will of Western civilization through further sacrifice of Armenia inspire us to plead with you to construe every disadvantage in favour of Armenia, and ask you to plan to aid her toward fulfilment of her legitimate aspirations, meanwhile depending on us to assume our share in due time, bearing in mind imperative necessity of continued concord that must exist between our democracies for our respective benefit and for that of the world."

annually, and the shallow lakes—Victoria Nyanza and Kioga—are extending their area because of silting up and filling with the beginnings of sudd islands. From the air the Nile seems now a river rising to the Ripon Falls, but a continuous system from Tabora to the Mediterranean. Traces of an original deep valley with precipitous walls are visible near Assiut, below Luxor, and at Assuan.

THE NILE BED FILLED.

Following the railway from Wadi Halfa to Abu Hamed the huge cliff lines, submerged at intervals by desert, strike north-east and south-west. The Nile, it seems, ought to follow this course, but it bends south-west. Its proper bed apparently having been filled with the desert. South of Khartum the Nile is struggling to maintain a channel through the silt. It consists of very long, blind and parallel channels, with frequent lateral marshes and floating islands. The whole region to Gondokoro, including the sudd and the original valley, has silted into a vast lake, which is

ally inhabiting a district, and is not a mere passing stream as referring to the wishes of the majority acting as a determining factor. If this is taken in its ordinary meaning, it is a principle of self-determination. You make appeal in your first sentence to the principle of self-determination, but in your second you make appeal to the condition of affairs in Armenia. You make appeal to the condition of affairs in Armenia, but you make appeal to the Turkish peace. There appears to be great misconception as to the Turkish peace. The settlement of the Turkish peace, with most unhappy results, the settlement of which has prevented this consummation, and have Armenia. Events over which Great Britain had no control, that it should become the mandatory in the burden of improving conditions in the present territories of the Turkish Empire, and in particular, that the United States should take its share in the burden of improving conditions in the present territories of the Turkish Empire, whenever I had an opportunity to do so. I have always urged, whenever I had an opportunity to do so, that the United States should take its share in the burden of improving conditions in the present territories of the Turkish Empire, whenever I had an opportunity to do so. I have always urged, whenever I had an opportunity to do so, that the United States should take its share in the burden of improving conditions in the present territories of the Turkish Empire, whenever I had an opportunity to do so.

MR. BALFOUR'S REPLY.

Mr. Balfour in his reply, dispatched on March 15, 1920, said:—
1. In reply to your telegram of February 15, I should observe that the first paragraph seems written under a misapprehension. I concluded no treaties about Armenia at all.
2. I do not understand why Great Britain will be held responsible by 20,000 ministers of religion, 85 bishops, 250 University presidents, and 40 governors, if a greater Armenia is not forthwith created, including Russian Armenia on the north and stretching to the Mediterranean on the south.
Permit me to remind you of the facts.
1. Great Britain has no interests in Armenia, except those based on humanitarian grounds. In this respect her position is precisely that of the United States.
2. I have always urged, whenever I had an opportunity to do so, that the United States should take its share in the burden of improving conditions in the present territories of the Turkish Empire, whenever I had an opportunity to do so.

MR. BALFOUR ON BRITAIN'S PART.

AMERICA AND ARMENIA.

March 15th 1920

The Times

Armenia

Daily News March 15th 1920**FUTURE OF ARMENIA.****League of Nations & Question of a Mandate.**

PARIS, Saturday.

One of the questions discussed by the Council of the League of Nations at its private session was a proposal of the Supreme Council to entrust to the League of Nations a mandate for Armenia.—Reuter.

A Reuter's Constantinople telegram states that in an interview the new Grand Vizier expressed the opinion that it was necessary not to give way to pessimism, and that the future status of Constantinople was beyond doubt.

A battle squadron arrived in the Bosphorus on Friday morning.

AN AMERICAN PROTEST.**Mr. Balfour on Delay in Turkish Settlement.**

Mr. J. W. Gerard, formerly United States Ambassador in Berlin, has telegraphed to Mr. Balfour protesting against the proposed partition of Armenia under the Peace Treaty. He states that 20,000 American ministers, 85 bishops, 250 college and University presidents, and 40 governors "join in condemnation of the decimation of Armenia."

In reply Mr. Balfour points out that Great Britain has no interests in Armenia, except those based on humanitarian grounds. In this respect her position is precisely that of the United States. He further states that he has always urged "that the United States should take its share in the burden of improving conditions in the pre-war territories of the Turkish Empire, and, in particular, that it should become the mandatory in Armenia. Events over which Great Britain had no control have prevented this consummation, and have delayed, with most unhappy results, the settlement of the Turkish peace."

On the question of "self-determination" for Armenia, to which Mr. Gerard referred in his telegram, Mr. Balfour refers to a "great misconception" existing in America, and points out that America is in a far better position than Great Britain to undertake a mandate. Whoever undertakes that mandate, he says, must be prepared to use military force. America's generous treatment of the Armenians, Mr. Balfour adds, "unsupported by political and military assistance, will prove quite insufficient to deal with the unhappy consequences of Turkish cruelty and misrule."

In replying, Mr. Gerard says that Americans believe that "the plight of the Armenians is not unrelated to series of arrangements, well meant no doubt, in which Great Britain played directive role." He emphasises the desire of America to help the Armenians and urges Great Britain and France to take certain measures to establish Armenia as a self-supporting nation.

"SULTAN MUST GO."**Trafalgar Square Meeting Calls for Action.**

A considerable crowd, sheltering under umbrellas, was present at yesterday afternoon's demonstration in Trafalgar-square, at which resolutions were carried calling upon the Government to move the Sultan out of Constantinople and in favour of the subject races under the Turkish Empire being placed under the mandate of the League of Nations.

Mr. Aneurin Williams, M.P., presided. The butchery carried out in Armenia by the Turks, he declared, was the worst known to history. The present Turkish Government he described as "a gang of infernal scoundrels and murderers."

A resolution protesting against the massacres was moved by Mr. Noel Buxton. The Armenians, he said, had materially assisted the Allies during the war, and now, instead of protecting them from the murderous Turk, we had betrayed them, largely because of the wire-pulling of Turkish bondholders in Europe. They must force the hands of the Government in this matter so that we might not be called a nation of cads.

The Bishop of London said it was a source of great disappointment to him to hear that the Turk was to remain in Constantinople, and that the Church of St. Sophia was to remain a mosque.

América
Funk Min

SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS.

Sunderland House,
Curzon Street,
LONDON. W. 1.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

20/4/34.

(41/3422/807)

Le Secrétaire Général a l'honneur de transmettre, à titre d'information, aux Membres du Conseil, une copie de la note verbale que, d'après les instructions qui lui ont été données par le Conseil, il a lue et laissée au Président du Conseil des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères et des Ambassadeurs agissant en tant que Conseil Suprême.

Le Président a promis qu'il prendrait des dispositions pour fournir, autant qu'il sera possible, au Conseil de la Société des Nations, tous les renseignements que le Conseil pourra désirer.

le 17 Mars, 1920.

The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit for the information of the Members of the Council, a copy of a Note-Verbale which, in accordance with the instructions given to him by the Council, he read and left with the President of the Council of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors acting as the Supreme Council.

The President promised that he would arrange for all information desired by the Council of the League to be supplied to them as far as it was possible to do so.

17th March, 1920.

NOTE VERBALE

Le Conseil de la Société des Nations m'a donné l'instruction de revenir à Londres aussitôt que possible, afin d'exprimer son nom, certains points de vue, respectivement, au Conseil Suprême des Ministres et Ambassadeurs, au sujet des télégrammes relatifs à la question de la protection des minorités en Turquie, et de l'avenir de l'Etat libre et indépendant d'Arménie. Ces deux télégrammes ont été reçus par le Conseil de la Société vers la fin de la session, samedi matin 13 mars, date à laquelle la réunion devait se terminer.

Le Conseil, malgré d'autres travaux importants a trouvé la possibilité de consacrer un temps considérable à l'examen des questions envisagées dans ces télégrammes. Le Conseil s'est déclaré en sympathie très grande avec le désir exprimé par le Conseil Suprême d'assurer la protection nécessaire des minorités en Turquie et de prendre des mesures effectives pour garantir la liberté et l'indépendance de l'Arménie. Mais, dans l'un ou l'autre cas, le Conseil ne s'est pas trouvé en mesure de donner une réponse immédiate aux demandes formulées par le Conseil Suprême et le Conseil des Ministres et Ambassadeurs, d'abord parce qu'il ne disposait pas du temps suffisant pour examiner complètement ces problèmes, et ensuite parce que, même si le Conseil avait disposé du temps nécessaire, les données indiquées dans les deux télégrammes ne lui semblaient pas suffisantes pour lui permettre de prendre une décision dans des questions très importantes, non seulement en elles-mêmes, mais aussi pour l'avenir de la Société.

Puis-je me permettre d'expliquer plus en détail l'attitude du Conseil vis à vis de la question de la protection des minorités en Turquie.

Le

Le télégramme du Conseil des Ministres et Ambassadeurs disait que la Commission alliée nommée par lui, avait recommandé d'insérer dans le Traité avec la Turquie "(1) que la clause du chapitre tout entier soit placée sous la garantie de la Société des Nations de la même manière que les clauses relatives aux minorités dans les Traités déjà conclus entre les Puissances Alliées et Associées et les Etats d'Europe, et (2) qu'un représentant nommé par le Conseil de la Société des Nations réside à Constantinople pour surveiller l'application des clauses de ce chapitre et adresse périodiquement des rapports au Conseil de la Société; ce représentant devant avoir le droit de faire des enquêtes sur place ou d'envoyer ses Délégués sur les lieux pour faire des enquêtes sur toute infraction aux clauses du dit chapitre".

Le premier point a fait l'objet d'une discussion, et l'on a immédiatement soulevé la question de savoir si la Société des Nations accepterait la responsabilité constituée par une garantie de ce genre. On a exprimé l'opinion que bien que la Société des Nations ait accepté la garantie des droits des minorités en Pologne, il ne s'en suivait pas qu'une garantie analogue dût être donnée par la Société des Nations en ce qui concerne les minorités en Turquie. En Pologne, il y avait un Gouvernement stable et organisé qui pourrait, le cas échéant, être responsable devant l'opinion publique mondiale; on ne peut guère dire que le cas fût le même, actuellement et pour quelque temps encore en Turquie, car dans le passé l'opinion publique n'a disposé que d'une très faible influence, si même elle en a eue, pour améliorer la situation des minorités opprimées de ce pays. De plus, en Turquie les minorités ont souvent été opprimées, et les massacres exécutés par des bandes irrégulières qui échappaient entièrement au contrôle du Gouvernement turc central. On doit se souvenir que la Société,

même

même si elle accordait cette garantie, n'aurait pas à sa disposition une force internationale pour en assurer l'application. La situation de la Société différait en ce qui concerne la Turquie de ce qu'elle était dans les autres cas, la Turquie n'étant pas membre de la Société, l'intervention de cette dernière étant par conséquent rendue plus difficile que dans le cas de la Pologne et de la Roumanie. Si des cas d'oppression des minorités se produisaient en Pologne, un représentant Polonais serait invité à assister aux séances du Conseil de façon à pouvoir être consulté, mais il ne serait guère possible d'adresser la même invitation à un Turc. D'autre part, on a fait valoir que ce n'était pas une raison suffisante pour refuser de protéger les minorités. L'idée du Conseil Suprême semblait être qu'en plus des garanties que le Conseil Suprême pouvait donner, les garanties d'ordre plus général accordées par la Société des Nations étaient nécessaires.

Le Conseil procéda ensuite à l'examen du second point. On fit remarquer que la proposition émise par la Commission semblait impliquer dans une certaine mesure un contrôle double contre lequel s'élevaient de fortes objections. Un contrôle double réjouirait les Turcs. Si l'on désignait une Commission de la Société pour résider à Constantinople, il semblerait nécessaire d'associer cette Commission à la Commission alliée de contrôle et également d'éviter le dualisme par quelque mode d'action.

Le Conseil n'avait pas exprimé un avis collectif sur ces questions, parce qu'il sentait qu'il ne possédait pas les informations nécessaires pour le faire et que le temps dont il disposait n'était pas suffisant pour lui permettre d'obtenir ces renseignements avant la clôture de la session. Le Conseil m'a donc chargé de demander si l'on pourrait lui communiquer des renseignements plus complets, tels que le texte des clauses projetées relatives aux minorités, les limites du territoire auquel ces clauses devront

devront s'appliquer, si des zones faisant l'objet d'un mandat seront comprises dans ce territoire, enfin le Conseil demande si une décision relative à ces questions ne pourrait être remise à plus tard, afin d'avoir le temps d'examiner comme il convient les différents éléments du problème. Le Conseil est tout prêt à inscrire la question à l'ordre du jour de la prochaine session de Rome qui doit avoir lieu pendant la semaine du 25 Avril, ou même s'il est nécessaire, à convoquer une réunion spéciale à une date plus rapprochée, pourvu qu'il ait le temps d'examiner à fond les propositions.

Puis-je maintenant exposer le point de vue du Conseil au sujet du télégramme reçu du Conseil Suprême relativement à l'Arménie.

Pour cette question également le Conseil a trouvé que les renseignements contenus dans le télégramme n'étaient pas suffisants pour lui permettre de prendre une décision au cours de la session. Le Conseil n'était pas absolument fixé sur ce que le télégramme impliquait. Suggérerait-il que les fonds de la Société devaient prendre à leur charge les déficits dans le budget du futur Etat Arménien, ou espérait-on que cet Etat se suffise à lui-même? Un tel usage des fonds de la Société semblait nécessiter l'approbation de l'Assemblée. En fait, le Conseil pourrait estimer qu'il ne serait pas possible d'accepter la protection de l'Etat Arménien dans l'avenir, sans que cette décision fût confirmée par l'Assemblée.

Si le Conseil acceptait, à quel moment comptait-on faire passer l'Etat Arménien sous la protection de la Société? On a de nouveau insisté sur le fait que la Société n'avait pas à sa disposition de force internationale et que toutes les obligations qui pourraient éventuellement impliquer

l'usage

l'usage d'une force militaire devaient faire l'objet d'un examen très attentif. Le Conseil ne refuse nullement d'accepter les obligations proposées, mais il ne se sent pas en mesure de répondre à la demande du Conseil Suprême avant d'avoir reçu des informations plus détaillées au sujet de l'avenir de cet Etat.

Le Conseil ne demande pas mieux que d'inscrire cette question à l'ordre du jour de la session de Rome ou de tenir une réunion spéciale pour examiner la question. Comme la question d'Arménie semble surtout soulever des questions de principe plutôt que des questions de détail, il semblerait plus facile de faire de cette question l'objet d'une réunion spéciale, avant la session de Rome, que de s'occuper à brève échéance des clauses relatives aux minorités dans le Traité avec la Turquie.

NOTE - VERBALE.

The Council of the League of Nations instructed me to return to London as soon as possible in order to express, on their behalf, certain views to the Supreme Council, and to the Council of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors respectively with regard to the telegrams on the questions of the protection of minorities within the frontiers of Turkey and of the future of the free and independent State of Armenia. These two telegrams were received by the Council of the League towards the end of their session on Saturday morning, March 13th, on which date the meeting was to terminate.

The Council, in spite of other important business found it possible to devote some considerable time to the consideration of the questions raised in these telegrams. The Council expressed great sympathy with the desire of the Supreme Council to secure adequate protection for the minorities within the frontiers of Turkey, and to arrange for an effective guarantee for the free and independent State of Armenia. But in neither case did the Council feel in a position to give an immediate reply to the requests put forward by the Supreme Council and the Council of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, firstly, because there was not sufficient time for a full examination of the problems, and secondly, because, even had there been sufficient time, the date given in the two telegrams seemed to the Council to be inadequate to enable them to form a decision on questions which were of great importance, not only in themselves, but also to the future of the League of Nations.

May I first be permitted to explain in more detail the attitude of the Council towards the question of the protection of minorities in Turkey.

The telegram from the Council of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors stated that the Allied Commission appointed by them
had recommended/

had recommended for insertion in the Turkish Treaty" (1) that provision of whole chapter should be placed under guarantee of the League of Nations in the same way as the provision of the minority clauses in the Treaties already concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers and States in Europe, and (2) that a representative appointed by the Council of the League of Nations should reside in Constantinople with the duty of watching the applications of provisions of this chapter and reporting periodically to the Council of the League, the representative to have the right to make enquiries on the spot or to send his delegates to the spot to investigate every infringement of the said chapter.

A discussion took place on the first point, and the question immediately arose whether the League of Nations should accept responsibility for such a guarantee. An opinion was expressed that, although the League of Nations had accepted a guarantee for minorities in Poland, it by no means followed that an analogous guarantee should be given by the League in the case minorities in Turkey. In Poland there was a settled and organised Government which would be amenable, if necessary, to the pressure of world public opinion: it could hardly be said that this was likely to be the case for some time to come at any rate with Turkey since, in the past, public opinion had been able to do little, if anything, to ameliorate the lot of oppressed minorities in that country. Further, in Turkey, minorities were often oppressed and massacres carried out by irregular bands who were entirely outside the control of the central Turkish Government. It must be remembered that the League had no international force at its disposal to secure such a guarantee should it be given. The situation of the League differed, with regard to Turkey, from other cases, since Turkey was not a member of the League, and the League would therefore find the means of intervention

more/

more difficult than in such cases as Poland and Roumania. Should cases of oppression of minorities occur in Poland, a Polish representative would be invited to attend meetings of the Council for purposes of consultation, but it would hardly be possible to invite a Turk to be present. On the other hand, it was agreed that this was hardly a sufficient reason to refuse to protect minorities. The idea of the Supreme Council seemed to be that, apart from the guarantees which it could afford, the more general guarantees of the League of Nations were necessary.

The Council then passed to the consideration of the second point. It was pointed out that the proposal put forward by the Commission would seem to involve a certain measure of dual control to which there were strong objections. Dual control would delight the heart of the Turk. If a Commission of the League were appointed to reside in Constantinople, it would seem necessary that it should be associated with the Allied Commission of Control and duality be avoided by some method of procedure. The Council had not expressed any collective opinion on these points because they felt that they had not sufficient information at their disposal to enable them to do so, and that the time was too short to permit them to obtain such information before the conclusion of the meeting. They therefore instructed me to enquire whether further information, such as the text of the proposed minority clauses, the extent of territory to which they were to apply, if mandated areas were involved, could be supplied to them; and whether a decision on the points raised could not be postponed in order to allow the Council adequately to consider the various factors involved. The Council would be quite prepared/

prepared to place the question on the agenda for their next meeting at Rome, which is to take place during the week of April 25th, or even, if essential, to call a special meeting at an earlier date, provided that there had been time for the Council throughly to examine the proposals.

May I now turn to the Council's view as to the telegram from the Supreme Council with regard to Armenia.

On this subject, too, the Council felt that the information in the telegram was not sufficient to enable them to come to any decision during their present meeting. They were not clear as to what was involved. Was it suggested that the funds of the League should bear any deficit on the budget of the future Armenian State, or was it hoped that the State would be self-supporting? The use of League funds for such a purpose seemed to necessitate the assent of the Assembly; indeed, the Council might feel that the acceptance of protection for the future of the Armenian State might also require confirmation by the Assembly. When was it expected that the Armenian State, if the Council agreed, would pass under the protection of the League? The point was again emphasised that the League had no international force and that any obligations which might possibly involve the use of force must therefore be very carefully examined. The Council in no way wished to refuse definitely to undertake the suggested obligations, but they felt unable to reply to the request of the Supreme Council until more information was available as to the future of the State.

The Council was willing to place this question before the meeting at Rome, or to have a special meeting to consider the subject. As the Armenian question seemed to raise primarily questions of principle rather than of detail, it would seem easier to have a special meeting on this subject earlier than on that of minority clauses in the Turkish Treaty.

E.D. 16/3/20.

ARMENIA.

(1) Turkey renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territory comprised within the following limits:-

.
(Description of frontier:)

(2) A Commission composed of shall be constituted within . . . days of the coming into force of the present Treaty for the purpose of delimiting on the spot the frontier above indicated.

(3) The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to establish the territory of Armenia as above delimited as an independent State. Considering, however, that the new State of Armenia will
for

for some time require administrative advice and assistance, the High Contracting Parties hereby ~~undertake to~~ invite the League of Nations ^{to consider, whether} ~~(to furnish)~~ ^{and if so} ~~(such assistance, in whatever form it may, after~~ ^(such assistance may be furnished) ~~examination of the conditions, consider most conducive to the independent development of Armenia. The High Contracting Parties [~~on their part~~]~~ hereby undertake to accept and abide by the decisions which the League of Nations may come to in the matter.

A R M E N I A.

(1) Turkey renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territory comprised within the following limits:-

.
(Description of frontier:)

(2) A Commission composed of shall be constituted within . . . days of the coming into force of the present Treaty for the purpose of delimiting on the spot the frontier above indicated.

(3) The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to establish the territory of Armenia so delimited as an independent State, under the protection of the League of Nations.

(4) The organic law of the independent State of Armenia, which shall include stipulations relative to the future relations between the League of Nations on the one hand and Armenia on the other, shall form the subject of subsequent examination by the Council of the League of Nations. The High Contracting Parties hereby undertake to abide by the decisions which the Council of the League of Nations may come to in this respect.

QUESTIONS A POSER A LA CONFERENCE

au sujet de la PROTECTION de l'ETAT ARMENIEN

Il serait impossible pour la Société des Nations d'entreprendre la protection de l'Etat Arménien sans être assurée des moyens effectifs de protéger l'Arménie contre tout danger extérieur, d'y maintenir l'ordre à l'intérieur et d'y exécuter les travaux nécessaires à sa vie économique.

Elle ne possèdera ces moyens que s'ils lui sont fournis par les Membres de la Société, et, en premier lieu, par les puissances signataires du traité de paix avec la Turquie.

Il faut pour cela que celles-ci s'engagent: *Handwritten: That act*

1°- A confier à la Société des Nations une Arménie constituée, et non pas seulement définie par les articles d'un traité. La protection ne peut pas commencer avant que l'Arménie, dans les limites territoriales fixées par le traité, ait été entièrement évacuée par les troupes régulières ou irrégulières turques;

2°- A fournir, soit les contingents, soit les cadres et l'argent nécessaires, pour donner à l'Arménie, en tenant compte des forces Arméniennes déjà organisées, une armée suffisante pour la protéger contre tout péril extérieur ou intérieur;

3°- A assurer le libre usage du port de Batoum à l'Etat arménien, en garantissant effectivement le port et ses voies d'accès contre toute attaque;

4°- A prêter à l'Etat Arménien l'assistance financière indispensable, non seulement pour son administration immédiate, mais pour le rapatriement des populations arméniennes dispersées, conformément aux stipulations du traité, ainsi que pour l'exécution d'un programme minimum de travaux publics; *qui serait reconnu*

5°- A reconnaître la Société des Nations, ou ses représentants en Arménie, comme la seule autorité qualifiée pour recevoir et distribuer les secours, de quelque nature et de quelque origine qu'ils soient, destinés à la population arménienne.

Ces engagements doivent précéder toute délibération du Conseil de la Société des Nations sur la question qui lui est posée par la Conférence.

Les charges du concours financier reconnu nécessaire par le Conseil de la Société, seront réparties entre les Membres de la Société conformément à la règle fixée pour les dépenses du Secrétariat par l'article 6 du Pacte.

PM

16. 3. 20

NOTE SUR LA QUESTION A POSER A LA CONFERENCE
au sujet de la PROTECTION de l'ETAT ARMENIEN.

Il serait impossible pour la Société des Nations de se refuser à la Mission hautement honorable qui lui est offerte, et il est de son intérêt même de ne se dérober à aucune responsabilité.

Elle prendra les engagements suivants:

- 1°- Elle assumera la protection de l'Arménie dès la signature du Traité. Les forces régulières ou irrégulières turques qui se trouveraient encore sur le territoire arménien, dans les limites fixées par le Traité, seront invitées à se retirer, par une lettre du Secrétaire Général, rédigée dans les formes d'usage. Si elles s'y refusaient, une plainte serait déposée auprès des autorités Britanniques et du Procureur de la République à Paris.
- 2°- Si l'Etat Arménien a besoin d'une force armée, en dehors de celle qu'elle peut posséder déjà, pour la protéger contre les périls extérieurs, ou maintenir l'ordre à l'intérieur, ces forces lui seront prises dans le personnel du Secrétariat Général, par voie d'engagement volontaire.
- 3°- Au cas où le libre usage du port de Batoum ne serait pas effectivement garanti à l'Etat Arménien, les voies d'accès se trouvant menacées ou interrompues, le Conseil de la Société des Nations organisera un service aérien suffisant pour satisfaire à tous les besoins militaires et économiques.
- 4°- Si l'Etat Arménien a besoin d'une assistance financière, soit pour son administration immédiate, soit pour le rapatriement des populations arméniennes dispersées, soit pour l'exécution du programme minimum de travaux publics, les sommes nécessaires seront fournies par le Directeur Financier du Secrétariat Général qui sera responsable sur ses biens personnels de l'exécution de cette clause.
- 5°- La Société des Nations recevra les fonds de secours de quelque origine qu'ils soient, destinés à la population arménienne et les consacra à l'organisation de banquets péroratoires en l'honneur des martyrs des massacres de l'année courante.

La Société des Nations ne pourrait accepter aucune réduction de ces responsabilités, qu'elle tient à assumer entièrement. Toute offre d'assistance financière ou militaire de la part d'un des Membres de la Société, serait contraire au Pacte, de la Société et pourrait provoquer l'exclusion dudit Membre.

LONDRES, le 17 Mars 1920

ARMENIA.

(M. Mantoux to the Secretary-General).

I had a meeting this morning, on the subject of Armenia, with the Allied expert representatives on the Committee charged with preparing a Treaty with Turkey. The following were present:-

M. Mantoux	}	Representing the Secretariat-General of the League of Nations.
Mr. Colban		
Mr. Nicolson		
Mr. Vansittart	}	Representing Great Britain.
Mr. Forbes Adam		
M. Kammerer)	Representing France.
Colonel Castoldi)	Representing Italy.

I read to them the paper which I prepared, in consultation with you, regarding the conditions under which the Council of the League of Nations might consider accepting the protection of Armenia. The Allied experts raised no objection to the introductory paragraph or to the first Article relative to the territorial questions. As regards the second Article (the military questions), they also regarded our suggestion as very reasonable, but felt that the matter was one rather for the military experts to decide. The third Article they also accepted. As regards the fourth Article (financial questions), M.

Kammerer

Kammerer stated that Signor Nitti had gone out of his way to lay down that Italy would subscribe no money for the Budget of the future State of Armenia. I pointed out that if the Allied Powers refused to allow Armenia any money to start her going, they might as well abandon from the first all hope of creating an independent Armenian State. M. Kammerer replied that although he agreed with me as to the reasonable nature of my proposals, yet he felt it right to warn us that we might experience some difficulty in obtaining the guarantee desired.

As regards Articles 5 and 6, the expert Committee saw no objection to my proposals.

March 19th, 1920.

ARMENIA.

(M. Mantoux to the Secretary-General).

I had an interview this afternoon with Boghos Nubar Pasha, in which I put to him the questions of principle connected with the request of the Supreme Council that the League of Nations should undertake the protection of Armenia. I was accompanied by Mr. Nicolson, and Boghos Nubar Pasha was assisted by Mr. Malcolm. Mr. Vansittart, of the British Foreign Office, was present at the interview.

I began by reading to Boghos Nubar the paper which I had already prepared, after consultation with you, and of which I annex a copy for convenience of reference.

Boghos Nubar expressed himself in complete agreement with the general scheme of my paper, and was evidently much pleased by the attitude adopted by the League in the matter. He made the following commentaries on the specific points raised in my paper:-

As regards the introductory paragraph, Boghos Nubar stated, quite definitely, that Armenia had need "of a certain tutelage", and he implied that he would prefer that the conditions of such tutelage should be imposed upon Armenia from outside, and that the future
rulers

rulers of Armenia should not themselves have the direct responsibility for these conditions. I reassured His Excellency by explaining that my present paper was rather a programme for the discussions which must inevitably take place between the League and the Supreme Council, and that whatever more specific arrangements might in future become necessary as between the League and Armenia would doubtless form the subject of a subsequent and explicit Convention in the nature of a "Mandatory Treaty". Boghos Nubar was evidently relieved by this assurance.

Article 1 (Territorial Questions). Boghos Nubar was in complete agreement with this paragraph, and had no suggestions to make thereon.

Article 2 (Military Questions). His Excellency was also in complete agreement with this paragraph, and desired to make no modifications.

Article 3 (Communications with sea). With this paragraph also Boghos Nubar was completely satisfied.

Article 4 (Financial Questions). Boghos Nubar was extremely pleased with the suggestions contained in this Article. He appeared to foresee little difficulty in obtaining a loan on the open market provided that the loan coupons were guaranteed by the League. He went on to explain that the guarantee of the League in such respect would work

out

out as very small in practice. He did not expect that Armenia would require a loan of much more than £2,000,000, which would probably be issued at about 6% interest and 2% sinking fund and depreciation, i.e. annual coupons of £160,000 a year. Of this Armenia herself might be able to meet up to £120,000 a year, leaving only £40,000 a year to fall as an eventual guarantee upon the League. The several members of the League, therefore, would only be required to guarantee the payment of at most £4,000 to £5,000 a year, and even this amount could be credited to them as a debt against the Armenian Revenues.

Article 5 (Voluntary Subscriptions). Boghos Nubar entirely accepted this Article.

Article 6 (Civil Advisers). His Excellency attributed considerable importance to this Article, and proceeded to develop its application. He explained that it might be difficult in Armenia to allow the authority of the foreign advisers to repose on such a vague basis as the prestige enjoyed, for instance, by the Ministerial Advisers in Egypt. He felt that the Civil Advisers to the future Armenian administration should have more definite authority and more precise rights. As regards the rights of these Advisers, he felt that they should have the right of initiation, through the Minister responsible for their Department, in matters of legislation, - in other words the foreign Adviser should be able, subject to the formal approval of the Armenian Minister of his Department,

Department, to draft Bills for submission to the Armenian Parliament. Moreover, in view of the danger of a conflict on such and other points arising between the foreign Adviser and the Armenian Minister of his Department, it would be necessary for the Adviser to have an appeal to an arbitral body consisting of all the chief foreign Advisers to the various Armenian Ministries under the Presidency of the representative of the League of Nations. Boghos Nubar did not specify what should be done in the event of this Mixed Commission supporting the view of the individual Adviser in the face of the whole Armenian Cabinet supporting the view of the individual Minister, but he appeared to contemplate that in the event of such a formal conflict between the two bodies the appeal should be lodged to the Armenian Parliament.

The essence of his contentions on this point was that he evidently wished the Advisers to be given very considerable independent authority, although he did not feel able himself to propose the means by which this should be secured.

I took the occasion to put to Boghos Nubar Pasha the question of whether he would prefer a one-Power Mandate to a mixed Mandate. He had no hesitation in saying that he would prefer a one-Power Mandate. I then indicated to him my scheme for obtaining, through unofficial American agencies, the services

services of an American body of Military and Civil Advisers. He was delighted with this idea, which he felt would enormously simplify Armenian administrative and financial difficulties. He went so far even as to say that he would prefer having a concrete body of United States Military and Civil Advisers, even though such Advisers would in no way represent the United States Government but be merely private individuals, to having a body of Advisers officially designated by the Government of some smaller Power at the instance of the League of Nations.

March 19th, 1920.

Arm

PROTECTION DE L'ETAT ARMENIEN.

Il serait impossible pour la Société des Nations d'assumer en Arménie tous les devoirs d'une Puissance protectrice, et il n'est pas question d'ailleurs de placer l'Etat Arménien, dont l'indépendance est reconnue par le Traité, sous un protectorat collectif. Il ne peut s'agir, par conséquent, que d'une Mission d'assistance ; mais cette assistance même ne peut être entreprise qu'à certaines conditions :

1°- QUESTION TERRITORIALE.- Le Traité définit les frontières entre la République arménienne et l'Etat Ottoman. Mais une partie du territoire assigné à l'Arménie est encore occupé par des troupes régulières ou irrégulières turques. D'une part, la Société ne peut pas prendre la responsabilité d'assurer l'évacuation; d'autre part, les Puissances Alliées paraissent croire que l'évacuation sera facilitée par la présence et le nom de la Société des Nations. Celle-ci peut demander aux Puissances de constituer une Commission de trois Membres chargée de faire exécuter les clauses territoriales du Traité, tandis que son Représentant commencerait, dès la signature du Traité, à remplir la Mission d'assistance acceptée par la Société. De cette manière, une distinction nette serait établie entre la liquidation du passé et la garantie de l'avenir.

2°- QUESTION MILITAIRE.- Ce dont l'Arménie paraît avoir besoin pour protéger ses frontières et maintenir l'ordre à l'intérieur, c'est une armée de 30 à 35.000 hommes, dont 25 à 30.000 pourraient être recrutés en Arménie même. Les forces arméniennes organisées s'élèvent déjà à 15.000 hommes environ, dont la plupart ont servi dans les armées russes. Il s'agit donc :

1° de fournir aux troupes arméniennes des cadres;

2° de les renforcer par une Légion étrangère de 5 ou 6.000 hommes. La Société des Nations peut appuyer l'appel qui sera fait par le Gouvernement arménien aux nations civilisées. Elle peut espérer recevoir un utile appui d'organisation comme la Société Américaine de Secours aux Arméniens. Mais il faut qu'elle obtienne des Puissances Alliées l'engagement :

1°- de faciliter s'il est fait appel à l'une ou à l'autre d'entre elles, le recrutement des volontaires, officiers ou soldats;

2°- de faire au Gouvernement arménien les cessions de matériel indispensables.

Il ne peut être question pour le Conseil de la Société de recruter et d'organiser lui-même l'armée de la République Arménienne mais seulement d'aider à sa formation en s'adressant à l'opinion des peuples d'Occident avec l'appui des Puissances signataires du Traité.

3°- COMMUNICATIONS AVEC LA MER.- Le port de Batoum sera gardé par des contingents alliés. Il est probable que les troupes arméniennes, une fois organisées, suffiront à protéger éventuellement les voies d'accès à ce port. Mais il est essentiel que les Puissances Alliées donnent à l'usage de ces voies d'accès la même garantie qu'à l'usage du port, al'un étant inutile sans l'autre, et s'engagent en cas de menace extérieure à employer les troupes d'occupation du port

à aider les troupes arméniennes pour la protection de la route et du chemin de fer.

4°- QUESTION FINANCIERE.- Les dépenses de l'Etat Arménien seront couvertes en partie par ses propres ressources et par les contributions des colonies arméniennes à l'étranger. Mais il faut prévoir la nécessité de compléter les sommes ainsi perçues ou recueillies pour suffire, non seulement aux besoins immédiats de l'administration et de la défense du territoire, mais aux frais de rapatriement des populations arméniennes dispersées, prévu par le Traité, et à l'exécution d'un programme minimum de travaux publics. Le concours financier prendra sans doute la forme d'emprunt ou de crédits sous la garantie de la Société des Nations. Celle-ci ne serait en fait appelée à intervenir que si l'Etat arménien était reconnu par le principal représentant de la Société en Arménie, incapable d'assurer entièrement le paiement des intérêts des sommes empruntées ou avancées. Dans ce cas il y aurait lieu à décision de la part du Conseil et de l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations, les charges étant réparties conformément à la règle fixée pour les dépenses du Secrétariat par l'article 6 du Pacte. Ce qu'il faudrait obtenir dès maintenant des Puissances signataires du Traité, c'est qu'elles acceptent cette procédure et s'engagent à faire le nécessaire pour que la valeur de la garantie donnée par la Société des Nations ne puisse jamais être mise en doute.

5°- SECOURS VOLONTAIRES.- Les secours, de quelque nature et de quelque origine qu'ils soient, destinés à la population arménienne seront reçus et distribués, soit par le principal représentant de la Société en Arménie, soit en consultation avec ce représentant. Ce rôle affirmerait la nature de la protection donnée à l'Arménie par la Société et aiderait à l'établissement de son autorité morale.

6°- La question de l'assistance à fournir à l'Etat Arménien en mettant à sa disposition des conseillers civils ne paraît pas de nature à soulever des difficultés, ni à appeler un engagement spécial de la part des Puissances signataires du Traité.

LONDRES, 19 Mars 1920

Armenia

The Times

19th March 1920

ARMENIANS ACCUSED OF MASSACRE.

TARTAR COMPLAINTS.

In Armenian circles it is feared that the Government of Azerbaijan is preparing to occupy the disputed district of Zangezur with a military force. Nuri Pasha (brother of Enver Pasha), accompanied by Turkish officers, and General Nevrusoff, with several thousand soldiers, is said to have arrived in the disputed zone.—*Reuter*.

The Zangezur district is in the south-west corner of the former Russian province of Elisavetpol, and, together with the adjoining district of the Karabagh, forms a debatable land between the Tartar Republic of Azerbaijan and the Armenian Republic of Erivan. According to evidence offered by the Tartar authorities to Mr. Wordrop, the British High Commissioner in Transcaucasia, and to the American representatives at the Peace Conference, the Armenians appear to have been adopting Turkish methods towards their Moslem neighbours in this territory.

The Tartar Prime Minister in December last pointed out that after the troops of Azerbaijan had evacuated the disputed territories in conformity with the Agreement signed under Allied auspices in Tiflis on November 23, 1919, Armenian regular troops with artillery entered the Zangezur district and proceeded to carry out a wholesale massacre of the Moslem inhabitants.

The Tartar Governor of Nakhitchevan on the Persian frontier, at the extreme south-western limit administered by Azerbaijan, has furnished a detailed account of the events which took place in the Zangezur district which had, before the evacuation, been under his control. In a document communicated to the American authorities he states that on November 22 Armenians started raiding Tartar cattle and that delegates from the villages affected waited upon the nearest Armenian commandant seeking redress. The plaintiffs were all arrested and the Armenians sent word to their villages that their lives would be spared if all Moslems were to take the oath of allegiance to the Republic of Armenia. The villagers and townsmen agreed to do this, and next day a representative of the Armenian Government, attended by troops, arrived at Oktchi, a small town, for the ostensible purpose of administering the oath of allegiance. He was offered bread and salt as a sign of respectful welcome and was entertained at a banquet. After this, at the direction of the Armenian representative, the male population was convoked in the square in front of the Mosque for the purpose of taking the oath. As soon as the men had assembled the Armenian soldiers opened fire and shot them down. The survivors were finished off with the bayonet, after which the Armenians proceeded to deal with the women in the usual way on such occasions. Survivors assert that certain women went mad and that another leaped into a fire into which the Armenians had thrown her living babies. A survivor was ordered to go to the neighbouring villages to warn the inhabitants what would happen if they refused to swear allegiance to Armenia.

Other Armenian detachments are reported to have behaved in a similar fashion in the villages of Shabadyn and Pirdavan. Accurate figures of the casualties among the Tartars are lacking, but the report puts the total at over 4,000 in these three villages alone. The Armenians are reported to have continued their work during the ensuing week, visiting in all some 10 other villages in the Zangezur district named in the complaint forwarded to the American authorities.

The Moslem Council of Erivan has also addressed the Peace Conference on the subject of Armenian ill-treatment of Moslems within the accepted frontiers of the Republic of Erivan. According to the statements made by the Council, the Armenians are accused of having burned or otherwise destroyed 32 Moslem villages in the Province of Erivan, 75 in that of Shurmala, 84 in that of Etchmiadzin, and seven in that of Novobayazid. Some 100,000 Moslems are reported to have been rendered homeless in this way, others have been expelled from their houses in order to make way for Armenian refugees from Turkey, and the Government of Azerbaijan, in a report issued on December 21, 1919, by the Minister of Relief, estimated that some 80,000 Tartar refugees were still surviving and in receipt of relief. The Tartars assert that the Armenians were then continuing their efforts to induce the Moslem population to emigrate, except in the Province of Alexandropol, where the Moslems are few in number.

Armenia

Manchester Guardian

RENEWED MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS.

31st March 1920

FAILURE TO SEND HELP.

"FRENCH JURISDICTION."

While the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs was answering questions in the House of Commons yesterday on the danger of massacre in the Hadjin district of Armenia, Mr. H. Williams said that "within the last few hours" news had been received that the French had refused to send any forces and that massacres had occurred in another town.

The Minister said that earlier information had been received from Paris that the situation at Hadjin was disquieting, and he added that the district was not within the jurisdiction of the British Government.

In the House of Commons yesterday,

Mr. HARMSWORTH (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs) stated, in reply to Mr. H. Williams (L.—Consett), that on the receipt of information from Armenian sources that the lives of Armenians in the Hadjin district were in danger, our Government inquired at once from the French Government, and information was received that the nearest French troops were at Marash, 180 kilometres distant, but that no definite menace existed at the moment. Later information from Paris was to the effect that the situation at Hadjin was disquieting. It was not feasible to send French troops, but the French High Commissioner at Constantinople had been instructed to insist on the Turkish Government taking steps to protect the Armenians, and to warn them that the French Government would hold the Turkish Government responsible for anything that might occur.

Lord R. CECIL (C.U.—Hitchin): Is it not possible to station some British officers in these districts so that we may have direct information?

Mr. HARMSWORTH: My noble friend is aware of the extreme delicacy of the situation.

Mr. WILLIAMS stated that within the last few hours still more alarming news had been received. It was stated that the French had refused to send any forces, and that massacres had occurred in another town.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (N.—Liverpool) asked whether the House was to understand that while these people were being massacred England and France stood aside.

Mr. HARMSWORTH: It would be entirely wrong to say we stand aside.

Mr. WILLIAMS asked whether the Porte would be reminded of the threat made a fortnight ago in regard to peace terms.

Mr. HARMSWORTH: The French Government have already made strong representations to the Sublime Porte.

Mr. WILLIAMS: Will our Government do so?

Mr. HARMSWORTH: This district is not within the jurisdiction of our Government.

Lord R. CECIL asked whether the British Government regarded itself as under no responsibility.

Mr. HARMSWORTH: I would not like to say that. My noble friend is well aware of the jurisdiction of the French Government in this territory.

Arm.

Daily News

1st April 1920.

FUTURE OF ARMENIA.

Mandate Offered to the League of Nations.

The Supreme Council has offered the mandate for Armenia to the League of Nations, Reuter understands, and a meeting of the Council will be held in London immediately after Easter to consider the matter. The Armenian leaders now in London express great satisfaction at this decision, and at the possibility of being placed under the League.

It is understood that the offer of the Supreme Council concerns the mandate for the existing Armenian independent State (the Republic of Erivan), with the addition of adjoining Turkish Armenian territories, the whole having an outlet to the Black Sea.

Cilicia, the scene of the latest massacres, will not be included, for according to the Sykes-Picot agreement it is left under French protection. Armenians are looking with anxiety to see what measure of protection France will afford them, for the latest messages describe the position as "horrible," owing to the outrages of Mustapha Kemal.

SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS.

41/3694/807

Sunderland House,
Curzon Street,
London, W.1.,
England.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

41/3694/807.

22/4/21

PROTECTION DE L'ÉTAT LIBRE D'ARMÉNIE
ET DES MINORITÉS EN TURQUIE.

Le Secrétaire Général à l'honneur de
transmettre aux Membres du Conseil, pour
examen, les documents suivants:-

Note préliminaire du Secrétaire-
Général;

Mémoire du Secrétaire-Général sur
la Protection de l'Etat libre d'Arménie;

Mémoire du Secrétaire-Général sur
la Protection des Minorités en Turquie;

Propositions présentées par la Délé-
gation Arménienne à Londres;

A titre d'information, on a joint des
copies supplémentaires des documents sui-
vants qui ont déjà été communiqués aux
Représentants au Conseil:-

Télégramme de Lord Curzon en date
du 12 mars, 1920, relatif au statut
futur de l'Arménie;

Télégramme de Lord Curzon du 12 mars,
1920, relatif à la protection des
Minorités en Turquie;

Lettre de Sir Maurice Hankey, en date
du 20 mars, 1920

1er Avril, 1920.

PROTECTION OF THE ARMENIAN STATE AND
PROTECTION OF MINORITIES IN TURKEY.

The Secretary-General has the honour
to forward, for the consideration of the
Representatives on the Council of the
League, the undermentioned documents:-

Introductory Note by the Secretary-
General;

Memorandum by the Secretary-General on
the Protection of the Armenian State;

Memorandum by the Secretary-General on
the protection of Minorities in Turkey;

Suggestions made by the Armenian
Delegation in London.

There are also enclosed for reference
further copies of the following documents
which have already been distributed to the
Representatives on the Council:-

Telegram dated 12th March, 1920 from

(1) Lord Curzon concerning the Future
Status of Armenia;

(2) Lord Curzon concerning the Protec-
tion of Minorities in Turkey.

Letter dated 20th March from Sir
Maurice Hankey.

1st April, 1920.

*Armenia
Turkish Minorities*

SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONSLA PROTECTION DE L'ARMÉNIE ET DES
MINORITÉS EN TURQUIE

Note du Secrétaire-Général en date du 1er avril

Conformément aux instructions du Conseil, le Secrétaire Général a demandé à la Conférence qui siège actuellement à Londres pour la préparation du Traité avec la Turquie, si elle avait quelques indications à ajouter aux télégrammes adressés au Conseil par Lord Curzon en date du 12 mars et relatifs à l'Arménie et à la protection des Minorités en Turquie.

En ce qui concerne l'Arménie, des renseignements recueillis, il résulte que la Conférence désire laisser au Conseil la plus entière liberté dans l'examen de la question posée.

Le Secrétaire Général se permet, en se référant au texte du télégramme du 12 mars, de rappeler les points sur lesquels le Conseil était appelé à se prononcer et il a l'honneur de présenter ci-joint, un mémorandum préparé à cet effet (Annexe n° 1).

En ce qui concerne la protection des Minorités en Turquie, le Conseil Suprême a fait connaître par une lettre que Sir Maurice Hankey a adressée le 20 mars au Secrétaire Général, le dernier état de la question. Cette lettre a été communiquée aux membres du Conseil par note du 24 mars.

1° - Le Secrétaire Général a l'honneur de présenter ci-joint un mémorandum (Annexe n° 2) où l'on compare les clauses relatives à la protection des Minorités en Turquie, dont communication a été donnée par le Conseil Suprême, avec les clauses relatives à la protection des Minorités en Pologne, contenues dans le Traité du 29 juin 1919 entre les principales Puissances Alliées et Associées et la Pologne. Ces dernières clauses ont été placées sous la garantie de la Société des Nations par la résolution du Conseil en date du 13 février.

2° - Le Secrétaire-Général voudrait attirer l'attention du Conseil sur les points suivants:

.....

a) La lettre de Sir Maurice Hankey, en date du 20 mars, communique au Conseil de la Société des Nations, les clauses qui définissent, d'une part, les principes d'après lesquels les Minorités en Turquie seront protégées et qui, d'autre part, réservent, en vue d'une consultation ultérieure entre le Conseil de la Société des Nations et le Conseil Suprême, la décision touchant les mesures nécessaires pour garantir l'exécution des clauses susnommées.

Le Conseil considère-t-il qu'il doit simplement accuser réception de la communication qui lui est faite par le Conseil Suprême en déclarant qu'il n'a pas d'objection à l'insertion dans le traité des clauses visées, ou désire-t-il faire des remarques sur les principes mêmes ou sur la forme de ces clauses ?

b) Ainsi qu'il est expliqué dans l'article 4 du mémorandum ci-joint, le Conseil pourra être appelé à désigner partie des membres d'une Commission mixte: en outre, à l'article 5 des clauses communiquées par le Conseil Suprême, la nomination des membres de Commissions arbitrales par le Conseil de la Société des Nations est également prévue.

Le Conseil considère-t-il qu'il y ait lieu de préciser vis-à-vis du Conseil Suprême la responsabilité de la Société des Nations ? Les personnes qui seraient désignées par le Conseil de la Société des Nations pour être membres de ces Commissions seraient-elles placées sous l'autorité et la responsabilité du Conseil de la Société des Nations ou au contraire, la Société des Nations interviendrait-elle dans ces nominations seulement pour désigner des personnes qui, une fois entrées en fonctions, agiraient sous l'autorité et en vertu des Traités et pour le compte des Hautes Parties contractantes ?

c) Le Conseil Suprême réserve pour une consultation ultérieure avec la Société des Nations la décision à intervenir touchant les mesures nécessaires pour garantir l'exécution des clauses relatives à la protection des Minorités en Turquie.

Le Conseil de la Société des Nations juge-t-il que la date de cette consultation doit être laissée indéterminée ou au contraire désire-t-il préciser que cette consultation pourrait avoir lieu avec plus d'avantages après que le Traité aura été présenté à la Turquie ?

(41/3694/807)

20/4/51

PROTECTION DE L'ÉTAT ARMÉNIEN

(Mémoire présenté par le Secrétaire-Général)

1° QUESTION DE PRINCIPE

Si l'Arménie pouvait être placée sous le régime du mandat tel qu'il a été institué par l'article 22 du Pacte, le rôle réservé à la Société des Nations n'aurait pas besoin d'être défini davantage puisqu'il l'a été par le texte même de l'article 22. Mais le télégramme indique qu'il est fait appel à la Société des Nations précisément parce qu'à l'heure actuelle aucune Puissance ne paraît disposée à se charger d'un mandat en Arménie.

Trois hypothèses se présentent dans le cas où l'on envisagerait de donner à l'Arménie la protection suggérée par le Conseil Suprême:

a) Un nouvel effort pourrait être tenté pour trouver une Puissance mandataire.

b) L'Arménie pourrait être placée sous le régime du mandat collectif accepté par plusieurs Puissances qui seraient collectivement responsables devant la Société des Nations dans les conditions prévues à l'article 22 du Pacte.

c) L'Arménie pourrait être aidée par une mission d'assistance confiée à la Société des Nations sous telles garanties que le Conseil jugerait nécessaires pour permettre à la Société de remplir cette mission dans les conditions permises par le Pacte.

Dans la troisième hypothèse le Secrétaire Général a l'honneur de soumettre au Conseil les considérations de fait suivantes:

2. QUESTION TERRITORIALE.

En l'absence dans le télégramme de Lord Curzon d'aucune indication relative à l'évacuation par les forces régulières ou irrégulières turques des territoires ottomans attribués à l'Arménie, il paraît impossible de croire qu'on ait eu l'intention de proposer à la Société des Nations aucune responsabilité en ce qui concerne cette évacuation. D'autre part, les Puissances Alliées paraissent estimer qu'elle pourrait être facilitée par le nom et la présence de la Société des Nations. La question qui se pose en ce cas est de savoir comment les représentants des Alliés chargés de faire exécuter les clauses territoriales du Traité pourraient travailler en même temps que des Représentants de la Société chargés d'une Mission d'assistance de manière à établir une distinction aussi nette que possible entre la liquidation du passé et la garantie de l'avenir.

3. QUESTION MILITAIRE.

En ce qui concerne la défense de l'Arménie, le télégramme du 12 mars cite un rapport approuvé par la Conférence. Selon ce rapport, les Arméniens d'Erivan ont à présent une armée de 25,000 hommes encadrés en partie par des officiers de carrière de l'ancienne armée russe, et cette force pourrait être portée à 40,000 hommes par le recrutement en Arménie. Ce que demandent les Représentants de l'Arménie (dont les vœux sont indiqués dans un document ci-joint), c'est, d'une part, l'aide d'officiers étrangers et de volontaires, si on ne veut pas leur envoyer des troupes régulières et, d'autre part, des armes et du matériel.

Sur ces deux points la Conférence s'adresse à la Société des Nations. En ce qui concerne les armes et le matériel, le télégramme indique que les Puissances Alliées sont disposées à aider l'Arménie et qu'on espère qu'une première livraison pourra lui être faite incessamment.

Il ajoute que, pour d'autres espèces de matériel dont l'Arménie aura besoin, il faudrait un appel au public "qui ne pourrait être fait par personne avec une plus grande autorité que par la Société des Nations."

En ce qui/

En ce qui concerne la formation d'un cadre de conseillers militaires, et, éventuellement, d'un corps de volontaires, la solution indiquée paraît être la même. Les opinions des experts diffèrent sur l'importance de l'aide qui serait indispensable. Certains pensent, avec les Représentants des Arméniens, qu'il suffirait de pourvoir au Commandement Supérieur et à certaines Missions techniques. D'autres sont d'avis qu'un corps de volontaires de 6,000 hommes au moins sera nécessaire. Cette question est liée étroitement à la question financière, qui fait l'objet du paragraphe 5 du présent mémorandum.

4. COMMUNICATIONS AVEC LA MER.

Elles ne peuvent se faire que par le port de Batoum. La solution donnée au problème de Batoum, selon qu'il deviendra un port libre sous un régime spécial ou qu'il sera attribué à l'un des Etats voisins, et surtout selon qu'il sera ou non protégé par une garnison intégraliée, paraît être une des données indispensables de la réponse à faire à la demande de la Conférence. Le Conseil désirera sans doute être renseigné sur les garanties effectives données à l'Arménie, non seulement pour l'usage du port de Batoum, mais, aussi, pour la sécurité des voies d'accès à ce port.

5. QUESTION FINANCIERE.

Les dépenses de l'Etat Arménien seront couvertes dans l'avenir, au moins en partie, par ses propres ressources et par les contributions des colonies arméniennes à l'étranger. Mais il faut prévoir, pendant plusieurs années, un rendement financier nul pour les provinces placées auparavant sous la domination Ottomane, et un rendement réduit pour les anciennes provinces russes. Il serait donc nécessaire, pour permettre à l'Etat arménien de vivre, de compléter, par des moyens extérieurs, les ressources de son budget, et, dans les premières années, de trouver en dehors de l'Arménie la plus grande partie des sommes nécessaires. Il faudrait pourvoir, non seulement aux besoins immédiats de l'administration et de la défense, mais aux frais du rapatriement des populations arméniennes dispersées, prévu par le
Traité,

Traité, et à ceux qu'entraînera l'exécution d'un programme minimum de travaux publics.

Les sommes qui pourraient être obtenues du Public à l'appel de la Société seront, dans l'hypothèse la plus favorable, tout-à-fait insuffisantes à combler le déficit. On peut concevoir que l'Arménie fasse des emprunts ou sollicite des crédits avec une garantie étrangère pour le paiement des intérêts. Le Conseil désirera sans doute savoir d'où viendrait cette garantie, et quelle est devant ce problème l'attitude des Puissances signataires du Traité. Sans un engagement ferme permettant d'établir le crédit de l'Etat arménien, non seulement le problème financier, mais le problème tout entier de la protection de l'Arménie resterait sans solution.

6. CONSEILLERS CIVILS.

La question de l'assistance à fournir à l'Etat Arménien en mettant à sa disposition un petit nombre de conseillers civils ne paraît pas de nature à soulever de difficultés ni à exiger un engagement spécial de la part des Puissances signataires du Traité.

29 Mars 1920.

(41/94/807)

20/4/51

LA PROTECTION DES MINORITÉS EN TURQUIE

Mémorandum par le Secrétaire-Général

Les clauses relatives aux minorités dans le projet de Traité de Paix avec la Turquie, sont contenues dans l'annexe à la note que le Secrétaire-Général a adressée aux Membres du Conseil, à la date du 24 mars.

Les clauses relatives aux minorités dans le Traité du 28 juin 1919, entre les Principales Puissances Alliées et Associées et la Pologne, ont déjà été placées, par une décision du Conseil, sous la garantie de la Société des Nations: il peut être utile de les comparer aux clauses relatives aux minorités, dans le projet de Traité de Paix avec la Turquie.

Un exemplaire du Traité avec la Pologne est joint à ce mémorandum, pour information.

ARTICLE 1

L'article 1er des clauses relatives aux Minorités dans le projet de Traité avec la Turquie correspond à l'article I du Traité avec la Pologne. Il se réfère aux articles 2, 6 et 7 seulement du projet de Traité de Paix avec la Turquie, alors que l'article 1 du Traité avec la Pologne se réfère aux articles 2 à 8 de ce dernier Traité. Cette différence résulte de l'absence, dans le projet de Traité avec la Turquie, de clauses relatives à la nationalité, clauses qui constituent les articles 3 à 6 du Traité avec la Pologne. Le Comité Allié, du reste, en présentant son rapport sur le projet, a expliqué qu'un chapitre séparé, ayant trait à la

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nationalité et déterminant les stipulations nécessaires, sera inséré dans le Traité de Paix avec la Turquie. (Voir l'annexe et la note du Secrétaire-Général en date du 24 mars).

Le même article Ier diffère également du Traité de Paix avec la Pologne en ceci qu'il a trait aux lois "civiles ou militaires" et aux "iradés impériaux". Ces mentions dénotent clairement l'intention qu'on a d'établir, par ces clauses, des garanties aussi étendues et aussi fortes que possible.

ARTICLE 2

L'article 2 correspond au même article dans le Traité avec la Pologne, à cette exception près que le projet de Traité avec la Turquie omet la phrase suivante qui est contenue dans le Traité avec la Pologne: "dont la pratique ne sera pas incompatible avec l'ordre public et les bonnes mœurs". Il est évident qu'on peut avoir des avis différents sur ce qu'il faut considérer comme "incompatible avec l'ordre public et les bonnes mœurs" en Turquie en comparaison de ce qui serait tenu pour tel dans les pays occidentaux.

ARTICLE 3

L'article 3 ne correspond à aucune des clauses contenues dans le Traité avec la Pologne.

Le premier paragraphe annule automatiquement les conversions à l'Islamisme qui ont eu lieu entre le 1er novembre 1914 et la date de l'entrée en vigueur du Traité. Dans le second paragraphe, le Gouvernement ottoman s'engage à aider à retrouver les hommes, les femmes et les enfants de naissance entièrement ou partiellement non-musulmane qui ont embrassé l'Islamisme depuis le 1er novembre 1914 et qui seront réclamés par leur famille ou par leur "communauté". Le Gouvernement ottoman admet également tout droit de visite domiciliaire ou perquisition soit dans les maisons particulières, soit dans des institutions quelconques, ayant pour but la recherche de personnes disparues. Ces recherches seront conduites par

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représentant de la "communauté" intéressée et un fonctionnaire du Gouvernement ottoman en présence de tel autre représentant étranger qui pourrait être éventuellement nommé par les Alliés.

Le texte du projet original est le suivant:

"En présence d'un délégué du représentant de la Société des Nations; (voir ci-dessous article 12)". La lettre adressée le 20 mars au Secrétaire-Général par le Secrétaire du Conseil Suprême, spécifie que comme corollaire à l'adoption de la clause suspensive, la Conférence des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères et des Ambassadeurs est d'accord pour décider que toute référence dans ces clauses à un "représentant de la Société des Nations" soit omise et qu'on lui substitue les mots par "le Conseil de la Société des Nations", il semble qu'il y ait une différence entre le texte corrigé du projet et le paragraphe précité de la lettre du Secrétaire du Conseil Suprême. Il est possible qu'on ait encore l'intention d'inviter le Conseil de la Société des Nations à nommer ou à faire nommer l'un des membres des Commissions envisagées. La question se poserait alors de savoir si, en cas de nomination d'un membre de ces Commissions par le Conseil de la Société des Nations ou par un représentant de la Société des Nations, la Société serait de ce fait responsable de la bonne exécution des fonctions qui incomberaient à ces Commissions. Les Commissions en question seraient-elles les représentantes de la Société des Nations, recevraient-elles leurs instructions de la Société des Nations, ou agiraient-elles au nom des Hautes Parties contractantes signataires du Traité en se conformant aux stipulations du Traité de Paix, la coopération de la Société des Nations se réduisant simplement au choix des personnes ?

ARTICLE 4.

Il n'existe pas de clause correspondante dans le Traité avec la Pologne.

La Turquie s'engage à reconnaître les dispositions que les Puissances Alliées jugeront opportunes relativement à l'émigration réciproque et volontaire des individus appartenant aux minorités ethniques. Il n'apparaît pas très clairement si le droit qu'on veut réserver aux Puissances Alliées consiste à pouvoir établir à un moment quelconque, dans l'avenir, des règles en vue de cette émigration, ou à faire de ces règles l'objet d'une déclaration séparée qui serait signée et mise en vigueur au même moment que le Traité de Paix.

Aux termes du second paragraphe de l'article, cependant, la Turquie s'engage expressément à adhérer au Traité conclu entre la Grèce et la Bulgarie, le 27 Novembre 1919, et qui a trait à l'émigration réciproque. Aux termes de ce Traité, les Hautes Parties contractantes reconnaissent à leurs ressortissants appartenant à des minorités ethniques de religion ou de langue, le droit d'émigrer librement. Elles s'engagent à faciliter l'exercice de ce droit, qui ne doit entraîner aucun dommage pécuniaire pour les émigrants. Le droit d'émigration volontaire appartient à toute personne âgée de plus de 18 ans et il pourra être exercé dans un délai de deux ans à partir de la constitution d'une Commission mixte, au moyen d'une déclaration devant cette Commission ou devant ses représentants.

La Commission mixte doit être constituée dans les trois mois suivant la mise en vigueur du Traité. Elle sera composée d'un membre nommé par chacun des Etats contractants intéressés, et d'un nombre égal de membres appartenant à une autre nationalité, qui seront nommés par le Conseil de la Société des Nations et parmi lesquels sera choisi le Président de la Commission. Cette Commission mixte devra surveiller et faciliter l'émigration volontaire prévue par le Traité et liquider les biens immeubles des émigrants. Elle aura tout pouvoir de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour l'exécution du Traité et de trancher toutes les questions auxquelles ce Traité pourrait donner lieu. Les décisions seront prises à la majorité des voix, la voix du Président étant prépondérante. Les Etats intéressés avanceront à la Commission les fonds nécessaires à cette émigration, dans les conditions fixées par la dite Commission. La Commission fera des avances aux émigrants, sur la valeur de leurs biens immobiliers, dans la mesure des fonds disponibles. Les dépenses afférentes à la Commission et à ses organes seront à la charge des Gouvernements intéressés, dans des proportions que la Commission aura à déterminer. Les Etats qui ont une frontière commune avec l'un des Etats signataires du Traité pourront adhérer à ce Traité dans l'année qui suivra la date de son entrée en vigueur.

Telles sont les principales clauses du Traité Gréco-Bulgare. Ce traité n'est pas encore entré en vigueur et il n'a pas été examiné par la Société des Nations.

Si la Société des Nations prenait sur elle la tâche qui lui serait confiée par le Traité, elle accepterait naturellement la responsabilité de choisir des personnes compétentes comme Membres de la Commission. La question se pose de savoir si la participation de la Société des Nations se bornerait à la nomination de certains membres de la Commission. La Commission mixte représentera-t-elle la Société des Nations et recevra-t-elle ses instructions de la Société, ou représentera-t-elle les Hautes Parties contractantes, et agira-t-elle en leur nom, en basant son action sur les clauses du Traité? En d'autres termes, la Société des Nations, en nommant des Membres de cette Commission, se rendra-t-elle elle-même responsable de la manière dont cette Commission s'acquittera de sa tâche ou des résultats qui seront obtenus?

ARTICLE 5

Il n'existe pas de clause correspondante dans le Traité avec la Pologne. Les dispositions de l'article visent les sujets ottomans, de race non turque, chassés de leurs foyers, soit par la crainte de massacres, soit par toute autre forme de contrainte depuis le 1er Août 1914; elles prévoient leur retour dans leurs foyers, la reprise de leurs affaires et la restitution de leurs biens. Le Gouvernement Ottoman admet l'établissement de Commissions arbitrales désignées par le Conseil de la Société des Nations, partout où cela sera jugé nécessaire. Chacune de ces Commissions sera composée d'un représentant du Gouvernement Ottoman, un représentant de la Communauté lésée, ou dont un membre aura été lésé, et d'un Président nommé par le Conseil de la Société des Nations. Les Commissions arbitrales connaîtront de toutes les réclamations visées par l'article 5 et les instruiront, en suivant une procédure sommaire. Le Gouvernement ottoman s'engage à faciliter le fonctionnement des Commissions et veillera à l'exécution de leurs décisions qui seront sans appel.

On ne voit pas clairement si l'on veut que le Conseil de la Société des Nations nomme tous les membres de ces Commissions ou seulement le Président. En outre, qui décidera de la nécessité de nommer une Commission? Ce point reste également douteux. Etant donné les circonstances, il paraîtrait essentiel qu'aucun doute ne subsistât touchant le caractère précis des obligations de la Société des Nations, en ce qui concerne ces Commissions. Ces Commissions seront-elles les organes ou les représentants de la Société des Nations et par conséquent placées sous la direction de la Société, s'il s'agit de l'exécution de leur mission? ou la définition des fonctions de ces Commissions sera-t-elle établie par les clauses du Traité de Paix, et ces Commissions, dans l'exécution de ces fonctions, agiront-elles pour le compte des Hautes Parties contractantes? Dans le dernier cas, toutes les dépenses afférentes aux Commissions, y compris les appointements des membres, seront naturellement à la charge des Hautes Parties contractantes et non de la Société des Nations.

ARTICLE 6

L'article correspond à l'article 4 du Traité avec la Pologne, sauf qu'il n'est fait aucune allusion dans le Traité avec la Turquie, à l'adoption éventuelle d'une langue comme langue officielle. Il conviendrait peut-être d'attirer l'attention sur le fait que l'article 6, comme les articles correspondants des autres Traités relatifs aux Minorités, parle de "ressortissants" et non d' "habitants" de la Turquie. La garantie concédée aux habitants qui ne sont pas des ressortissants, est stipulée à l'article 2; il paraît douteux que cette garantie soit suffisante pour ceux des habitants qui ne sont pas sujets ottomans. On peut supposer que ce point a été envisagé par la Conférence de Paix et que les garanties reconnues comme nécessaires sont fournies par d'autres clauses du Traité.

ARTICLE 7

L'article 7 du projet correspond à l'article 8 du Traité avec la Pologne, mais la clause qui concerne le droit des

minorités à créer, diriger et contrôler des institutions religieuses et sociales, des écoles et autres établissements d'éducation, a été renforcée de manière à insister à cet égard sur l'indépendance des Minorités en question vis-à-vis des autorités ottomanes et à comprendre ainsi dans la définition les écoles de toutes catégories.

ARTICLE 8

L'article 8 du projet correspond, avec une légère modification, au second paragraphe de l'article 9 du Traité avec la Pologne.

Les différences existant entre l'article 9 du Traité avec la Pologne et l'article 8 du projet de Traité avec la Turquie, paraissent justifiées par la différence des situations que chacun de ces Traités respectivement a en vue.

ARTICLES 9 & 10

Ces articles offrent un certain nombre de clauses spéciales pour la protection des Minorités ethniques. Ces clauses peuvent être considérées comme correspondant aux clauses des articles 10 & 11 du Traité avec la Pologne.

ARTICLES 11, 12, 13 & 14.

On peut dire que ces articles du Traité de Paix avec la Turquie correspondent à l'article 12 du Traité avec la Pologne. Toutefois, on notera que l'article 12 du projet de Traité avec la Turquie prévoyait un représentant de la Société des Nations résidant à Constantinople, investi du droit de faire des enquêtes sur place ou d'envoyer ses délégués pour la constatation de toute infraction aux dispositions relatives aux minorités. Ces quatre articles du projet ont été temporairement supprimés. On a adopté à leur place la clause suspensive mentionnée dans la lettre adressée le 20 mars par le Secrétaire du Conseil Suprême.

"Les Principales Puissances Alliées, après consultation avec le Conseil de la Société des Nations, prendront une décision sur les mesures nécessaires pour garantir l'exécution des clauses de ce chapitre. Le Gouvernement Turc accepte toutes les décisions qui pourront être prises à ce sujet.

PROPOSITIONS PRÉSENTÉES PAR LA
DELEGATION ARMÉNIENNE A LONDRES,
EN VUE DE L'AIDE QUI POURRAIT ÊTRE DONNÉE A L'ARMÉNIE,
SI L'ARMÉNIE ÉTAIT PLACÉE SOUS LA PROTECTION DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS.

1 - Aide d'ordre administratif.

1°.- L'assistance accordée à l'Etat Arménien Indépendant par la Ligue des Nations aura une durée de 30 ans; elle pourra être renouvelée d'un commun accord pour deux périodes successives de 5 ans chacune.

2°.- La Ligue des Nations exercera son mandat par l'entremise :

- a) d'un Haut Représentant de la Ligue dont la résidence sera dans la Capitale de l'Etat Arménien;
- b) de Conseillers attachés aux Ministères arméniens.

3°.- L'Arménie nommera un Représentant auprès de la Ligue des Nations.

4°.- Le Haut Représentant de la Ligue remplira le rôle de modérateur et de conciliateur en cas de conflit entre les conseillers et les ministères arméniens.

5°.- Les conseillers auront pour tâche:

- a) d'élaborer tous projets de lois qu'ils jugeront utiles et de les soumettre aux ministres, dont ils relèvent, pour en saisir le pouvoir législatif.
- b) d'élaborer tous projets de règlements, de décrets et de proposer aux ministres dont ils relèvent, leur mise en vigueur conformément aux dispositions de la Constitution arménienne.
- c) de proposer aux ministres telles mesures administratives qu'ils considèreraient comme utiles.

6°.- Les Ministres compétents devront, dans un délai de deux mois, transmettre les projets de lois proposés par les Conseillers, au Conseil des Ministres, qui en saisira le Parlement Arménien.

7°.- Il serait à désirer que les Conseillers, qui sont désignés par la Ligue des Nations pour donner "aide et conseil", comme

il est prévu dans l'article 22 du Pacte de la Société des Nations,
appartiennent à la même nationalité.

II - AIDE D'ORDRE MILITAIRE

Les fonctions de la Mission Militaire Etrangère dans la République Arménienne seront les suivantes:

- 1 - Réorganisation de l'Armée
- 2 - Contrôle des opérations de l'armée chargée d'occuper les districts devant être évacués par les Turcs.

1 - ORGANISATION DE L'ARMÉE

Actuellement l'armée de la République compte environ 1.000 officiers arméniens, ayant reçu une instruction dans les écoles ou académies militaires russes. Ils ont servi dans l'armée russe et ont acquis une expérience précieuse pendant la dernière guerre. Cette armée compte également un nombre suffisant d'officiers supérieurs de l'ancienne armée russe laquelle était constituée d'après des principes communs à toute les armées européennes. Dans ces conditions, l'envoi des instructeurs étrangers pour l'organisation et l'instruction de l'infanterie, de l'artillerie et de la cavalerie de la République Arménienne ne semble pas indispensable; leur présence pourrait être nécessaire pour l'artillerie dans le cas où un canon d'un modèle nouveau y serait introduit. Si, comme nous venons de l'indiquer, l'infanterie, l'artillerie et la cavalerie pourraient se passer d'instructeurs, il n'en est pas de même pour le Ministère de la Guerre, ni pour les unités spéciales de l'armée où les éléments techniques font défaut.

Il faut donc admettre la nécessité d'un conseiller militaire ainsi que des instructeurs.

A - Un conseiller militaire

B - Des instructeurs

- 1 - Pour l'artillerie dans le cas où un nouveau canon serait introduit.
- 2 - Pour l'aviation
- 3 - Pour la radiotélégraphie
- 4 - Pour la section d'automobiles militaires.

.....

2 - CONTROLE DES OPERATIONS DE L'ARMEE

CHARGEE D'OCCUPER LES DISTRICTS EVACUES PAR LES TURCS.

A plusieurs reprises, verbalement et par écrit, pour donner aux Alliés des preuves que l'armée de la République ne sera employée qu'à la défense de l'indépendance et de la liberté du pays, la Délégation leur a proposé de soumettre l'armée de la République au contrôle des Missions Alliées.

La présence des officiers alliés dans l'armée de la République lors de l'occupation projetée de l'Arménie Turque, fournirait une garantie pour la bonne exécution des décisions de la Conférence de la Paix; leurs témoignages impartiaux rassureraient l'opinion publique chez les Alliés et préviendraient les craintes de persécutions ou d'agressions contre la population musulmane. Dans le passé, comme dans le présent, le Gouvernement de la République s'est donné la tâche d'aplanir les conflits raciaux et de sauvegarder les droits des minorités.

Le contrôle effectif de ces opérations pourrait être assuré en attachant à chacune des cinq brigades d'infanterie dont se compose l'armée de la République un officier étranger faisant partie de la mission militaire.

3 - CONCLUSION

La mission militaire devrait être composée d'officiers instructeurs et d'officiers contrôleurs.

Le chef de la mission militaire serait en même temps conseiller militaire au Ministère de la Guerre. Il aurait sous ses ordres le personnel suivant:

- A - Officiers instructeurs:
 - 1 - Pour l'artillerie (si l'armée recevait des canons d'un nouveau modèle.
 - 2 - Pour l'aviation
 - 3 - Pour la radiotélégraphie
 - 4 - Pour la section des automobiles militaires.
- B - Pour le contrôle des opérations militaires.
 - Un officier dans l'état-major de chaque brigade.

D'après ce qui précède il faudra en admettant une armée minima de 40.000 hommes, un chef de mission et une dizaine d'officiers pour l'instruction et pour le service de contrôle: ceux-ci pourront s'adjoindre le nombre de collaborateurs qu'ils jugeront nécessaires.

PROTECTION OF THE ARMENIAN STATE AND PROTECTION OF
MINORITIES IN TURKEY.

NOTE DATED 1st APRIL 1920 BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.

[41/3654/807]

In accordance with the instructions of the Council, the Secretary-General asked the Conference now sitting in London, preparing the Treaty with Turkey whether anything could be added to the telegrams, addressed to the Council by Lord Curzon on March 12, concerning Armenia and the protection of Turkish Minorities.

As regard Armenia, the information obtained indicates that the Conference wishes to leave the Council the most complete liberty in the examination of the problem.

The Secretary-General referring to the text of the telegram of March 12, ventures to remind the Council of the points it is invited to consider, and has the honour to submit herewith a memorandum prepared for this purpose (Annex No.1).

As regards the protection of Minorities in Turkey, the Supreme Council has set forth, in a letter of March 20, addressed by Sir Maurice Hankey to the Secretary-General, the present state of the question. This letter was communicated to the Members of the Council in a note of March 24.

(1) The Secretary-General has the honour to submit herewith a memorandum (Annex No.2), comparing the clauses for the protection of Minorities in Turkey, communicated by the Supreme Council, with the clauses for the protection of Minorities in Poland, contained in the Treaty of June 28, 1919, between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland. The clauses of the Polish Treaty were placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations by the resolution of the Council of February 13.

(2) The Secretary-General desires to call the attention of the Council to the following points:-

(a) Sir Maurice Hankey's letter of March 20 communicates to the Council of the League of Nations the clauses which, on the one hand, define the principles according to which Minorities in Turkey shall be protected, and which, on the other hand, in anticipation of a later consultation between the Council of the League of Nations and the Supreme Council, reserve decision on the measures necessary to guarantee the execution of these clauses.

Is the Council of the opinion that it should merely acknowledge the receipt of the communication of the Supreme Council/^{or does it wish} to declare that it has no objection to the insertion in the Treaty of the clauses or would it desire to make any observations on the principles under discussion, or on the form of the clauses in question?

(b) As explained in Article 4 of the enclosed memorandum, the Council may be called upon to appoint some of the members of a mixed Commission; moreover, by Article 5 of the clauses communicated by the Supreme Council, the appointment of members of arbitral commissions by the Council of the League of Nations is also prescribed.

Is the Council of the opinion that it is necessary or advisable to give to the Supreme Council a clear definition as to the responsibility of the League of Nations? Would the members nominated to these commissions by the Council of the League be placed under the authority and the responsibility of the Council of the League, or, would the League of Nations, in making these appointments, be concerned solely with the nomination of members who, once they had assumed office, would act under the authority and in virtue of the Treaties, and on behalf of the High Contracting Parties?

(c) The Supreme Council reserves for a further consultation with the League of Nations the decision in regard to the measures necessary to guarantee the execution of the clauses for the protection of the Minorities in Turkey.

Is the/

Is the Council of the League of Nations of the opinion that the date of this consultation should be left open, or does it wish to point out that this consultation might with more advantage be held after the Treaty has been presented to Turkey?

20/4/51

PROTECTION OF THE ARMENIAN STATE.

(Memorandum by the Secretary-General).

1. QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE.

If Armenia could be placed under the mandatory system as explained in Article 22 of the Covenant, the role of the League of Nations would need no further definition than that given in the text of this Article. But the telegram indicates that an appeal is made to the League of Nations precisely because at the present moment no Power seems disposed to accept a Mandate in Armenia.

On the supposition that Armenia is to receive the protection suggested by the Supreme Council, three possibilities arise:-

(a) Further effort might be made to find a Power to accept the Mandate.

(b) Armenia might be placed under a collective Mandate, accepted by several Powers, who would be collectively responsible to the League, under the conditions prescribed in Article 22 of the Covenant.

(c) Armenia might be aided by a Mission of administrative advice and assistance. The constitution of this Mission might be entrusted to the League of Nations, such guarantees being given as the Council may consider necessary to enable the League to carry out this undertaking according to the conditions laid down in the Covenant.

The Secretary-General has the honour to submit to the Council the following considerations with regard to the third possibility.

(2) TERRITORIAL QUESTION./

(2) TERRITORIAL QUESTION.

Lord Curzon's telegram throws no light on the question of the evacuation by the regular and irregular Turkish forces of the Turkish territory assigned to Armenia. It seems hardly possible, however, to believe that it was intended to ask the League of Nations to assume any responsibility in connection with this evacuation. On the other hand, the Allied Powers seem to think that it might be facilitated by the name and the presence of the League of Nations. In this case, the question arises how the representatives of the Allies, entrusted with carrying out the territorial clauses of the Treaty, could work side by side with the representatives of the League, entrusted with a Mission of administrative advice and assistance, so as to distinguish as clearly as possible between the liquidation of the past and a guarantee for the future.

(3) MILITARY QUESTION.

The telegram of March 12th quotes a report dealing with the defence of Armenia, approved by the Conference. According to this report, the Armenians of Erivan have at present an army of 25,000 men officered partly by regular officers of the former Russian army, and this force might be brought up to 40,000 by recruiting in Armenia. The Armenian representatives (whose wishes are indicated in a document attached) ask first for the assistance of foreign volunteer officers, if regular troops are not available, and secondly for arms and equipment.

The Conference refers these two points to the League of Nations. The telegram indicates that the Allied Powers are disposed to assist Armenia with arms and equipment, and that it is hoped that a first delivery can be made at once.

The telegram adds that for other kinds of material of which Armenia stands in need, an appeal must be made to the public which no one "could issue with an authority compared with that of the League of Nations".

The same solution namely a public appeal seems to be suggested for the formation of a body of military advisors, and, possibly, of a
volunteer/

volunteer corps. The opinions of experts differ as to how much assistance would be necessary. Some agree with the Armenian representatives that the provision of a Supreme Command and certain technical missions would be sufficient. Others are of the opinion that at least 6,000 volunteers will be required. This question is closely connected with the financial question, which is treated in paragraph 5 of the present Memorandum.

(4) OUTLET TO THE SEA.

The only outlet to the sea is the port of Batoum. Before replying to the Conference, it seems essential to know what is to be the solution of the problem of Batoum: is it to become a free port under a special régime, or is it to be assigned to one of the neighbouring States? Will it or will it not be protected by an interallied garrison? The Council will doubtless wish for information concerning the effective guarantees to be given to Armenia, not only for the use of the port of Batoum, but also for the security of the approaches to the port.

(5) FINANCIAL QUESTION.

The expenses of the Armenian State will, to some extent, be met in future from its own resources and by contributions from Armenian Colonies abroad. For the first few years, however, no revenue can be expected from the provinces formerly under Turkish rule, and only a very reduced revenue from those formerly belonging to Russia. To enable the State to exist, it would therefore seem necessary, to add to its revenue from outside sources, and, during the first years, to raise the greater part of the requisite sums abroad. The immediate needs of administration and defence must be met, together with the cost of the repatriation of the scattered Armenian population mentioned in the Treaty, and the expenses of a minimum programme of public works.

Such sums as might be raised by an appeal from the League of Nations to the Public, would be, even on the most favourable assumption, quite insufficient to meet the deficit. It may be suggested

that Armenia/

that Armenia can negotiate loans or obtain credits on a foreign guarantee for the payment of the interest. The Council will doubtless wish to know the possible sources of this guarantee, and what is to be the attitude to this question of the Powers signatory to the Treaty. Without a definite pledge making possible the establishment^{of}/credit for the Armenian State, not only the financial problem, but the entire question of the protection of Armenia will remain unsolved.

(c) CIVIL ADVISORS.

The supply of a small number of civil advisors to the Armenian State is not likely to create difficulties, nor to require a special pledge on the part of the Powers signatory to the Treaty.

March 29, 1920.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

20/4/51.

(41/3694/807)

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES IN TURKEY
 (Memorandum by the Secretary General).

The proposed Minorities stipulations of the draft Treaty of Peace with Turkey are contained in the annex to the Secretary General's note to the Members of the Council of the 24th March.

The Minorities clauses of the Treaty of June 28th, 1919, between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland, have already ^{been} placed, by a decision of the Council, under the guarantee of the League of Nations and may perhaps be usefully compared with the draft clauses of the Turkish Treaty.

A copy of the Polish Treaty is annexed for reference.

ARTICLE 1.

of the Minorities clauses in the draft Treaty with Turkey corresponds with Article 1 of the Polish Treaty. It covers Articles 2, 6 and 7 only, while Article 1 of the Polish Treaty covers Articles 2 - 8. This is explained by the absence in the Turkish draft of stipulations concerning nationality, which form Articles 3 - 6 of the Polish Treaty. The Allied Committee has, however, in reporting on the draft (see annex to the Secretary General's note of 24th March) explained, that a separate Chapter regarding nationality, elaborating the necessary provisions, will be inserted in the Turkish Treaty.

The proposed Article 1 also differs from the Polish Treaty in that it refers to "civil or military" laws and "imperial Iradeh". This shows an obvious intention to make the stipulation as comprehensive and emphatic as possible.

ARTICLE 2.

corresponds with the same Article in the Polish Treaty with the exception that the phrase in the Polish Treaty "whose practises are not inconsistent with public order or public morals" is omitted in the Turkish draft. Obviously conceptions may differ as to what should be considered inconsistent with public order and public morals in Turkey as compared with the occidental/

occidental countries.

ARTICLE 3

has no corresponding stipulation in the Treaty with Poland.

The first paragraph automatically annuls conversions to Islam, which have taken place between November 1st, 1914 and the date of the coming into force of the Treaty. In the second paragraph the Turkish Government undertake to assist in the recovery of men, women and children of wholly or partly non-Moslem parentage, who have adopted the Islamic faith since November 1st, 1914, and who are claimed by their families or by their communities. The Turkish Government concede the fullest right of search for lost persons in private houses and institutions, the search to be carried out by a representative of the community affected and an official of the Turkish Government, together with such other foreign representatives as may thereafter be determined by the Allies.

The original draft read: "Together with a delegate of the representative of the League of Nations (see Article 12 below)." The letter of March 20th from the Secretary of the Supreme Council stated that, as a corollary to the introduction of the Suspensory Clause, the Conference of Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers agreed that all reference in the Minority Clauses to "a representative of the League of Nations" should be deleted, and "the Council of the League of Nations" substituted. There seems to be a discrepancy between the amended text and the quoted paragraph of the letter from the Secretary of the Supreme Council. The intention may still be to invite the Council of the League of Nations to appoint or cause to be appointed one Member of these Commissions. The question would then arise, whether the appointment by the Council of the League of Nations, or by some representative of the League of Nations, of a Member of these Commissions would make the League responsible for the execution of the duties of these Commissions. Would the Commissions represent the League of Nations and be instructed by the League? Or would they act in conformity with the stipulations of the Treaty of Peace and on behalf of the High-Contracting Parties

to the Treaty, the assistance given by the League being restricted to the act of nominating members?

ARTICLE 4

The Polish Treaty has no corresponding stipulations.

Turkey undertakes to recognise such provisions as the Allied Powers may consider opportune for the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of persons belonging to racial Minorities. It is not quite clear, whether the intention is that the Allied Powers should have the right at any future time to lay down rules for such emigration or whether such rules should be incorporated in a separate declaration to be signed and put into force at the same time as the Treaty of Peace.

Under the second paragraph of the Article, however, Turkey expressly undertakes to adhere to the Treaty between Greece and Bulgaria relating to reciprocal emigration signed on November 27th, 1919. Under this Treaty the High Contracting Parties recognise that national belonging to racial, religious and linguistic minorities have the right freely to emigrate, and promise to facilitate the exercise of this right, without detriment to the pecuniary rights of the emigrant. The right of voluntary emigration belongs to all persons of more than 18 years of age, and can be exercised within two years from the constitution of a Mixed Commission by means of a declaration before the Commission or before its representatives. The Mixed Commission must be constituted within three months from the coming into force of the Treaty. It will be composed of one Member appointed by each of the High Contracting and interested States, and an equal number of Members of another nationality who will be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations and from whom the Chairman of the Commission will be selected. This Mixed Commission will supervise and facilitate the voluntary emigration provided for by the Treaty and liquidate the real estate of the emigrants. It will have power to take the necessary steps for the execution of the Treaty and to decide all questions arising thereunder. Its decisions will be taken by a majority and the President will have a casting vote. The interested States will advance emigration funds to the Commission

Commission according to conditions laid down by it. The Commission will make advances to the emigrants on the value of their real estate, within the limit of available funds. The expenses connected with the Commission and its organs will be borne by the interested Governments in a proportion to be determined by the Commission. States having a common frontier line with one of the signatory States may adhere to this Treaty within one year from the date of its coming into force.

These are the main stipulations of the Greco-Bulgarian Treaty. The Treaty has not come into force and has not been considered by the League of Nations.

If the League of Nations undertakes the task entrusted to it under this Treaty, it would, of course, assume responsibility for the selection of suitable persons as members of the Commission. The question arises, however, whether the participation of the League of Nations would be restricted merely to the act of appointing certain Members of the Commission. Will the Mixed Commission represent the League of Nations and receive its instructions from the League, or will it be guided by the stipulations of the Treaty and represent and act on behalf of the High Contracting Parties? In other words, will the League of Nations, by appointing Members to the Commission, make itself responsible for the way in which the work of the Commission is carried out or for the results obtained?

ARTICLE 5

The Polish Treaty has no corresponding stipulations.

The Article provides for the return to their homes and recovery of their property and the re-establishing in their businesses of Turkish subjects of non-Turkish race, who have been driven from their homes by fear of massacre, or any other form of pressure, since August 1st, 1914. The Turkish Government agrees that Arbitral Commissions shall be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, wherever found necessary. These Commissions will each be composed of one representative of the Turkish Government, one representative of the injured community or whose member may have been injured, and a Chairman appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. The Arbitral Commissions will hear all claims falling

within the scope of the Article and decide them by summary procedure. The Turkish Government undertakes to facilitate the work of the Commissions and to ensure the execution of their decisions, which will be final.

It is not clear whether the Council of the League of Nations is intended to appoint all the Members of these Commissions or to appoint the Chairman only. Further, it is doubtful who is to decide upon the necessity of appointing a Commission. Under these circumstances it would seem essential that no doubt should exist as to the exact character of the duties of the League of Nations with regard to these Commissions. Will the Commissions be organs or representative of the League of Nations and be under the direction of the League as far as the fulfilment of their duties is concerned? Or will the terms of reference for the Commissions be the stipulations of the Treaty of Peace, and will the Commissions, in carrying out these stipulations, act on behalf of the High Contracting Parties? In the latter case all the expenses connected with the Commissions, including the salaries of the Members thereof, would naturally be charged to the High Contracting Parties and not to the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 6

corresponds with Article 7 of the Polish Treaty, except that no reference is made in the Turkish Treaty to the eventual establishment of an official language.

Attention ought perhaps to be drawn to the fact that Article like the corresponding Articles in the other Minority Treaties, deals with "Nationals" and not with "Inhabitants" of Turkey. The guarantee given to the inhabitants who are not Nationals is laid down in Article It is open to doubt whether this guarantee will be sufficient for inhabitants who are not Turkish subjects. It may be assumed that this point has been considered by the Peace Conference, and that the guarantees considered necessary are provided for by other stipulations of the Treaty.

ARTICLE 7

of the draft corresponds with Article 8 of the Polish Treaty, but the stipulation concerning the right of Minorities to establish, manage and control all charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and

other

other educational establishments has been strengthened so as to emphasize the independence in relation to the Turkish Authorities of the Minorities concerned and so as to include schools of all grades.

ARTICLE 8

of the draft corresponds, except for slight amendments to the second paragraph of Article 9 of the Polish Treaty.

The differences between Article 9 of the Polish Treaty and Article 8 of the Turkish draft seem to be accounted for by differences in the conditions with which they respectively deal.

ARTICLES 9 and 10

of the draft contain a number of special stipulations for the protection of racial Minorities. These stipulations may be considered as corresponding with the stipulations of Articles 10 and 11 of the Polish Minority Treaty.

ARTICLES 11, 12, 13, and 14

of the Turkish draft may be said to take the place of Article 12 of the Polish Treaty. It should however be noted that Article 12 of the Turkish draft Treaty provided for a representative of the League of Nations resident in Constantinople with a right to make enquiries on the spot or to send his delegates to the spot to investigate infringements of the Minority Clauses. These four Articles of the draft have been temporarily suppressed. In their place the following Suspensory Clause mentioned in the letter of March 20th from the Secretary of the Supreme Council has been adopted:-

" The Principal Allied Powers, in consultation with the Council of the League of Nations, will decide what measures are necessary to guarantee the execution of the clauses of this chapter. The Turkish Government accepts all decisions that may be taken on the subject".

SUGGESTIONS MADE BY THE ARMENIAN DELEGATION IN LONDON RELATIVE
TO THE ASSISTANCE WHICH COULD BE RENDERED TO THE ARMENIAN STATE
IN THE EVENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSUMING ITS PROTECTION.

I. CIVIL ASSISTANCE.

(1) The assistance granted to the Independent Armenian State by the League of Nations shall cover a period of 20 years; it may be renewed by common agreement for two successive periods of 5 years each.

(2) The League of Nations shall exercise its mandate by the intermediary of:

(a) a High Commissioner of the League, who shall have his residence at the capital of the Armenian State; and

(b) advisers attached to the Armenian Ministries.

(3) Armenia shall appoint a representative to the League of Nations.

(4) The High Commissioner shall play the part of moderator and conciliator in case of a difference of opinion between the advisers and the Armenian Ministers.

(5) It shall be the duty of the advisers:

(a) to draft such bills as they may judge necessary and to submit them to the Ministers, to whom they are assigned, who will submit the bills to the legislative power.

(b) to draw up all drafts of regulations and decrees and to propose to the Ministers to whom they are assigned that they be enforced in accordance with the provisions of the Armenian Constitution.

(c) to propose to the Ministers such administrative measures as they may consider to be timely.

(6) The Ministers within whose competence they fall shall, within a period of two months, transmit the draft bills proposed by the advisers to the Council of Ministers, who will submit them to the Armenian Parliament.

(7) It would be desirable to have the advisers, who are appointed by the League of Nations, to give "assistance and advice", as stipulated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, belong to the same nationality.

II. MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

The duties of the Foreign Military Mission in the Armenian Republic will be as follows;

(1) Reorganisation of the Army.

(2) Control of operations of the Army entrusted with the occupation of the districts to be evacuated by the Turks.

(1) Organisation of the Army. At present the Army of the Republic contains about 1,000 Armenian officers, who have received instruction in Russian military schools or academies. They have served in the Russian Army and have acquired valuable experience during the late war.

This Army also includes a sufficient number of field officers of the former Russian Army, which was organised on the same lines as other European Armies. Under these conditions foreign instructors for the organisation and instruction of the infantry, artillery and cavalry of the Armenian Republic does not seem essential; their presence would be necessary to the artillery if a gun of a new model should be introduced. But if, as we have just pointed out, the infantry, artillery and cavalry can do without instructors, the Ministry of War cannot, nor can the special units of the Army, in which technical elements are lacking.

The necessity of a military adviser, as well as of instructors, must, therefore, be admitted.

A. A Military Adviser.

B. Instructors:

- (i) For the artillery, in case a new gun is introduced.
- (ii) For the aviation.
- (iii) For the radio-telegraphy.
- (iv) For the section of military motor cars.

(2) Control of the Operations of the Army entrusted with the occupation of the districts evacuated by the Turks. In order to give the Allies proofs that the Army of the Republic will be employed

only

only in the defence of the independence of the country, the Delegation has proposed several times, by word of mouth and by writing, to put the army under the control of the Allied Powers.

The presence of Allied officers in the Army of the Republic at the time of the contemplated occupation of Turkish Armenia would furnish a guarantee of the execution of the decisions of the Peace Conference; their impartial testimony would reassure public opinion among the Allies and would allay fears of persecution or aggression against the Mussulman population. In the past, as in the present, the Government of the Republic has assumed the task of appeasing racial conflicts and of safeguarding the rights of minorities.

An effective control of these operations might be assured by attaching to each of the five brigades of the army a foreign officer belonging to the Military Mission.

(3) Conclusion. The Military Mission should be composed of officer instructors and of officer controllers.

The chief of the Military Mission would at the same time be the Military Adviser to the Ministry of War. He would have under his orders the following personnel:

A. Officer instructors:

- (i) For the artillery (in case the Army receives guns of a new model).
- (ii) For the aviation.
- (iii) For the radio-telegraphy.
- (iv) For the section of military motor cars.

B. For the control of military operations:

An officer on the staff of each brigade.

According to the preceding scheme we shall need, allowing for an Army of at least 40,000 men, a chief of mission and some ten officers for instruction and control: the latter may attach to themselves as many assistants as they think necessary.

Armenia

James

5th April 1920.

LEAGUE AND ARMENIA.

ALTERNATIVE SCHEMES FOR MANDATE.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has prepared a Memorandum in connexion with the request made by the Supreme Council that the League of Nations should assume the mandate for Armenia.

The Memorandum points out that, while the League has neither military forces nor funds to enable it to fulfil a mandatory's duties, on the other hand if the League were to refuse to undertake these responsibilities it would shake the confidence of the world in its future. Three possible methods are suggested:—

(1) The League might appoint some neutral State as mandatory. This State would provide the officers and administrative and other experts, who would act under direct responsibility to the League, and the Governments of at least the European members of the League might be asked to guarantee the deficits there might be on the Armenian Budgets in its early years.

(2) Powerful voluntary agencies in the United States or elsewhere might provide the *personnel*, and possibly the funds, required in Armenia.

(3) If neither of these devices proved satisfactory, it might be possible for the Council in due course to organize a League Commission of persons directly responsible to itself to carry out the duties of advice and assistance which Armenia would require.

It is most urgent that the Allies should first delimit the frontiers of the areas for which they wish the League to be responsible, and should restore the state of peace within those frontiers.

The Union, therefore, urges on the Government that the British representatives on the Council should be instructed to press the League to accept the responsibility proposed for it, and to do everything in its power to give the League of Nations a fair chance of success in the carrying out of these difficult tasks.

James

Armenia.
5th April 1920.

THE FUTURE OF ARMENIA.

Self-Supporting in Five Years.

REPORT OF AMERICAN COMMISSION.

From Our Own Correspondent,
P. W. WILSON.

NEW YORK, Sunday.

The Report has now been issued of the American Commission, under General Harbord, which was sent to investigate conditions in Armenia. It states that an American mandate for Armenia, which should include Constantinople, would require in the first year 50,000 to 200,000 troops and an expenditure over five years of 757,000,000dols. (normally £151,400,000). This expenditure would diminish annually to 85,000,000dols. (£17,000,000) in the fifth year, when the country would be self-supporting.

General Harbord holds that the authorising mandate should be unanimous on the part of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Germany, with strict preliminary guarantees against international interference. No envoy or ambassador of any kind should be sent to Turkey. Exclusive concessions should be subject to review if contrary to the best interests of the State.

FINANCIAL INTERESTS.

Foreign control of the Ottoman Debt should cease, and the Council of Administration be disbanded, all foreign obligations of Turkey being unified and refunded. The mandatories of Syria and Mesopotamia should accept a proportion of the paper currency and foreign obligations, and claims for reparations. Commercial treaties with Turkey should be abrogated. All foreign troops should evacuate the assigned territory.

General Harbord thinks that these conditions will arouse a storm of protest from financial interests in Europe, but he urges that they are essential to American assistance. While he does not formally recommend acceptance of a mandate, he says that the United States, as a chief contributor to the formation of the League of Nations, is morally bound to accept this responsibility.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

"The Near East presents the greatest humanitarian opportunity of the age, a duty for which the United States is better fitted than any other, as witness Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii, Panama, and our altruistic policy of developing peoples rather than material resources alone. America is practically the unanimous choice, and the fervent hope of the peoples involved."

Referring to the relief work of American Missions and Colleges, he declares that "intervention would be a liberal education for our people in world politics, would give an outlet to a vast amount of spirit and energy, and would furnish a shining example." On Britain he says, "America is the only hope of the Armenians. They consider but one other nation, Great Britain, which they fear would sacrifice their interests to Moslem public opinion as long as she controls hundreds of millions of that faith. Others fear Britain's Imperialism, and her habit of staying where she hoists her flag."

BRITISH RESOURCES.

General Harbord concludes the case for intervention with the text, "And the Lord said unto Cain 'Where is Abel?' and he said, 'I know not; am I my brother's keeper?'" At the same time General Harbord puts the other side, emphasising the domestic problems of the United States, the danger of weakening the Monroe Doctrine by intervention, and the peril of meddling. He argues that Britain is fitted by experience and government, has great resources in money and trained personnel, and though she might not be as sympathetic to Armenian aspirations, her rule would guarantee security and justice.

"The United States is not capable of sustaining continuity of foreign policy," says General Harbord. "One Congress cannot bind another. Even treaties can be nullified by cutting off appropriations. Non-partisanship is difficult to attain in our Government." It is also pointed out that there would be great expense involved, also military service in lands of loathsome and dangerous diseases. Moreover, there would be dependence on other naval Powers, especially Britain, with her bases at Gibraltar, Malta, etc.



E. DAWSON,
Service in H.M. Royal
Artillery.

powers and build up a position in a profession which combines prestige with profit.

It is certainly wiser to design an advertisement that folk will stop and admire than to paint a mediocre picture that you may have to give away as a wedding present! And it is good to feel that you are doing your share of the world's work that is really wanted and well paid for, and to have pounds in your pocket where there were only shillings.

The demand for the drawings that, if you are artistic and ambitious, Mr. Dawson can teach you to produce, is so much greater than the supply that no one with the necessary training is seeking work.

The work seeks the artist. Once equipped with the essential technique you can afford to be independent. You can plan for yourself the congenial career you have always wished for. Work as much or as little as you please. Be your own master, take a day off now and then for pleasure or study, live a life of real practical service, and enjoy the

contributor to the formation of the League says that the United States, as a chief recommend acceptance of a mandate, he assistance. While he does not formally urges that they are essential to American from financial interests in Europe, but he ditions will arouse a storm of protest. General Harbord thinks that these con- evacuate the assigned territory. abrogated. All foreign troops should be mercial treaties with Turkey should be tions, and claims for reparations. Com- of the paper currency and foreign obliga- Mesopotamia should accept a proportion funded. The mandates of Syria and tions of Turkey being united and re- stration be disbanded, all foreign obliga- should cease, and the Council of Admini- Foreign control of the Ottoman Debt

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THE FUTURE OF ARMENIA. Self-Supporting in Five Years. REPORT OF AMERICAN COMMISSION. From Our Own Correspondent, P. W. WILSON. New York, Sunday.

5th April 1920.

Times

Ann.

Daily News

6th April 1920.

THE ARMENIAN MANDATE.

A GREAT QUESTION FOR THE LEAGUE.

PARIS MEETING.

NEED FOR STATEMENT BY SUPREME COUNCIL.

By H. WILSON HARRIS.

The Council of the League of Nations meets in Paris on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of this week, to consider the proposal of the Allied Supreme Council that the League should make itself responsible for the welfare of Armenia.

This is by far the most important question the League has yet had to decide, and it is necessary that the issues involved in the request of the Supreme Council should be fully appreciated. For the Council of the League to decline the responsibility offered it would mean damaging its prestige almost irreparably, unless the most convincing reasons for such a refusal could be advanced, and advanced publicly. On the other hand, for it to accept the Supreme Council's proposal without exploring it to the depths and securing definite and adequate pledges of support from the major Allied Powers would be to court a failure that would be equally disastrous to Armenia and to the League itself.

The actual situation at the moment can be stated briefly. At the special meeting of the League Council held in Paris last month to appoint a commission to visit Russia (as to which, by the way, no further action has yet been taken, because the Soviet Government is postponing a definite reply concerning facilities for the commission till after the meeting of the Council of Commissioners this month), two telegrams were received from the Supreme Council opening up the whole Armenian proposal. Since they only arrived on the last day of the Council's sittings, and left several vital points obscure, discussion of the issues they raised was necessarily deferred.

CLEAR CUT PLAN WANTED.

This week's sittings of the Council—at which Mr. Balfour will represent Great Britain, M. Léon Bourgeois France, M. Venizelos Greece, and the Italian Ambassador in Paris Italy—have been specially arranged for the consideration of the single question of Armenia.

It is to be hoped that between now and Thursday the Allied Supreme Council will put a clear-cut proposal before the League. So far, I understand, the primary and fundamental question: "What is Armenia?" has not been answered by the Supreme Council. It is possible that the views of the League on that question, among others, are desired, but it is hard to see how the League Council can discuss intelligently its relation to the future of a country that may stretch from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, or may mean simply the area defined by Mr. Asquith in his recent House of Commons speech as consisting of the Caucasian Republic of Erivan extended substantially westwards (perhaps to Erzingan) and southwards (perhaps to Kharput and Bitlis).

Assuming that difficulty disposed of, the League Council will have to decide whether under any circumstances it can undertake a responsibility that would involve the provision and maintenance of a considerable military force, and a very substantial financial outlay.

FORCES AND FUNDS.

At present, it need hardly be pointed out, the League has no military force at its disposal, and no funds beyond what are provided for the expenses of its Secretariat. It is the controlling authority for the Saar Valley, it is true—or, to be more accurate, it is responsible for appointing the controlling authority—but that area is not threatened externally, and it is specially provided that no troops, beyond a small gendarmerie, may be maintained there. There is, therefore, no real analogy between the Saar Valley régime and the potential Armenia régime.

As to finance, the American commission which has just reported on the prospects of Armenia, estimates that an average expenditure of £30,000,000 for five years would be required. That sum, however, is probably excessive in relation to the present proposal, for the American commissioners were considering a more extensive territory than the League is concerned with. But whatever the sum, someone will have to find it, and similarly, someone will have to find the considerable body of troops whose presence the American commissioners judge necessary.

This must pretty clearly be the deciding factor. If the Supreme Council, representing the three strongest Powers in Europe, has no offer and no suggestion to make in regard to men and money, its approach to the League can only be regarded as a despairing attempt to push off on someone else a problem it has failed to solve itself. In that case the League would be fully justified in handing back the proposal with a reasoned explanation of the impossibility of discharging the task offered it.

ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS.

If, on the other hand, the Supreme Council—whose chief members are, after all, at the same time the chief members of the League of Nations—is prepared to agree with the Council of the League on the delimitation of an Armenia which shall so far as possible both satisfy national aspirations and at the same time constitute an area practicable from the point of view of defence and of finance; if it is prepared to clear Turkish freebooters out of such an area before it is handed over; if it is prepared to guarantee the necessary contribution of funds and troops, then the League would find it hard to justify to the world a refusal to undertake a charge so powerfully commended to it by humanitarian considerations.

The question of procedure is interesting and important. The Covenant of the League makes no direct provision for the assumption of such a responsibility as this, though the clause in Article XI authorising the League to "take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations" may, no doubt, be considered sufficient to confer what Alexander Hamilton called "implied powers." But the Council would certainly take no final decision on its own responsibility. The whole matter would have to be laid before the Assembly, consisting of 40 Powers, 13 of them neutrals in the late war, if for no other reason than that the active co-operation of the Governments represented might be required.

A NEUTRAL MANDATORY?

As an alternative to the direct acceptance by the League itself of a mandate for Armenia, it is still possible that the Council, if armed with the necessary military and financial guarantees, might succeed in getting the mandate accepted on its behalf by an individual nation—perhaps a neutral like Holland, or one of the Scandinavian Powers.

In any case, the matter will be discussed in every aspect at Paris this week, but in spite of the natural desire of the Allies to get an answer before the Supreme Council meets on the 19th at San Remo it is doubtful whether the Council of the League will have sufficiently detailed information as to the Allies' intentions to enable it to take a binding decision.

It is hardly to be expected that all its eight members will approach the question with the same prepossessions. M. Venizelos, I believe, is anxious to accept the Allies' offer if terms at all reasonable can be arranged. Mr. Balfour and M. Bourgeois are likely to move more slowly. But that is merely temperamental. There is no reason whatever to anticipate any real difference of opinion when the matter has been thrashed out.

holders of valuable sporting trophies which were won in past years are being asked to allow them to be re-offered for competition to save clubs and associations from having to provide new cups.

The Premier's references to the U.S.A. in his Home Rule speech recall an incident of the time of the severest trials of the Abolitionists. A pastor from the Southern States lamented to a brother clergyman in the North the introduction of the anti-slavery question because the views of his sect were "getting on so well before"! "Getting on!" cried the northern minister. "What is the use of getting your vessel on when you have thrown both captain and cargo overboard?"

Hopscotch Official.

The children's "hopscotch" game which will shortly leave its weird trade marks on City pavements again has received official recognition as a game. At Nettlebed and at Kemsing, where village recreation centres are being opened under the inspiration of the Village Clubs' Association, hopscotch courts have been well and truly laid in the courtyards of the village halls, including the spiral "coronation" hopscotch, finished with a Royal crown in bronze let into the stone. This goal is known as the "pudding," by the way. Why, I do not know. We may yet see hopscotch taken as seriously as any other sport with all the paraphernalia of handbooks, newspaper hints, and solemn opposition.

London's museums, as the Archbishop of Canterbury recently complained, are undoubtedly neglected by the majority of people. Indeed, the very existence of quite a number of collections and exhibitions appears unknown to many Londoners. Parkes' Museum in Buckingham Palace-road, Dr. Johnson's house, Gough-square, Fleet-street, and the Geffreye Museum at Shore-ditch are far enough off the beaten track to be practically unvisited. One can also have an hour's solitary pleasure wandering round the empty galleries of the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn-street, in the Record Office, Chancery-lane, and in the Patent Office Library, Southampton Buildings.

The atmosphere of the East got so thoroughly into my paragraph on Eastern plays as to affect the producer's name. Mr. Lilio has a very Oriental look, but the producer of "The Emperor's Way" is Mr. Lion, thoroughly British in name and penname.

On Hampstead Heath yesterday two stylishly dressed young women were looking at the swings and roundabouts. One of them, who carried a violin case, remarked to her companion: "How common!" One of a crowd of boys was so outraged by her remark that he kicked the case, which shot open. Out fell an orange, some sandwiches and a powder puff!

SAVOY—This Evening, at 8, PADDY THE NEXT BEST THING. Mat., Mon., Sat., 2.15.
SCALA THEATRE. "SOCIETY, LTD." Evgs. at 8. Mat., Thurs., Sat., 2.15.
STOLL PICTURE THEATRE, Kingsway.—2 to 10.30. Henry Ainley in "HELPS"; Charles Bay in "GREASED LIGHTNING"; etc.
STRAND—Nightly, 8.30. Mat., Weds. & Sat., 2.30. GERTRUDE KELLIOTT and her Company in COME OUT OF THE KITCHEN. Gerrard 3830.
THE PALACE, W.—Evgs., 8.15. Mat., Weds., Thurs. & Sat., at 2.15; Alfred Butt presents THE WHIRLIGIG. Produced by Albert de Courville.
VAUDEVILLE.—8.30. JUST FANCY. Revue by A. Wimperis and H. Darewski. Tu., Th., Sat., 2.30.
WINTER GARDEN.—KISSING TIME. Evgs., 8. Matinee, Saturdays, 2.15. George Grossmith, Leslie Henson, Phyllis Dare, Yvonne Arnold.
WYNDHAM'S—Gerald de Maurier in THE CHOICE. A New Play by Alfred Sutro. Nightly, 8.15. Mat., Wed. & Sat., 2.30.
COLISEUM.—(Ger. 7841.) 2.30 & 7.45. Karavins in H. M. Barrie's "The Truth About the Russian Dancers"; Clarice Mayne, Arthur Prince, Bransby Williams, Ching Wu, etc.
HIPPODROME, London.—At 2.30 & 8.30. RAGUENI MELLER in the 3rd Edition of "JOY-BELLS," Albert de Courville's 5th Hippodrome Revue. GEORGE ROBEY, Daphne Pollard, etc. Ger. 810.
PALLADIUM.—8.30. 8.0. 8.45. Harry Walden, Eric Leising & Co., Fraz & Farland, Carlson, May Henderson, Sam Barton, Sherlock Sisters & Clinton, Peter Paris, Jack Mills, Resuscitate & His Butlers.

6th April 1920

Smiley

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Armenia

Manchester Guardian

7th April 1920.

Grave News from Armenia.

A REUTER message which we print elsewhere brings the distressing news of fresh massacres of Greeks and Armenians in Cilicia. Hadjin, an important centre, north-east of Marash, has, like the latter, had to be abandoned, on account of the inability of the French authorities to provide them with adequate garrisons. The fact that efforts are being made to transfer the Armenian populations southwards to Adana and northwards to Erivan makes it clear that the authorities in occupation entertain no hope of being able to cope with the Nationalist movement in the interior of Asia Minor. Neither can this be done, as this latest achievement of KEMAL well shows, by Allied Generals entrenched at Constantinople. It must be admitted that matters have been allowed to drift so long as to render a solution infinitely more difficult. We doubt whether the letting loose of a Greek army on Asia Minor would do anything more than quicken the massacre of Christian populations in the interior, or whether the massacre of the Mohammedans that might follow would bring us nearer the solution of the problem. That help, and full and speedy help, must be given to the Armenians is clear. But what feeds the Nationalist passion of the Turks is not so much the presence of a few foreign soldiers as the purpose for which, rightly or wrongly, they are supposed to be there. Hence, the way to peace must lie through a Turkish settlement. And the peace will be the more speedy and the more lasting, the more that settlement is inspired by regard for the needs and rights of the various populations, and not by the lure of the mineral underworld.

Armenia

Manchester Guardian

7th April 1920.

ARMENIANS AND GREEKS MASSACRED.

FRESH TURKISH OUTRAGE IN CILICIA.

FRENCH AID FOR REFUGEES.

Reuter's Agency learns from an Armenian source that direct information received in London yesterday regarding the situation in Cilicia is:—

Hadjin has been abandoned, as the French authorities, in a communication from Colonel Bremond, expressed their inability to send troops to its rescue.

In Char and the surrounding neighbourhood the Armenian and Greek population have been massacred.

The Armenians of Sis and Chars-Bazar are being transferred to the Adana by the French authorities. Every effort is being made by General Gouraud to assure facilities for the transportation of Armenians to Erivan.



Armenia

Times -

7th April 1920

ARMENIAN NEED OF MUNITIONS.

BULWARK AGAINST BOLSHEVISM.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, APRIL 7.

The Armenian Press accepts the British Prime Minister's advice to the Armenian Republic of Erivan to help itself rather than expect help from others, but points out that the Government of the Republic has frequently requested the Western Powers to give it the necessary munitions and supplies, without which its survival is problematical.

Diplomatically it refrains from pointing out that its first request for ammunition was not complied with by the British military authorities until the Turco-Tartar forces led by Halil Bey had massacred several thousand persons in the Araxes valley, and arrived less than two days' march from Erivan, and that a subsequent offer by General Denikin to supply the Republic with arms and to send a contingent of Russo-Armenian officers and men was vetoed by the same authorities. It is further stated in Armenian circles that the Republic recently offered to hold a force equivalent to a division at the disposal of the British military authorities in Turkey and Transcaucasia in return for the supply and munitioning of its army. It is doubtful whether the offer was officially made, and British military dislike of commitments in the Near East and our political predilection in favour of treating all sides impartially, which in practice often results in the abandonment of friendly elements, explain the policy of reserve towards such offers.

But now that Mr. Lloyd George appears to have made a definite offer to the Erivan Republic it is to be hoped that measures will be taken to strengthen the "frail bulwark" between Turkish Nationalism and the Bolshevists without any loss of time. Otherwise, if the news from Transcaucasia is correct, the Erivan Republic may soon be compelled to choose between risking destruction at the hands of Turks, Tartars, and Bolshevists, or accepting a Bolshevist protectorate.

Daily News -

12th April 1920.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ARMENIA.

Question of a Mandate and Protection of Minorities.

From Our Own Correspondent,
JOHN BELL.

PARIS, Sunday.

The Supreme Council referred a number of questions to the League of Nations, amongst which were the mandate for Armenia, the protection of minorities in Turkey, and the repatriation and feeding of Siberian prisoners. This afternoon the Council of the League, after deliberating privately for two days, made known its decisions.

As regards the mandate for Armenia, Mr. Fisher, the Minister of Education, expressed the Council's view of the matter. A mandate, he said, will depend partly on the military measures for the protection of the new State, and partly on finance, and while the Council was not competent to examine the military situation in Armenia, or to indicate the measures to be taken for the maintenance of peace, it was of opinion that there would not be any insuperable difficulties in finding a mandatory if the State that undertook the mandate was relieved of financial liability.

QUESTION OF FINANCE.

What the Council is prepared to do is to submit to the League what its constituent members consider the provisions of guarantee, and the Supreme Council will be communicated with with a view to seeing what provisional financial arrangements can be made to facilitate that solution of the problem.

There are two millions of non-Mussulmans in Turkey, and while the Council of the League of Nations is prepared to accede to the Supreme Council's request that they be protected they cannot find a practical solution until the clauses of the Peace Treaty with Turkey have been definitely fixed. When this is done the Council will consult with the Supreme Council as to the measures to be taken.

SIBERIAN PRISONERS.

The number of war prisoners in Siberia is put at between 120,000 and 200,000, and mortality among them is heavy. Dr. Nansen will be appointed on behalf of the League of Nations to investigate the facts and to report on the measures to be taken for the repatriation of the prisoners.

Armenia

Manchester Guardian

13th April 1920.

**ARMENIA'S NATIONAL
MOURNING.**

CONSTANTINOPLE, SUNDAY.

The Armenian Patriarchate announces that in consequence of the national mourning as a result of recent events, coupled with the uneasiness with regard to the safety of their brethren in Asia Minor, no Easter services will be celebrated in the Armenian churches, which, however, will remain open for the purpose of prayer.

The announcement appeals to all Armenians for subscriptions in aid of the sufferers in Cilicia as the best manifestation of piety, and as possessing greater merit than the donor's presence at an Easter service.—Reuter.

Armenia

The Times.

13th April 1920.

PANIC IN CILICIA.

GENERAL EXODUS OF ARMENIANS.

The Armenian Delegation in Paris has received the following telegram from the Armenian Archbishop of Smyrna relating to the situation in Cilicia:—

According to direct information, dated March 26, Sis and the villages of the Amanus were attacked and burned after Hadjin, Isahis and Harunie are evacuated. Fighting continues upon the Bah front.

Hadjin, Hassan-Beyly, and Ekbez are resisting heroically against the Nationalist regular army. The Trappist convent and abbey at Chiftlik have been burned. Reysab, Aintab, Birejik, and Killis are besieged. At Aintab Armenians are dying of hunger daily. [Later news is that Aintab has been relieved by the French.] Since February 17 there has been no news from Urfa and Mardin. A general attack has been launched on all sides.

Besides mountainous Cilicia, Adana, Mersina, and neighbourhood are in immediate danger. French officials are repatriating their families. Panic and general exodus everywhere. The destruction of telegraph lines and railroads is isolating Cilicia. There is absolute inaction on the part of the authorities who do not endeavour to save the situation.

We beg that urgent steps may be taken for the immediate sending of Inter-Allied forces, which can alone prevent extermination of . . . (omission), with arms and artillery in sufficient quantities, and with some for the Armenians capable of resistance, for the opening of the ports of Cyprus for Cilician refugees, and for the sending of transports to Mersina, Durt-Yold, and Jebel-Musa without delay to embark thousands of stricken orphans.

Armenia

Manchester Guardian

14th April 1920.

FRANCE AND CILICIA.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL
INTERESTS.

CONFLICTING TENDENCIES.

The Armenian Bureau in London has received news from diplomatic quarters to the effect that a conflict between the French military and political authorities in Cilicia is having a disastrous effect on the local conditions in Cilicia.

The French military authorities, headed by General Gouraud, and supported by militarist, Imperialist, and financial interests, are anxious to occupy Cilicia and exploit it to the best advantage of France, regardless of any interests of the native population.

On the other hand, the French political authorities, conscious of the enormous difficulties at home and of the danger on the Rhine, want to confine the French rule to a very narrow strip of the Mediterranean coast, both in Syria and in Cilicia.

The direct result of such conflicting tendencies as reveal themselves in Cilicia have brought about a situation of which the Armenians in Cilicia in particular are the victims.

Armenia

The Times

15th April 1920.

CILICIAN POSITION WORSE.

**ARMENIAN FORCES ARMED BY
FRENCH.**

The Armenian Bureau in London has received the following telegram dated April 9 from Cilicia through the naval wireless of one of the Allied Powers:—

The siege of Hadjin continues. The French military authorities declare themselves unable to undertake the defence of this region. Armenians have mobilized forces armed by the French, but owing to lack of means of transport, progress is much delayed. It is imperative to insist in the proper quarters on the importance of holding the mountain regions for securing the safety of the plain of Cilicia.

The general situation becomes more and more critical. The irregulars of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, with the cooperation of native Musulman bands, are threatening Cilicia on all sides. Local resources are insufficient for controlling a general rising of the Turks.—*Reuter.*

Armenia

Manchester Guardian

16th April 1920.

MASSACRE OF GREEKS IN N. CILICIA.

KURDS DESTROY SIX VILLAGES.

ONLY 400 SURVIVORS.

CONSTANTINOPLE, WEDNESDAY.

The Greek Œcumenical Patriarchate has received the following telegram from the Greek community in Adana:—

Armed bands of Kurds and Mellissares in Elisanti and Northern Cilicia attacked and destroyed six villages inhabited by 2,000 Orthodox Greeks.

After a struggle, which lasted eight days, 400 of these villagers managed to escape, and are now seeking refuge in Chatzi. The fate of the remaining inhabitants is unknown, but it is feared that they have been massacred.



THE TURKISH DANGER IN CILICIA.

FRENCH UNABLE TO DEFEND
ARMENIANS.

The Armenian Bureau in London has received the following telegram, dated April 9, from Cilicia through the naval wireless of one of the Allied Powers:—

The siege of Hadjin continues. The French military authorities declare themselves unable to undertake the defence of this region. The Armenians have mobilised forces armed by the French, but owing to lack of means of transport progress is much delayed. It is imperative to insist in the proper quarters on the importance of holding the mountain regions for securing the safety of the Plain of Cilicia.

The general situation becomes more and more critical. The irregulars of Mustafa Kemal, with the co-operation of native Moslem bands, are threatening Cilicia on all sides. Local resources are insufficient for controlling a general rising of the Turks.

Armenia

The Times

17th April 1920.

ARMENIANS ATTACK TARTARS.

SHARP REPRISALS.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, APRIL 14.

The Armenian newspaper *Jagadamard*, usually well-informed on Transcaucasian affairs, publishes official *communiqués* from the Erivan Government announcing that the Armenian population of the Zangezur and Karabagh districts rose against the Tartar Government on March 21.

After heavy fighting, the Armenians overran the intervening Tartar area, capturing a number of villages and the 5th and 7th Battalions of the Azerbaijan Regular Army.

It is reported that the notorious pro-Turk Governor of Shusha and Karabagh, Dr. Sultanoff, who arranged the massacre at Shusha in June last year, has been made prisoner, though one doubts whether this person would long have survived capture.

Armenian newspapers ascribe the outbreak to the attempt of the Azerbaijan Government, at the instigation of its Turkish advisers, to disarm the Armenian villages both in Karabagh and in the neutral zone of Zangezur.

* * * The latest news previous from the Zangezur and Karabagh districts, to which both Armenians and Tartars lay claim, and where the population is mixed, was that the Tartars, under Turkish and Tartar officers, had exterminated the Armenians of Lower and Upper Akoulis, reducing a region with a population of between 10,000 and 15,000 to a waste. Writing on April 7, our Constantinople Correspondent said that the Erivan Republic might soon be compelled to choose between risking destruction at the hands of Turks, Tartars, and Bolshevists, or accepting a Bolshevist protectorate.

The Manchester Guardian

17th April 1920.

BETRAYAL OF ARMENIA.

TURKISH SUZERAINTY TO CONTINUE.

RUMOURED SUPREME COUNCIL DECISION.

LONDON, FRIDAY.

Strong rumours have reached London to-day to the effect that the Supreme Council has decided the Turkish question in its bearing on Armenia. The decision, which it is reported will come up for ratification at the San Remo conference, simply is that Armenia has been left to her fate, and that she will be left under the suzerainty of Turkey. The Armenian quarter in London are in a state of panic about it.

A representative of the "Manchester Guardian" interviewed to-day Mr. Safrastian, who is attached to the Armenian Delegation. "It is simply inconceivable," said Mr. Safrastian, "after all the lip-service paid to the Armenian cause by Allied statesmen during the war, and after the repeated blunderings of the last few months—blunderings which have caused the renewed massacres both in Armenia and in Cilicia,—that the Supreme Council now intends to perpetuate Turkish suzerainty in the Armenian provinces. What the British and American public will say to this remains to be seen.

At the Mercy of the Turks.

"The Russians will be back in Erivan and the Turks in Erzerum and Van. We shall revert to the *status quo*, and Allied idealism will have vanished into thin air. If this report is true, as I have every reason to believe, it means that the Armenian cause has been knocked completely on the head, and her aspirations doomed.

"It may be argued that Turkish suzerainty will be nominal; that there will be no Turkish *pashes* or *zaptiehs* (police). This is to leave aside the moral point of the Turkish flag being invited to fly over the Armenian graveyards the Turks have filled with massacred Armenians. The analogy of the Berlin Congress of 1878 may be quoted, which retained Turkish suzerainty over Bulgaria. Bulgaria merely submitted to a nominal annual tribute, which, in fact, she never paid, and proceeded after seven years to annex Rumanian territory. But Armenia is not Bulgaria. Her isolated position in Asia Minor leaves her absolutely at the mercy of the Turks.

"The direct result of this decision," continued Mr. Safrastian, "will be to put new life into the waning influence of the Armenian extremists who have been representing the insincerity of Allied pretensions, resenting Allied intervention, and paving the way for Bolshevism. They will be justified, and the prospect of Armenia's orderly development is gone."

Financial Interests Responsible.

In answer to a question as to how he accounted for the change in the Allied attitude to Armenia, Mr. Safrastian indicated three main causes, although it was difficult to see exactly how it had come about. "The chief cause," he said, "is undoubtedly the interests of international finance, prominent in which is the French influence. In fact, the French have never concealed the fact that their capital, invested in Turkish estate bonds and private enterprises, constitutes 60 per cent of Turkey's national liabilities.

"The second factor is the intrigues of the militarists in all the Allied countries, who are strongly entrenched in their efforts to retain Turkish power in the East as indispensable to the military balance of power. The third factor is the assumed difficulty of finding a mandatory Power for Armenia.

"Any impartial observer," he concluded, "knows perfectly well that the difficulties assigned to the establishment of Armenian independence are not genuine. If there was any goodwill among the Allied Powers Armenia's rights would be perfectly realisable in practice. And what of the moral basis of Armenia's cause?"

what language intends, people will be least disappointed if we do, as exactly as possible, what we have done before.

And so with all language. It is often better to abandon the set terms and qualifying clauses which only engender a dazzled confidence, and to plunge gaily into the vivid language of natural metaphor. Since it is impossible to define the relation of God to man, let us call him our Father; it may be a confession of naivety, but people will be less disappointed than by a good many creeds. It may not be a scientific definition if we say of architecture that it is frozen music, or to freedom "Still thy banner, torn though flying, Streams, like a thundercloud, against the wind," but such descriptions are more illuminating and less misleading than most artistic or political treatises. It is the essence of poetry always to rise above the abstract, on whatever stepping-stones of dead abstraction.

In language, then, the fault of abstraction consists in the attempt to use words as if they were mathematical symbols, things static because dead, unaffected by their context and accent, without the organic changefulness of all that is alive. A mathematical symbol is rightly so used because nobody supposes that it adequately represents any individual thing.

The Russians will be back in Eritrea and

At the Mercy of the Turks.

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BETRAYAL OF ARMENIA.
TURKISH SUZERAINTY TO
CONTINUE.
RUMOURED SUPREME COUNCIL
DECISION.

17th Dec 1920

The Manchester Guardian

Amman

Armenia

The Times

20th April 1920.

**TURKISH BANDS DOMINATE
CILICIA.**

FRENCH PRESTIGE INJURED.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, APRIL 16 (delayed).

Persons arriving from Cilicia describe the situation there as most unsatisfactory. The wives and families of officers and officials have nearly all left.

Turkish bands are active north of Adana and west of Mersina. Sis and Hadjin are still blockaded. The French troops, mostly coloured, have only been employed in defensive operations except when they opened the road to Aintab.

There is a general impression that the local French authorities are left in the dark as to the intentions of the home Government, and are consequently unwilling to adopt a more active policy. The abandonment of Marash and its population was ordered, I learn from a reliable informant, at the moment when the Turks, demoralized by over 3,000 casualties, had begun to retire. It has greatly injured French prestige, both among the Christian population, which is beginning to believe the scaremongers, who inform them that the French propose to retire from the country and leave them to their fate, and still more among the Nationalists, who continue to make capital out of their victory.

Armenia

The Times

21st April 1920.

MANDATE FOR ARMENIA.

SAN REMO, April 20.—At this morning's sitting of the Supreme Council at San Remo a letter received from the League of Nations declining the mandate over Armenia was read. The League declines, first, because the Covenant of the League does not provide the powers necessary for the exercise of such a mandate; and, secondly, because the mandate implies heavy financial and military burdens.

It was decided to address a Note to President Wilson and the American people recommending that they should support Armenia financially. The borders of Armenia were also roughly defined. They are understood to be favourable to Armenia, but do not include Trebizond. All decisions regarding Cilicia are suspended.

The present tendency is to assign the port of Batum to Georgia, with special facilities for all nations needing an outlet to the Black Sea.—
Exchange Telegraph Company.

Armenia

The Times

22nd April 1920

THE MANDATE FOR ARMENIA.

A CALL FOR PUBLICITY.

The reply of the Council of the League of Nations to the Supreme Council's offer of a mandate for Armenia is believed to be a far more important document than would appear from the telegraphic allusions to its tenor. It is understood to point out that the Council of the League disposes of no funds or forces of its own for the performance of a task so weighty as that of the control of Armenia and that the functions of the League of Nations, as contemplated by the Covenant, are rather to confer mandates upon individual States under its general supervision than to undertake mandates itself.

The Council of the League would be disposed to ascertain whether any member of the League would be prepared to assume a mandate for Armenia, but, before doing so, it must know what the material conditions attaching to such a mandate would be. Would the funds requisite for the administration of Armenia be provided by the Supreme Council, or jointly by the members of the League or by the mandatory State, and what forces would be available? The fixing of boundaries of Armenia and provision for direct access to the sea would be necessary before any mandate could be undertaken. The Council of the League feels deep concern for the welfare of the Armenian people and is anxious to promote it in every way. Should it prove impossible to secure the acceptance of a mandate by any member of the League of Nations, the Council of the League would be prepared to seek other means of assuring the safety of Armenia.

In view of the importance of the question and of the expediency that false impressions should not be disseminated in regard to the attitude of the Council of the League, it is considered desirable that the correspondence between it and the Supreme Council should be made public without delay.

The Manchester Guardian

22nd April 1920**The Peril of Armenia.**

WHILE the negotiators of San Remo are talking and fumbling the robust and quite unconcerned MUSTAPHA KEMAL is acting. According to a telegram received by the Armenian Bureau in London, MUSTAPHA, not content with the achievements in massacre of his irregular forces in Cilicia, is now moving the bulk of his regular forces in the same direction "in order to drive the French to the sea." We do not know how far the French force in Cilicia may have been reinforced since the severe check recently inflicted on them, but, unless a much larger number of much more trustworthy troops are there or on the way, there would appear to be nothing to prevent MUSTAPHA from achieving his object of forcing the slender occupying force of mainly African troops to retire under the guns of their ships. Meanwhile the Conference contents itself with drawing the frontiers of an imaginary Armenia and bestowing on it an imaginary capital, at the moment, as it happens, occupied by a considerable Turkish garrison which has not the smallest intention of retiring. The League of Nations is appealed to to do that which none of the Powers are willing to do, but no suggestion is made of giving to the League the international support in money, men, and supplies without which it would be obviously farcical for it to accept any responsibility whatever. M. VENISZLOS is, it appears, quite willing to take on the task of dealing with MUSTAPHA KEMAL, and has at Smyrna a force which he believes to be adequate for the purpose. But the Powers are unwilling to let anything so practical be done, and the French apparently desire that the Greeks shall retire from Smyrna altogether. It is a sorry spectacle of jealousy, confusion, and incompetence. Beyond doubt the settlement of Asia Minor, with its mixed population and inhospitable fastnesses, is no easy task. It can hardly be effected without the exercise of force, and of considerable force. Why cannot the Powers compose their quarrels in face of a great difficulty and danger, put the League of Nations in control of everything outside what is the properly Turkish area and the Greek country on the coast, and then, in combination with M. VENISZLOS'S army, establish their authority in the whole non-Turkish area and save what is left of the Armenian nation from final destruction? It might be a little expensive, but it would be a good deed for civilisation, and all the many nations who are members of the League might be invited to co-operate.

Arm.

Manchester Guardian

22nd April 1920

OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENCE.

(BY PRIVATE WIRE.)

LONDON, WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

San Remo and Armenia.

The interview with Mr. Safrastian which you published on Saturday had the effect—among others—of inducing a hundred M.P.'s, headed by Mr. Aneurin Williams, to send a telegram to Mr. Lloyd George at San Remo protesting strongly against the reported betrayal of Armenia.

The mystery about the Supreme Council's attitude to Armenia increases. Yesterday's report from San Remo that a letter had been received from the League of Nations declining the mandate gives a quite false impression. What Mr. Fisher said in Paris when reporting on the question at the League's public session was that "the Council of the League is of opinion that the best means to an end on all hands admitted to be desirable would be the acceptance of a mandate for Armenia by a civilised State under the League."

He pointed out the military and financial difficulties, suggested a way of meeting them, and ended thus: "The Council of the League is entering into communication with the Supreme Council with a view to seeing what provisional financial arrangements can be made to facilitate that solution of the problem which commends itself to the general sense of the Council of the League."

Armenian quarters here regard the misstatement about the League's "refusal" as dangerous, because it strengthens the hands of the financial and militarist elements which are working for the breakdown of the scheme. It has already been reported in one quarter that Holland was willing to accept the mandate for Armenia under the League.

Armenia

Manchester Guardian

24th April 1920.

ARMENIA'S FUTURE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

SAN REMO, FRIDAY.

This morning discussion on Armenia was continued. It seems now decided that, as no nation, small or great, neutral or Entente, is willing to take a mandate for this unhappy country, and that the League of Nations has no money or other means for the purpose, the only solution would be to try to establish an independent Armenia that would stand, or have the air of standing, upon its own legs.

Such is the idea of the Supreme Council, and to-day and to-morrow morning are taken up in trying to arrange the frontiers of Armenia so as to provide, first, that no district coveted by a Great Power comes into the limits of this new State, such as the rich district of Cilicia, which the French have earmarked for themselves; second, that it may be sufficiently compact and small to be able, or at least to be expected, to look after itself. Much territory will no doubt be sacrificed to the idea of providing the Supreme Council with a plausible pretence for saying that they have "finished with Armenia."

The final arrangement of the question of Smyrna is on the lines which I have already reported to you. Italian quarters insist that on the treaty as a whole the voice of Signor Nitti has been the only one to protest against what they consider to be over-harsh, impracticable terms.

Armenia

Manchester Guardian

24th April 1920

Holland and the Armenian Mandate.

It has been reported that Holland has intimated her willingness to accept the mandate of Armenia under the League of Nations, but information from Dutch quarters here is that the report should be received with caution. When the report was published here some weeks ago it attracted little attention in Holland, and the Dutch press passed no comment on it. It is doubtful whether the Dutch people—or, indeed, any other nation—would welcome the offer of an Armenian mandate. The events in Holland, and especially in the East, since the Armistice have made the Dutch—always cautious—yet more cautious in matters of international policy. There is little desire, I am told, in Holland to start on new ventures in the international field.

It will be remembered that Dutch officers were put at the head of the new kingdom of Albania before the war in much the same way as the Swedes took charge of the *gendarmerie* in Persia after the civil war there. One of the Dutch officers, Colonel Thomson, was killed in a treacherous way, and his death made a deep impression at the time in Holland. A mandate, too, would bring military burdens with it, and like all other countries Holland is doing all it can to reduce expenditure for military purposes. Like other countries, too, Holland's floating debt has largely increased, having risen from 1,200 million florins to 2,700 million florins.

On the other hand, Holland feels as strongly as other European nations the importance of the permanent success of the League of Nations, and if requested to do so by the League the Dutch Government would doubtless put experts and officials at the League's disposal, but apparently that is as far at present as Holland is disposed to go.

ARMENIA MUST STAND ALONE.

San Remo's Reply to League of Nations Council.

GREATER GREECE.

Sovereignty Established from Black Sea to Adriatic.

Armenia is to stand alone as an independent State. That, it is understood, is the decision of the Supreme Council at San Remo, following upon the attitude of the League of Nations in respect of the proposed mandate.

Apart from this highly unsatisfactory announcement, the chief interest in the details, so far known, of the Turkish settlement, consists in the acceptance of practically all the claims advanced by M. Venizelos. The extent to which Greece will benefit, obtaining sovereignty from Epirus to the Black Sea, is explained in Mr. Wilson Harris's telegram below.

The Conference, as predicted by our Special Correspondent, has been extended, and the questions of Germany and Russia are to be discussed to-day and to-morrow. Meanwhile Mr. Lloyd George, in an interview, has dismissed as fantastic the idea that the Allies are confronted by any serious German menace.

By an agreement signed yesterday, Great Britain has consented to France retaining the 150,000 tons of enemy shipping which should have been ceded to this country, payment being made by the transfer to Britain of sums due by Germany for reparation.

KILLING THE LEAGUE. Significance of the Decision on Armenia.

From Our Special Correspondent. H. WILSON HARRIS.

SAN REMO, Friday. In completion of the settlement of Turkey, the Supreme Council occupied itself this morning with the questions of Smyrna and Armenia.

In regard to the former, it appears that Turkish suzerainty is to be preserved, but administration of the city and a certain hinterland is to be Greek. As to Armenia, the incomplete information available suggests that a situation in all respects unsatisfactory has been created.

The reply from the Council of the League of Nations does not seem to have pleased the Supreme Council, and the suggestion is being made that the League has shirked responsibility in the matter. Accordingly, it has been decided, subject to eleventh-hour alteration, that Armenia must stand by itself as an independent State. Whether provision will be made for the subsequent interposition of the League of Nations is not yet clear, for the question, together with the definition of the boundaries of Armenia, is still under discussion this afternoon.

A FATAL POLICY.

The whole negotiation appears to indicate, on the part of the Supreme Council, an attitude perfectly fatal to the future of the League of Nations. If Great Britain, France, and Italy, associated on the Supreme Council, are to consider themselves an entirely separate concern from Great Britain, France, and Italy, associated on the Council of the League of Nations, and at liberty to reproach the League for having failed to settle out of hand the problem they gave it to solve (after vainly attempting it themselves), there can clearly be no driving power behind the League — unless, indeed, the peoples can compel their Governments to put into the League of Nations all, and more than all, they have put into the Supreme Council.

The latest Conference orders are the completion of Turkey to-night, the discussion of Germany and Russia to-morrow and Sunday; entrain for home Monday morning. We shall see.

Meanwhile international strains are being eased by the approved British specific of dining over them. M. Millerand had dinner with Mr. Lloyd George at the Hotel Royal last night. Marshal Foch is to enjoy the same privilege to-night. Tomorrow M. Millerand entertains Mr. Lloyd George.

"THE HUNGRY LITTLE GREEK."

As final decisions in regard to the Turkish Treaty have yet to be taken, I make no attempt to-day to indicate the scope of the Treaty as a whole. The main feature of that part of the settlement already concluded is the success of M. Venizelos in securing the assent of the Supreme Council to virtually the whole of the Greek claims.

Turkey in Europe is to be reduced to a little back-garden between the Bosphorus and the lines of Chatalja. All that is taken from her, including Adrianople and Kirk-Kilisse, goes to Greece. The Greek flag, likewise, will fly over all that portion of Western Thrace transferred to the Allies under the Bulgarian Treaty. Dedeagatch, as I have already said, is to be a free port, controlled by a Joint Commission on which Bulgaria will have one representative, and the Allied Army of Occupation will hold Gallipoli, as well as the southern shore of the Straits.

But Greek sovereignty will run from Epirus, where, I understand, Greece gets some satisfaction at the expense of Albania, to the Black Sea. The Dodecanese also reverts to Greece, under direct agreement with Italy; and, as I have already said, she is to have the administration of Smyrna. Whether Great Britain will present her with Cyprus I have no assured information. But in any case "Graeculus Esuriens" must feel the pangs of his appetite assuaged for a while.

Yesterday the members of the Supreme Council displayed sudden recognition of the existence of some hundreds of millions of people in all countries who depend on newspapers for knowledge of what their elected representatives are doing at San Remo. As a result, journalists of the three Powers were treated to agreeable doses of soothing syrup by M. Millerand

and Mr. Lloyd George. The French Prime Minister received, in succession the American, Italian, and British Press representatives, and Mr. Lloyd George had a long talk with the Americans, the substance of which is also being transmitted to the London papers.

From a summary which will reach you by another channel, you will see that the Prime Minister was as instructive as circumstances permitted, but while the Americans much appreciated his courtesy, just as the British did M. Millerand's, neither Prime Minister let slip any single fact of importance in regard to the actual work of the Conference.

FRENCH PLANS MODIFIED.

The German question, as stated, will come up to-morrow. There is a general feeling here that while there may be good ground for permitting Germany to retain an army of 200,000 under the conditions prevailing, she has been ill-advised to ask, in addition, for the retention of heavy artillery and aeroplanes, though the importance of the latter in repressing disturbances is familiar enough to our own soldiers. At the same time, if Great Britain and Italy agree on rejecting this part of the German demand, France may be more reconciled to acceding to the request for retention of the 200,000.

On the broader question of the attitude of the Allies towards Germany, I will add nothing to what I have already written, except to say that, while the view is held in quarters to which importance attaches that France has been seriously contemplating, and still desires, the occupation of the Ruhr under guise of a measure for enforcing the execution of the Treaty,



Showing the extension of Greek sovereignty. In addition to the territory indicated by the arrows, Greece secures the Dodecanese, and administration over Smyrna.

there are signs that the public discussion of the question in the Press, together with informal expressions of British and Italian opinion on the matter, have in some degree modified the intentions of French representatives here.

There remains Russia, as to which the situation is uncertain and interesting. Of the three Allied Powers, Italy is much the most candid on this subject. Signor Nitti's view is that, while it is of material advantage for the Supreme Council to discuss relations with Russia—as it certainly will—this is not a case where joint, or even uniform, action is requisite.

There is no Pact of London binding the Allies not to make separate peace with Russia, for the very good reason that the Allies were never technically at war with Russia. In point of fact, two ships have just reached Genoa from Odessa loaded with hides and other produce from Soviet Russia—and while part of their cargo remains in Italy, more than half of it is consigned to Great Britain.

There is no doubt whatever that Italy means to do business with Russia, come what may. That is out of no spirit of self-interest. The view of Italy is that Europe cannot do without Russia, and Russia cannot do without Europe. If Great Britain and France take a different view, that is their business. I do not believe France and Great Britain will take a different view. I have no doubt at all—though, to avoid misunderstanding, I had better add that I have no direct authority for saying this—that Mr. Lloyd George agrees absolutely with Signor Nitti.

As for France, she would probably oppose any opening of relations with the Soviets, but if, in spite of her, there is to be business done, she will certainly not be out of it. Out of these elements a definite settlement with Moscow is doubt sooner or later to crystallise. I doubt, however, whether it will crystallise at San Remo.

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San Remo's R
of Nation

After a time one caught a sign sur-
piping. Might it not be the boat-song of
cheery Martians paddling up and down
their canals? But no. That was merely
the effect of the close proximity of an
electricity-generating human body to the

ARMENIA MUST STAND

94th April 1920.
Daisy News

Armenia

Rubies is Wisdom—there is the best authority for the assertion. But the Rubies of to-day, which come from Altrincham and Ancoats, are both, blended with excellent materials. The Royal Ruby bicycle for 1920 has a quite new and original design in frames for both men and women. The intention—which is indubitably carried out—is to give increased lateral rigidity, and especially by way of countering the quite unfair lateral stress imposed on any machine by the common practice of mounting by the pedal.
In the masculine model, the bottom bracket has an extension underneath, from which two tubes are run to the bottom head lug, thus forming a triangle.
In the feminine model, the front portion of the frame has two tubes running from the bottom head lug to an extension below the centre of the bottom bracket, while the curved tube occupies a central position from the upper head lug to a lug above the centre of the bottom bracket. These three tubes are braced together by a three-way bridge-piece, thus forming a strong triangular construction. The rear portion of the frame is also strengthened by the addition of two tubes which are located one on each chain stay, a little behind the bottom bracket, rising to a three-way lug about the middle of the seat-pillar tube. It is not a light construction, of course, but it undoubtedly nullifies most of the whip and weakness which are inseparable from the ordinary drop-frame.
The Ruby people have also got something new and extremely promising in motor-cycles. It is a solo mount, driven by a four-stroke single cylinder engine.

V Arménie
MEMORANDUM.

Le Conseil Suprême des Principales Puissances Alliées, désireux d'assurer à la Nation Arménienne l'existence, l'ordre et la sécurité, a décidé d'instituer une République Indépendante d'Arménie. Ses frontières et son statut seront réglés par le Traité de Paix avec l'Empire Ottoman, qui est actuellement en préparation, et par d'autres conventions internationales.

Par son télégramme du 12 mars dernier, Lord Curzon a demandé si la Société des Nations accepterait de prendre sous sa protection la nouvelle République d'Arménie. La Délégation Arménienne à Londres a ensuite défini avec une certaine précision les conditions dans lesquelles la Société des Nations protègerait la République d'Arménie.

De la communication de Lord Curzon, comme de celle de la Délégation Arménienne, il résulte que la Société des Nations est sollicitée d'accepter vis-à-vis de l'Arménie le mandat prévu par l'Article 22 du Pacte.

Le Conseil de la Société des Nations, en étudiant les propositions du Conseil Suprême, a eu pour objet de déterminer de quelle manière l'indépendance de l'Arménie pouvait être effectivement assurée et comment l'ordre et la sécurité pouvaient être maintenus dans ce territoire; le Conseil a été guidé uniquement par la préoccupation d'aider l'Arménie, une nation qui, de par ses malheurs, a droit à l'intérêt et à la sympathie du monde civilisé. Le Conseil de la Société est, en un mot, entièrement d'accord avec le Conseil Suprême, en ce qui concerne les demandes de la nation arménienne. Il considère que la constitution

.....

de l'Arménie en Etat sur la base de l'indépendance et de la sécurité est un devoir d'humanité et un but digne des efforts et des sacrifices des Puissances du monde civilisé.

Pour autant qu'il est en son pouvoir, le Conseil de la Société est anxieux de coopérer à cette tâche et d'autre part il se rend compte des limitations imposées à son action. Il sait qu'il n'est pas un Etat, qu'il n'a jusqu'à présent ni armée, ni finances et que l'action qu'il peut exercer sur l'opinion publique sera bien moins efficace en Asie-Mineure que dans les pays plus civilisés d'Europe. Le Conseil ne saurait non plus oublier les amères désillusions causées à la Nation Arménienne par la faillite des clauses qui visent l'Arménie dans les Traités du siècle dernier.

Le Conseil ne doit pas se dissimuler que les dispositions mêmes de l'article 22 ne prévoient pas, pour la Société des Nations, la faculté d'accepter et d'exercer un mandat + que tout au contraire, ces dispositions obligent la Société à contrôler l'exécution des mandats confiés à des Puissances déterminées sur des communautés ayant appartenu à l'Empire Ottoman et que l'exercice, par la Société des Nations, du contrôle sur les divers mandats conférés à des Puissances sur diverses régions de l'ex Empire Ottoman ne paraît pas compatible avec l'exercice, par la même Société, d'un mandat sur une de ces régions.

Tout en ne perdant pas de vue les considérations qui précèdent, et sans vouloir leur donner une interprétation trop étroite ou pédante, le Conseil est arrivé à la conclusion que la façon la plus satisfaisante d'assurer l'avenir de la Nation Arménienne serait de trouver un membre de la Société, ou quelque autre Puissance, qui accepterait le mandat sur l'Arménie,

sous le contrôle et avec l'appui moral entier de la Société, et en conformité avec les dispositions générales de l'Article 22 du Pacte. Mais, jusqu'à ce que les intentions du Conseil Suprême des Alliés, en ce qui touche certains points fondamentaux, soient clairement définies, il est difficile au Conseil de savoir si un membre de la Société serait disposé à accepter les responsabilités d'un pareil mandat.

I.- Le Gouvernement de la République Arménienne aura besoin d'un capital important afin d'assurer, dans un pays ruiné, les services essentiels à tout Etat. Sans ces avances indispensables de fonds, la République indépendante d'Arménie ne pourra procéder à son installation dans des conditions satisfaisantes.

Le Conseil de la Société des Nations estime qu'il ne serait pas équitable que le membre de la Société qui serait invité à exercer les fonctions de mandataire pour l'Arménie eût aussi à assumer les responsabilités financières qu'entraînera un pareil mandat. Il croit d'ailleurs peu probable qu'un membre quelconque de la Société accepte un mandat dans ces conditions.

La Société des Nations ne possède pas de ressources financières qui lui soient propres. Le Conseil de la Société est disposé à soumettre à l'Assemblée la demande de garantie d'un emprunt par l'ensemble des Pays adhérents à la Société et à l'appuyer. Jusqu'à ce qu'une décision ait été prise à ce sujet par l'Assemblée, le Conseil est désireux de savoir si le Conseil Suprême des Puissances Alliées est prêt à faire les avances indispensables de fonds, ou à donner sa garantie financière provisoire à la République d'Arménie.

II.- Une grande partie du territoire de la dite République indépendante d'Arménie est à l'heure actuelle sous la domination de l'Empire Ottoman et occupée par l'armée ottomane. La Société

des Nations ne dispose d'aucune forme militaire, elle n'est donc pas en état d'obliger les Turcs à évacuer le territoire de la République Arménienne. Son Conseil désirerait savoir si les Puissances Alliées sont disposées à assurer, au besoin par la force, la remise à la République Arménienne du territoire ottoman qui serait attribué à cette République.

Il sera encore nécessaire, pendant un laps de temps assez considérable, d'exercer un contrôle militaire, même dans les parties du territoire arménien d'où les troupes turques ont été retirées - et il se peut que la Puissance mandataire n'ait pas les moyens d'action suffisants pour exercer ce contrôle. Le Conseil de la Société des Nations serait heureux que le Conseil Suprême des Alliés voulût bien, dans ces circonstances, lui faire connaître s'il est disposé à assurer la défense du territoire de la République Arménienne jusqu'au moment où elle pourra être assurée par d'autres moyens.

III.- Tout membre de la Société des Nations invité à accepter un mandat sur l'Arménie tiendra, sans aucun doute, à savoir quelles dispositions ont été prises dans le projet de Traité de Paix avec la Turquie pour assurer à la République indépendante d'Arménie le libre accès à la mer.

Une telle disposition n'est pas seulement conforme aux intérêts de l'Arménie elle-même mais elle aura, de plus, pour objet d'assurer toutes facilités de communications entre la République d'Arménie et la Puissance mandataire.

Le Conseil de la Société des Nations a donc confiance que le Conseil Suprême des Alliés, trouvera la possibilité de notifier ses intentions soit au sujet du port de Batoum, soit au sujet des mesures qui seront prises pour assurer la protection future et de la ville et des voies de communication entre le port et le territoire de la République d'Arménie.

Si le Conseil Suprême des Alliés trouvait possible de donner au Conseil de la Société des assurances suffisantes sur ces points, le Conseil pourra procéder alors à des enquêtes officielles en vue de s'assurer si un membre quelconque de la Société des Nations serait disposé à accepter, dans les conditions précitées, le mandat sur l'Arménie.

Si ces enquêtes aboutissaient à un résultat favorable le Conseil de la Société inviterait alors le membre en question à entrer immédiatement en relations avec le Conseil Suprême des Alliés, pour le mettre en mesure de recevoir toutes les informations nécessaires au sujet de questions aussi importantes que celles des frontières futures de l'Arménie et du régime qui sera appliqué aux Etats limitrophes.

Le Conseil ne cache pas que, dans son opinion, la meilleure solution de la question arménienne serait l'acceptation par une des puissances civilisées, d'un mandat pour l'Arménie. Cette solution serait acceptable pour l'Arménie, pourrait s'adapter aux accords diplomatiques généraux sur lesquels repose le "acte de la Société et c'est aussi la solution qui aurait le plus de chances de permettre une organisation efficace du nouvel Etat. Le Conseil fera de son mieux pour faciliter cet arrangement en recommandant à l'Assemblée de la Société, de bien vouloir fournir à l'Etat mandataire les garanties financières nécessaires. Il est cependant possible que les négociations relatives au mandat n'aboutissent pas. On peut concevoir, sans doute, bien que cela soit, nous l'espérons, peu probable, qu'aucun Etat ne soit disposé à accepter les responsabilités d'un mandat arménien. Dans cette occurrence le Conseil de la Société ne cesserait pas de s'intéresser au sort de l'Arménie. Il serait prêt, au contraire, au cas où malheureusement cet événement se produirait, à discuter avec le Conseil Suprême s'il ne serait pas possible de prendre

des mesures efficaces pour la protection de l'Arménie./.

11/4212/3421.

V Duplicate

1. Mr Colban
2. Mr Filchrist

Armenia.

CONFERENZA DI SANREMO.

Sir,

The Supreme Council, sitting at San Remo, has received with gratification the memorandum dated April 11th of the Council of the League of Nations respecting the extent to which the League might be able and willing to co-operate in assuring the future of Armenia. The Allied Governments desire to express their gratitude for the response of the Council of the League in a matter which the memorandum rightly describes as an end worthy of effort and sacrifice upon the part of the civilised Powers of the world.

Before referring to the various questions formulated by the Council of the League, the Supreme Council desires to rectify a misapprehension which appears in the early part of the memorandum under reply. It was the intention of the Allied Governments to enquire as to the degree of support and assistance which might be expected from the League in the establishment of an Armenian State upon a safe and independent basis rather than to suggest that the League itself should assume a mandate for this purpose. It is realised that, as pointed out in the memorandum, the League is not a State and has as yet no army and no finances, and the Supreme Council fully agrees that the object in view could best be assured if a member of the League or some other Power could be found willing to accept the mandate for Armenia.

The Supreme Council has, as will be seen, been guided by this view and has indeed felt that it would be failing in
its

To the Hon. Sir Eric Drummond, K.C.M.G.,
Secretary General of the League of Nations,
Sunderland House,
London, W.1.

its duty if it did not make a final effort in the direction suggested. In reviewing the sources to which it might appeal, one country has obviously been indicated not only by its natural capacities but by the fact that these have been considerably less burdened by the events of the past six years than those of the other Allied and Associated Powers. The resources of the United States are relatively unimpaired and their sympathy with the Armenian cause has been constantly manifested.

These considerations have prompted the Supreme Council to address itself to President Wilson. It has frequently been suggested during the Peace Conference that the mandate for Armenia might be undertaken by the United States, but no definite offer has been made or rejected. The Supreme Council have deemed that the moment has now come when this step should be made. At this sitting of April 25th it was agreed:

a) To make an appeal to President Wilson that the United States of America should accept a mandate for Armenia within the limits set forth in Part III, Section 5 of the First print of the draft Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

b) That, whatever may be the answer of the United States Government on the subject of the mandate, the President of the United States should be asked to arbitrate on the boundaries of Armenia as set forth in the draft article below:

c) That an article in regard to Armenia should be inserted in the Treaty of Peace in the following sense:

Turkey and Armenia and the other High Contracting Parties agree to refer to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent State of Armenia.

Pending

Pending the arbitration, the boundaries of Turkey and Armenia shall remain as at the present.

The boundaries of Armenia on the north and the east, that is between Armenia and Georgia, and between Armenia and Azerbaijan, shall be laid down by the Supreme Council at the same time as those between Armenia and Turkey, failing a spontaneous agreement on this subject between the three Caucasian States.

In order that the Council of the League may be fully apprised of the situation, a copy of the Note addressed to President Wilson in this connection is herewith enclosed.

From the text of the resolution and the Note, the Council of the League will understand that the Allied Powers, unable by reason of their overwhelming responsibilities at present to assist Armenia otherwise than by the despatch of arms and munitions, have experienced great difficulty in fixing the frontiers of Armenia in the manner best consonant with her immediate interests and future prospects. The true solution of the problem can indeed scarcely be decided upon until it is finally known whether or no the United States will accept a mandate for Armenia and, failing this, to what extent she will contribute by the provision of men or at least money to a cause which the United States Government in a recent Note has itself declared to be "the demand and expectation of the civilised world".

In these circumstances a definite reply to the three specific points raised in the memorandum of April 11th must be deferred for what it is hoped may prove a short period.

The Supreme Council will not fail immediately to communicate to the Council of the League President Wilson's reply, in the light of which the full and frank consultation, already begun with encouraging response, can if necessary be continued and developed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) NITTI.

This document is the property of His Britannic Majesty's
Government.

Confidential.

C.P.1187.

CABINET.

ARMENIA.

DESPATCH TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

(Approved by the Supreme Council at San Remo on 26th April,
1920 - I.C.P. 109 (2)).
(Circulated for information.)

In the Note of this date which is being addressed to the United States Government in response to the Note of the latter dated March 26th (See C.P.1190.), a passing reference alone has been made to the subject of Armenia, and a statement is added that a separate communication will be made to the United States Government on the subject. The following are the views which it is the desire of the Supreme Council to submit for the consideration of that Government.

At an early stage in the discussions which have been proceeding with regard to the Turkish Treaty, first in London and afterwards in Paris, an enquiry was addressed by the Allied Conference to the Council of the League of Nations, who were known to be greatly interested in the future of Armenia, as to what might be the degree of assistance that they would be prepared to offer towards the realisation of the independence and security of the projected Armenian State.

It was not contemplated to invite the League of Nations itself to assume a Mandate for Armenia for the sufficient reason that that body is neither a State nor has the army or the finances to enable it to discharge such a duty. The Council of the League in their reply, while indicating the fullest sympathy with the object of the Allied Powers, themselves pointed out that this could best be assured if either a

Member

Member of the League or some other Power could be found willing to accept the mandate for Armenia.

The Supreme Council, in considering this reply, were at once reminded of the conviction long entertained by them that the only great Power which is qualified alike by its sympathies and its material resources to undertake this task on behalf of Humanity, is America. It has indeed been rightly described in Mr. Colby's note as "the demand and expectation of the civilised world". Nor could the Supreme Council forget that the inclusion of a liberated Armenia among the objects for which the Allied and Associated Powers fought and won the war, nowhere received more eloquent expression than in the speeches of President Wilson.

Accordingly the Supreme Council now address a definite appeal to the United States Government to accept the mandate for Armenia. They do so not from the smallest desire to evade any obligations which they might be expected to undertake, but because the responsibilities which they are already obliged to bear in connection with the dissolution of the former Ottoman Empire will strain their own capacities to the uttermost, and because they believe that the appearance on the scene of a Power emancipated from the prepossession of the old world will inspire a wider confidence and afford a firmer guarantee for stability in the future than would the selection of any European Power.

The United States Government might well enquire what is the scope of the obligations which they are invited to accept; and this involves the boundaries of the new State. The question is one to which it is in the power of that Government itself to formulate a reply.

In the course of the discussions that have been proceeding there has been no problem more earnestly debated or more

difficult

difficult of solution than the boundaries best consonant with the interests of the Armenian State. The President of the United States has consistently pleaded the cause of a larger Armenia; considerations with which the President is already familiar have inevitably compelled the partial curtailment of these aspirations; and the prospect of creating an Armenia which should include Cilicia and extend to the Mediterranean has for long been abandoned as impracticable.

There remained the questions what portions of the Vilayets of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, still in the possession of the Turkish authorities, could properly and safely be added to the existing Armenian State of Erivan, and what means of access to the sea should be provided in order to ensure to the new Armenia a self sufficing national existence. In other words it remained to be settled what should be the exact boundaries on the West and South which should be inserted in the Peace Treaty with Turkey. The boundaries of Armenia on the North West, and North, and North East with the adjoining States of Georgia and Azerbaijan it is hoped to settle by a mutual agreement between these Republics. In any case these do not call for mention here.

Upon the above questions there was much to be said upon both sides which need not be recapitulated in this Note. Suffice it to say that an appeal to the decision of an independent and absolutely impartial arbitor was recognised as the best available solution, and that it was decided to include in the appeal to the President of the United States a request to this effect. Whatever may be the answer of the United States Government on this larger subject of the Mandate, it is earnestly hoped that he will, in the interests both of Armenia and of the peace of the East, accept this honourable obligation.

In this expectation it has been agreed:-

(a)

(a) To make an appeal to President Wilson that the United States of America should accept a mandate for Armenia within the limits set forth in Section V of the first print of the draft Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

(b) That whatever may be the answer of the United States Government on the subject of the mandate the President of the United States should be asked to arbitrate on the boundaries of Armenia as set forth in the draft article below.

(c) That an article in regard to Armenia should be inserted in the Treaty of Peace in the following sense:-

Turkey and Armenia and the other High Contracting Parties agree to refer to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent State of Armenia.

Pending the arbitration, the boundaries of Turkey and Armenia shall remain as at present

The boundaries of Armenia on the north and east, that is between Armenia and Georgia, and between Armenia and Azerbaijan shall be laid down by the Supreme Council at the same time as those between Armenia and Turkey, failing a spontaneous agreement on this subject between the three Caucasian States.

Irrespective of the mandate and the frontiers, there remain certain additional considerations to which the Supreme Council feel impelled to call the sympathetic attention of the United States Government. In whatever hands the destinies of Armenia may be placed, an interval must inevitably occur, after the conclusion of the Treaty with Turkey, in which the security and even the existence of the New State will be in peril, unless it can be assured of extraneous aid. Its immediate needs will be two in number - provision of the military forces required to defend it against external attack, and provision of the financial means that will enable it to constitute an orderly administration and to develop its own economic resources. In the last resort both of these necessities may be summed up under the heading of financial assistance.

The

The question of military assistance is not thought to be so formidable as might at first sight appear to be the case. The forces at present possessed by the Armenian Republic of Erivan have hitherto been to a large extent diverted - if not dissipated - in the unfortunate disputes with its neighbours on the north and the east. When these are composed - as may be hoped from an arrangement quite recently concluded between the three Caucasian Republics, there will be nothing to prevent a reconstituted Armenia from devoting its undivided energies to the vindications and maintenance of such frontiers as may be allotted to it.

The question has been anxiously examined of the extent to which the Allied Powers might themselves be able by the movement of troops to assure the prompt execution of the territorial clauses of the Treaty in the region of Armenia. Arms and ammunition are already being provided, but it would raise false hopes on the part both of the Armenians and of their friends in all parts of the world, if it were generally believed that the Allied Powers could themselves spare troops for this purpose. The responsibilities entailed upon them in addition to their heavy obligations in Europe and elsewhere by the occupation or administration of territories that formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, and by the necessity of enforcing the Treaty in those parts of Turkey which are more accessible to their arms, will render impossible the assumption of military responsibilities additional to the tremendous burdens they have already assumed. Unless, therefore, Armenia can obtain immediate assistance from some other Power she will be forced to rely in the main, so far as military defence is concerned, upon the forces which she already possesses, augmented by such instructors and munitions as the Allies can supply. Were, however, a volunteer contingent or a volunteer corps to be raised for her defence

defence in America or in any foreign country, it would no doubt be a welcome and invaluable incentive to her own patriotism. But the offer of trained and technical assistance and material aid on an organised scale by a great civilised State would be even more opportune and would enable her to employ her own manhood in her own defence in an effective way. It would be of the greatest value to know if the American Government or the American people will be at all disposed to render her this service.

The provision of credits, however, is even more urgent. The Council of the League of Nations have had it in mind, we believe, to recommend the Assembly of the League to guarantee a loan to Armenia from all countries who are Members of the League. The Supreme Council have of course no knowledge of the response that may be returned to such an appeal, if it be made. But even assuming a favourable reply, an interval must occur before effective aid could be given in this manner; it is uncertain whether the response would be adequate to the need; and in any case the appeal cannot, for reasons which are known, be addressed to the United States Government. In these circumstances help might fail to be forthcoming in the very quarter where sympathy for the future Armenian State is most sincere and active, where the burdens entailed by the war are believed to be less onerous than in any of the other recently belligerent countries, and where the resources of a state and a community, at once powerful and wealthy, have been least impaired.

It is not for the Supreme Council to suggest to the United States Government by what means, whether by state action or by contributions, public or private, the desired financial aid to the Armenian Republic could best be afforded. An American loan of a few millions sterling might be the means of setting Armenia at once upon her feet. On the

other

other hand it is believed that there are many organisations and societies in America, that would gladly contribute to so excellent a cause. Nor should Armenians themselves be backward in coming forward in the hour of their country's need. They cannot expect and they do not desire to depend exclusively upon the mercy or the charity of others. Wealthy Armenians will, it is felt sure, contribute largely to that resuscitation of their country for which they have waited so patiently and amid sufferings so cruel and prolonged; and there may well be a universal emulation in responding to an appeal than which a more deserving can rarely have been addressed to the heart and conscience of mankind.

It is not desired to urge upon the United States Government any unreasonable haste in arriving at a decision upon the momentous questions that have been submitted to them. But it will be obvious to them that so long as these matters are held in suspense, the anxieties of Armenia will be extreme and the pacification of the Eastern world may be seriously and even disastrously postponed.

It would accordingly be an immense relief to all the parties concerned if the United States Government were in a position to give as early a reply as may be convenient to all or any of the questions which have here been submitted to them. Nor can the Supreme Council conclude without expressing a most earnest hope that that reply may be affirmative in character.

San Remo,

26th April 1920.

Armenia

The Times

25. 4. 20.

ARMENIAN MANDATE.

MR. WILSON FAVOURABLE BUT CONGRESS HOSTILE.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

WASHINGTON, APRIL 26.

The prospects of official American aid to Armenia do not seem bright. It is believed that the President himself would be glad to assume full responsibility for a mandate, but the Senate is extremely unlikely to support him in committing the United States to such a foreign venture. Even the idea of sending arms and supplies to the Armenians will not appeal to Congress. It is true, the President, by a strained interpretation of the powers he derives from the nominal state of war which the country is still in, could divert to Armenia arms and supplies already in Europe, but it is believed—though the President is so aloof that there is some doubt about his attitude on this as on other questions—he is not likely to flout the wishes of Congress if it is clearly against any active official aid.

It is not that Congress is insensible to the claims of Armenia for outside aid; it is not that Congress, even in its present economical frame of mind, would wish to refuse point-blank financial help to Armenia if it were certain that the obligation would stop there. What is feared is that, were the United States committed to official assistance to Armenia, however limited the scale, she would quickly become further and further involved, first in Armenia, then elsewhere. With the country so strongly disinclined to foreign responsibilities and so deeply suspicious of European diplomacy as at present this feeling that Armenia might prove a trap is bound to weigh heavily with Congress.

It is reported that the victory of the President's views upon Fiume may temper opposition to Armenian commitments, but it is hardly enough to count. Private assistance to Armenia is another matter altogether, and Mr. Gerard's Committee for the Independence of Armenia, which has requested sufficient arms from the United States to equip 50,000 Armenians, may provide the machinery for effective, though punctiliously unofficial, aid.

Armenia

Manchester Guardian

28. 4. 20.

TURKS CUT THE BAGDAD RAILWAY.

SIEGE AND RELIEF OF AINTAB.

ARMENIAN ORPHANS SHIPPED TO CYPRUS.

Reuter's Agency learns from an Armenian source that official information has been received to the effect that, thanks to the co-operation of the British and French Governments, transport has been found for the conveyance to Cyprus of 3,000 Armenian orphans who were in imminent danger at Adana, in Cilicia. These children and several hundreds of other Christians are on their way to safety.



On the other hand, the situation in Cilicia is becoming worse. Turkish bands have cut the Bagdad Railway at the station of Baghtche. The town of Aintab, where there are 12,000 Armenians and other Christians, is entirely besieged by Turks, and will inevitably suffer the fate of Urfa, which has already fallen, unless reinforcements are sent to its relief.

[A Reuter's telegram from Constantinople, of Monday's date, published below, states that French troops have reoccupied Aintab.]

Surprise is felt amongst the Armenians at the continued refusal of the French authorities in Cilicia to allow the Armenian Legion to proceed to the danger zone. This Legion, which is about 2,500 strong, is a regular military unit, and forms part of the French army, and before the Armistice was under General Allenby's orders. The tension of the situation in Cilicia might be greatly relieved, it is stated, if this Armenian Legion were released to go to the support of the Armenian Volunteers who are attempting to defend the Plain of Cilicia.

Armenia

The Times

28. 4. 20

THE ARMENIAN MANDATE.

LEAGUE'S REPLY TO SUPREME COUNCIL.

and announced only two cases of...
 50 employees were said to be still at work, and the business of the firm was reported to be almost at a standstill. Mr. Oswald Lewis stated:— "Many of the strikers have come back, and whereas there was only one department open yesterday, there are now seven." In the seven departments, however, very little business appeared to be doing.

The pickets were active yesterday, and set out to counteract the effects of a personal canvass among the girls by the management. The manager was out early and approached several of the female employees. Sympathetic action has been taken by trade unions other than the Shop Assistants. Some painters and carpenters working at the shop stopped work, and all drivers were brought out by the Vehicle Workers' Union.

The strikers held an enthusiastic meeting at Mortimer Hall, Mortimer-street, yesterday morning. Half-an-hour before the time the hall was packed, mostly with girls, two of whom opened the programme with an exhibition one-step. Several other couples joined in, and the audience sang. Some one called for "Three cheers for the Press," and they were given with much heartiness.

Mr. E. Jones, district secretary of the Shop Assistants' Union, read messages to the strikers from the London druggists, the Army and Navy Stores staff, and the London drapery branches of the Shop Assistants' Union. He said the employers were continually endeavouring to mix with the strikers, promising them a new earth and foretelling their downfall if they remained out, but their efforts were quite unsuccessful. He said that a representative of the firm called at the living-in quarters the previous night to endeavour to persuade the girls to return, but most of them had gone to the strike concert. The speaker referred to "the practice of the employers of leaving printed circulars on the girls' bedspreads."

A SUCCESSFUL APPEAL.

Mr. P. C. Hoffman, London organizer of the union, announced that the appeal to the public for accommodation in case the girls "living in" were turned out had resulted in offers coming from people in all classes of society and from all parts of London. He had had letters from stockbrokers and from people in Cavendish-square, and also from members of trades unions. A telegram from the staff of another drapery firm stated that they had opened a hand. Mr. Hoffman advised the strikers to keep a stiff upper lip, and said the strike might last a few weeks. Mr. Lewis had said that he would close his business rather than give in, but there were other drapers in Oxford-street who would perhaps be prepared to buy the shop. Mr. Hoffman said that the strike pay would be 15s. a week for girls and 20s. a week for men, but they hoped to augment this considerably by an appeal to all the branches of the union in England, Scotland, and Wales.

After the meeting the strikers marched in procession through Cavendish-square, past Messrs. Lewis's shop, and broke up in Hanover-square.

Mr. J. R. Gullter, secretary of the Drapers' Chamber of Trade, stated last night that the services of the Chamber had been offered with a view to settling the dispute, but had been refused by Mr. Lewis.

A leaflet has been issued by the union explaining why the staff ceased work, and stating that 5,000

Armenia

The Times

29.4.20.

**CILICIAN CHRISTIANS'
DESPAIR.**

PROTEST AGAINST TURKISH RULE.

The Christians of Cilicia, the Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Jacobites, in a collective appeal to the Supreme Council have declared that they view with consternation the statement made by Lord Curzon in the House of Lords to the effect that the Supreme Council contemplates the return of their territory to Turkish rule, in spite of the massacre of 20,000 Christians at Marash.

This statement, it is asserted, is based on statistics in which the number of Musulmans is doubled. The signatories cite the massacres of 1895-96, the massacres at Adana in 1909, by which 30,000 Armenians and other Christians perished, and the subsequent deportations and massacres of 1915, which have cost the Christians of Cilicia two-thirds of their population.

Cilicia, they add, has nothing in common with Turkey, neither geographically nor ethnically, and a Turkish minority can have no right to govern the Christian population. The decision contemplated would, moreover, be contrary to the promise made by the Allied Powers.

The appeal adds that in no case would Armenians bow to a decision which would deliver them once more into the hands of their oppressors. "We raise our voices in the name of the 275,000 Christians surviving in Cilicia, of our martyred dead, and of our heroes still resisting the Turkish hordes, and adjure the Allied Powers to free Cilicia for ever from the nightmare of Turkish rule."—*Reuter.*

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