

## BOOK REVIEWS

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### CAUCASUS AFTER THE COLD WAR

(SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI KAFKASYA)

Author: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kamer Kasım

Ankara, USAK Publications, 2009, 292 pages (in Turkish)

Caucasus has been the center of power struggles throughout the history. Experts estimated that With the Soviet Union's disintegration there would be a power vacuum, which will be filled by the West. However, this was not truly anticipated, as new states which emerged in the Caucasus after the dissolution of the Soviet Union tried to establish relations with various regional and global actors. However, independence brought conflict as secessionist movements and ethnic struggles lead to clashes. Instability in the region complicated consolidation efforts and state-building processes for the countries in the region. All of the newly formed states in the Southern Caucasus faced serious security problems in addition to economic, political and social problems which all the former Soviet republics experienced. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kamer Kasım's book entitled "Caucasus after the Cold War" examines foreign policies of the states in the region from a historical point of view as well as evaluating major problems common to the states in the region. Kasım's work presents a detailed insight that is of critical importance to have a sound knowledge of the foreign policies of the states in the region and international actors which are influential in the Caucasus.

One fundamental characteristic of Kasım's work is that the regional politics is not only examined in terms of the foreign policies of the Caucasus states but also of those states that are influential in the region. In addition to those chapters that deal with Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, Kasım also adds chapters on Turkey, Iran and Russia as regional actors and United States as a global actor. Thus Kasım's work makes a methodological differentiation of the degree of the actors' involvement in the region. Russian Federation is identified as a regional actor, while United States' is defined as a super power, which emerged as the sole international actor after the Cold War. The debate on Russia's role in the international politics and whether revival of Russia's economic and political influence makes it a superpower is a controversial issue for contemporary IR literature. Kasım's work emphasizes that Russia's influence and its foreign policy is comparable to those regional powers such as Iran and Turkey.

Accordingly, “Near Abroad” policy is a specialization of foreign policy priorities for Russian Federation into a regional perspective, therefore giving up empire and superpower ambitions for the sake of holding onto its influence in the ex-Soviet territories. Therefore Russian Federation’s involvement in the Caucasus region is defined in terms of regional rather than global perspective.

Secondly, theoretical approach to the subject matter in Kasım’s work, namely foreign policy issues in Caucasus and strategies to handle them, are discussed in terms of classical balance of power theory. Therefore his work, although includes various approaches to study politics in Caucasus, prioritizes a realist perspective. Ethnic conflicts, energy politics and secessionist movements are defined as major common problems, while socio-economic development, regional integration, state-building and national identity problems are also analyzed in detail.

Thirdly, Kasım mainly argues that integrationist powers are less influential compared to disintegrationist powers. Therefore, foreign involvement in regional politics negatively influences integration efforts, while causing regional problems to become permanent/frozen conflicts. Kasım suggests that struggle for influence in the region and the disadvantaged role of integrationist powers in the region hampers national economic development projects, transportation of energy resources to the West and interregional integration.

Another influence of foreign involvement in the region, although indirectly, is that enduring regional conflicts and inability to provide regional integration also threatens the structure and integrity in these countries. Therefore Kasım claims that one critical issue for Caucasus states is to hold the states intact, secure and stable and only then it would be possible to provide grounds for integration, development and security. Foreign involvement plays a crucial role in this picture.

According to Kasım, there is a critical role of regional and global actors to play in the Caucasus to resolve regional conflicts such as Karabakh, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Turkish-Armenian and Azerbaijan-Armenia relations. Still Kasım anticipates no immediate solution to these conflicts even by the mediation of regional and global powers. Kasım suggests that even in the case of a positive mediation, these conflicts do not seem to be resolved in the near future. Accordingly these conflicts could be transformed so as to break into new forms of conflicts. Kasım’s argument is especially valid considering the recent developments in Turkish-Armenian relations, which entered a new phase with the signing of the two Protocols for the establishment and development of bilateral relations in October 2009. Putting the theory into practice and considering the developments in Turkish and Armenian politics concerning the bilateral relations, the unresolved problems are beginning to be transformed into new conflicts as these problems are getting more and more interrelated with each other and internationalized.

In chapters that deal with the foreign policies of the countries in the region, Kasım highlights the need of those countries to establish cooperative relations with regional and global actors for the establishment of security and stability. Thus, Kasım underlines that each of these states saw the necessity to become a part of one or another security mechanism to secure their regional roles and economic, political development. This approach is closely linked with Barry Buzan's Regional Security Complex theory, which assumes that regions-in-transition attempt to become a part of a regional security complex in order to survive the competition within an 'uncharted' region. But compared to Kasım's claim, Buzan's analysis also suggests that this complicated condition of the countries in a region with no security integration provides a suitable ground for non-regional actors to penetrate into these regions in order to consolidate their influence. Therefore, Kasım's arguments fit into the regional politics predicted by Buzan, while the role of the region-specific requirements of the Caucasus countries to become a part of a specific security mechanism are analyzed in a more detailed informative figure.

Kamer Kasım's book entitled "Caucasus after the Cold War" provides an insightful analysis of the foreign policies of the main actors in the Caucasus by theoretical and methodological hypothesis, which he supports with detailed historical information on the subject. Thus, it is obvious that a critical region such as Caucasus and its economic, political and therefore social transformation can only be understood by evaluating the foreign policies and the factors that define these policies of the countries in the region. Kasım's work would be a helpful resource for researchers interested in the region.



## ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

In the following page, you can find the original photocopies of the documents mentioned to Prof. Dr. Seçil Karal Akgün's article entitled "Ottoman Armenian Intricate Relations with Western Powers Before and During the Peace Settlements of the First World War" published in the last issue of our Journal (issue 18).

Document 1

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1916

The Reverend James L. Barton,  
14 Beacon Street,  
Boston, Massachusetts.

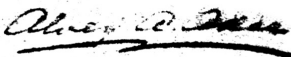
Sir:

There is herewith enclosed to you a paraphrase of a telegram from the American Ambassador at Constantinople, dated January 26th, communicating a message which the Armenian Patriarch requests be delivered to the Armenians in the United States, concerning the steps to be taken by them to most efficiently aid the Armenians in Turkey.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

  
Second Assistant Secretary.

867.48/236

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## Document 1-a

The American Ambassador to Turkey, in a telegram dated January 26, 1916, states that the Armenian Patriarch requests that the following be communicated to the Armenians in the United States:

First. They should contribute as generously as possible to the relief funds to be distributed through missionaries, and also to funds to be distributed through the Patriarchate in order to maintain the moral ties between the Patriarchate and the Armenian people. Funds can be transmitted to the Patriarchate through the American Embassy at Constantinople.

Second. Armenians in other countries should abstain from public utterances and demonstrations of a character calculated to jeopardize the safety and lives of Armenians in Turkey.

Third. Armenians throughout the World should continue at all times to appeal to the humanitarian feelings of the allies of Turkey and of neutrals to aid in keeping alive the Armenians in Turkey until the arrival of normal times once more.

Document 2

TRANSLATION

March 29, 1916.

SUBJECT: PORTE

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

No. 80136/90.

Note Verbale.

The Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs has had the honor of receiving the note verbale which the Embassy of the United States of America was pleased to address to it on November 24, 1915, relative to the <sup>American</sup> missionaries Rev. Alpheus N. Andrus, Dr. Thom, and Miss Agnes Fenenga, who were established at Hardin.

The Department of the Interior, to which a request for information in this connection was made, states in reply that these missionaries had direct relations with the Armenian Revolutionary Committee and the rebels of Midiat, and that the money and effects seized by the local authorities did not belong to them but to some Armenians. These sums of money are at present deposited in the public treasury and the effects are cared for by the commission constituted for the purpose, to settle the property left by the Armenians.

As to the valuables and other objects belonging to these missionaries, they were delivered by the said Imperial authorities to their representative or attorney, and no damage has been done to their real property.

These Americans travelled freely as far as Sivas, without being the object of any bad treatment by the Imperial authorities, who, on the contrary, even allowed them to stop for several days where they wished to do so.

Consequently,

To the Embassy of the United States of America.



**Document 2**

Consequently inviews of the relations since the said missionaries with the Armenia Revolutionary Commitities, the Imperia.

Minister of Foreign Affairs regrets to be unable to comply with the regrests with fionned the purpose of the said verbal.

Document 2-a

No. 1356

April 18, 1916.

Note Verbale.

The Embassy of the United States of America has the honor to acknowledge receipt of the Note Verbale of the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated March 25, 1916, No. 66134/90, relative to the case of three American missionaries who were compelled to leave Hardin and proceed to Nivas, and to state in reply that the contents thereof have been communicated to its Government.

This Embassy cannot, however, allow to pass unchallenged the allegation contained in the said note verbale to the effect that <sup>three</sup> three American citizens were carrying on direct relations with the Aramian Revolutionary Committee and the rebels at Midiat. That these three Americans should have been engaged, even indirectly, in any undertaking inimical to the Imperial Ottoman Government or tending to disturb local peace and order, this Embassy cannot readily believe, and it therefore requests the Imperial Ministry to furnish it with any substantial evidence to such effect which may have been submitted to the Sublime Porte by the local authorities.

To the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Sublime Porte.



Document 4-a

794 FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1917, SUPPLEMENT 2

7. A national assembly elected by all the resident population would be called in the course of the last year of the delegated power's mandate. And as Armenia should rule itself at the end of the organization period, the government would then be transferred to the national assembly upon which should rest the duty of enforcing and maintaining, under the joint protection of the powers, the final organic law of autonomous Armenia framed to that end.

8. It is well to refute in advance the argument used by the Turks in their press to oppose any autonomy plan. They would lead one to believe that there are not enough Armenians left in Turkey to form an autonomous nation. This is but specious reasoning. Before the war the Armenian population of the Turkish Empire amounted to about 2,100,000. The population of Cilicia formed 407,000, that of the six vilayets 1,163,000 of that total. In the six vilayets, where are the bulk of the Kurd people and a good many various races, the Armenians were nevertheless in the majority, numbering 40 per cent of the total, and they outnumbered the Turks and Kurds together anyway.

If on the other hand the situation is viewed from the standpoint of economic and moral importance, it is found that the Armenians held from 69 to 86 per cent of the trade, industries and various occupations. Their schools, which are all supported by the communities exclusively, represented more than 80 per cent of the whole number.

Finally the Armenians, who only numbered 2,100,000 in the aggregate population of 20,000,000 of the Empire, handled 60 per cent of the import trade, 40 per cent of the export trade and 80 per cent of domestic trade.

Notwithstanding the large number of victims of massacre and deportation, the greater part of the Armenians were able to escape or survive the attempt at extermination. According to the Blue Book, published by Lord Bryce who drew his information from the most trustworthy documents, an estimate of 1,500,000 for the number of survivors would not be far off the truth.

9. We must not forget either that the number of Armenians in the whole world exceeds 4,000,000 and that a large number of those who to escape persecution emigrated in the last 30 years to Europe, Egypt and America would hasten back to their native land when autonomy would make them sure of a peaceful and industrious life under laws of justice and liberty.

It is not amiss to mention in conclusion that there were barely 400,000 Greeks in Greece when the Kingdom was established, and from 600,000 to 700,000 Serbs or Bulgarians when Serbia and Bulgaria were set up as principalities.

RUCHLOS NUBAR

PART I: CONTINUATION OF THE WAR—PARTICIPATION OF U. S. 705  
File No. 867.48/678

*The President of the Armenian National Delegation (Roghos Nubar) to the Secretary of State*  
(Translation)

PARIS, September 12, 1917.  
[Received November 3.]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, the Armenian question having now become one of the international questions that will have to be determined by the future peace congress wherein the United States Government will wield a decisive influence, the Armenian National Delegation commissioned by H.H. the Catholics, Kevoik V, Supreme Patriarch of the Armenians, to lay before the Allied powers the just claims of his people, deems it necessary to have a representative in Washington. It has designated as such representative Mr. Miran Sevassly who has already been elected by his fellow countrymen president of the Armenian National Union of America.

I therefore have the honor to beg Your Excellency kindly to receive and recognize him as the representative in the United States of the Armenian National Delegation, and to vouchsafe him your lofty benevolence and invaluable support in the duties he will have to perform as intermediary between your Government and the delegation.

On the other hand, Mr. Pasdermadjian, whom H.H. the Catholics recently sent to the United States as his special representative, has no doubt already presented to Your Excellency the letters accrediting him in that capacity, and it has already been agreed, with the concurrence of our two delegates, Messrs. Sevassly and Pasdermadjian, that, joined in close collaboration, they will both labor for the same cause which is the liberation of the Armenian provinces from the Turkish yoke.

During the recent afflictions that have overwhelmed Armenia, the United States in general and its Government in particular have given the Armenians such effective proofs of their sympathy and deep interest that our hearts and hopes have more than ever turned to them, fully confident that we have in them defenders who will powerfully contribute to our emancipation and the restoration of our national life.

It therefore affords me particular pleasure to take this opportunity to beg Your Excellency, in the name of H.H. the Catholics, whom I represent, as well as in my own and in that of all Armenians, to accept the expression of our deep and unalterable gratitude, together with the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

RUCHLOS NUBAR

## Document 4-b

Nubar Pasha—once addressed to you for your personal information, one to the Honorable Henry Morgenthau and another to Dr. van Dyke.

On account of your telegram No. 2294 of the 29th ultimo in reference to the question of Armenian representation in Paris, I have, in transmitting Dr. Gibbons's letter, made reference as above to my telegram No. 2144.

W. G. SHARP

[Enclosure—Translation]

*The President of the Armenian National Delegation (Doghos Nubar)*  
to the Secretary of State

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AT THE PEACE CONGRESS

PARIS, May 24, 1917.

1. After the recent massacres and deportations it is impossible to leave the Armenians, with their consent, under Turkish domination. Besides it would amount to keeping alive a source of disorders and conflicts that could not fail again to disturb European peace.

2. Nor can there be any question at this time, as in 1913, of merely granting reforms to the Armenians. For the Turks have again given conclusive proof that they cannot be trusted to keep their promises; by tearing up the Reform Act of February 8, 1914, which would have then settled the Armenian question if carried out in good faith. So there is no solution left but to free the Armenians from the Turkish yoke.

3. At this date, after the Russian revolution whose Government has declared it wishes neither conquests nor annexations, we are confronted with the one solution that will realize the Armenians' national aspirations, the constitution of an autonomous Armenia exclusively composed of all the Armenian territory in Asiatic Turkey. For it must be well understood that the Armenian provinces that have suffered from Turkish oppression are alone concerned and that none of the Armenian regions in Persia and Russia comes into consideration.

This autonomous Armenia would consist of the six vilayets of Erzerum, Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Manuret-ül-Aziz and Sivas, together with Cilicia and the ports of Mersina and Alexandretta on the Mediterranean and of Trebizond on the Black Sea, which are the natural outlets needed by the Armenians to develop the commercial and economic conditions of their country and rebuild their national life.

4. The autonomous Armenia thus constituted would be entrusted in the protectorate and, if so, which? Or will the protectorate be jointly exercised by all the powers?

Under the old régime, it was part of Russia's plan to annex or at least assume alone the protectorate of a part of Armenia; but with the advent of the new régime, the only solution left for consideration is that which provides for a joint protectorate of the powers. Again, this joint protectorate, which would be tantamount to a neutralization of Armenia, would be warranted by the international interests involved in those regions of Asia Minor.

5. That solution alone would gratify the national aspirations. It would at the same time fulfil the war aims of the Allies, which are the principle of nationalities and the liberation of oppressed peoples. The powers themselves would also find manifold advantages therein, for, an Armenia so constituted, with equal rights offered to all the powers, would open to them a field for their commercial, economic and educational activities. It would further be a factor in pacification, forming a buffer between the Turkish state of Anatolia, Russia, Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria.

As for the Bagdad Railway, concerning which the powers will no doubt arrive at a special agreement, it would be given at the ports of Mersina and Alexandretta two terminals in neutral territory which would guarantee to all the powers free traffic with Persia and India.

6. There will necessarily be a first period of organization for the term of which the peace congress might delegate one of the protecting powers to assume the duty of restoring the social life of Armenia. That mandate would last 10 or 15 years and come to an end when financial, economic, executive and political conditions are fully organized, as was done by the United States in Cuba and will be done in the near future in the Philippines.

The delegated protecting power would, for the purpose, have at its disposal a loan guaranteed by the powers, independently of an indemnity fund which will no doubt be allowed by the peace congress to compensate the victims of massacre and deportation. It would be empowered to send to Armenia, there to restore order and safety, a sufficient armed force which it would undertake gradually to withdraw before the expiration of its mandate and which would be replaced by an Armenian *gendarmérie*, as fast as that corps is organized.

Document 4-c

796 FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1917, SUPPLEMENT 2

File No. 867.48/676

*The Secretary of State to the President of the Armenian National  
Delegation (Boghos Nubar)*

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1917.

SIR: The Department acknowledges the receipt of your letter of September 12, 1917, in which you state that the Armenian National Delegation deems it necessary to be represented in Washington, and has designated as such representative, Mr. Miran Sevasly, who has been already elected by his fellow countrymen, president of the Armenian National Union of America.

I am [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:  
WILLIAM PHILLIPS

○

U.S. Department of State. Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1917. Supp. 2, 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1932. Vol. 1, pp. 791-96.

## Document 4-d

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BELGE VI  
DOCUMENT VI*Délégation Nationale  
Arménienne**21, Avenue du Président Wilson**Edouard Paucot, 3983**Bureau Télégraphique  
Délégation - Paris**Paris, le* December 23th, 1920

My dear Shishmanian,

Before you leave Paris, I want to tell you how much pleased I have been to meet you again in Paris. I knew your distinguished military services in France and in Cilicia and especially the glorious part which you had taken in the battle of Arara, but I can now better appreciate the important role you played in the education of the military spirit of our countrymen in Adana, and particularly in the training of the "Groupements Arméniens", which have done such excellent work in Adana.

Besides, I am pleased to point out the very appreciable services which you rendered to the Armenian National Delegation during your short sojourn in Paris by supplying it with documental and highly interesting reports on events which had happened in Cilicia and of which both the French Government and ourselves had such an imperfect knowledge.

I therefore express once again my best thanks and appreciation for your work.

Believe me, Dear Shishmanian,

Very sincerely yours,

*Edouard Paucot*

Document 5

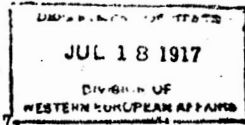
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BELGE II  
DOCUMENT II

WCD 10050-71



WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON.



*Amica*

July 17, 1917

*Go Rome July 23, 1917  
File 2. 283. J.B.K.*

From Secretary of War.

To Secretary of State.

Subject: Organization of Armenians to fight for the Allied cause.

1. Reference to your memorandum of July 2, 1917, enclosing a despatch from the American Ambassador at Rome transmitting copy of a letter from the Comitato "Armenia Indipendente", recommending and requesting assistance to organize an armed force of Armenians under a flag of "free Armenians" to fight for the Allied cause, it is recommended that no assistance be given to a project of this nature at this time, owing to the fact that the Government is engaged, at present, in expending large sums of money and making preparations for the execution of plans of military operations already decided upon.

2. If such a project should be favorably considered, its execution should have the approval of an Allied war council.

*96722/9*

hwh

*W. B. Baker*

(Newman D. Baker)

FILED  
AUG 1 1917



## Document 6

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BELGE III  
DOCUMENT III

(Memorandum dated December 1st, 1920, sent to the French Government by the Delegation Nationale Armenienne on the Cilician Question.)

## PRESENT STATUS OF THE CILICIAN QUESTION.



At a time when the fate of Cilicia is about to be decided it is necessary briefly to recall some facts, and to call attention to the solution which the Delegation Nationale Armenienne submits to the Government of France, a solution which, while taking into consideration the present and the obligations of the Treaty of Sevres would also satisfy the very modest prayers of the Armenians of Cilicia by protecting also the interests of France.

In October, 1916, following an accord concluded between the Allies regarding the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire, the French Government declared to the Delegation Nationale Armenienne, that the Armenians should earn the liberation of their country by furnishing volunteers for an expedition into Asia Minor.

This demand may be explained by the fact that the Western front was then passing through one of its most alarming moments of the War, one in which the Allies, especially France, could not send even the weakest sort of a detachment to the East.

The President of the Delegation Nationale Armenienne eagerly accepted the proposition that was put to him, in exchange for which he obtained from the French Government a solemn promise to grant--after the War-- the widest possible autonomy under French protection to the Armenian territories which, according to the 1915 Accord, would come into the French zone of influence.

Immediate arrangements were made, an appeal was sent out by the President of the Delegation to Armenians who, armed with the hope of freeing Cilicia, their homeland, rushed from all sides to enlist. Thus was created the Legion d'Orient, later named Legion Armenienne, for it was made up almost exclusively of Armenians. Under the command of French officers and French staffs, the Legion took part in the Palestine-Syria campaign. It fought valiantly and its French leaders as well

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\* (Footnote by John A. Shishmanian) It was said, at the time, that an army of one million Turks was prevented from being sent to the Eastern Front. J.A.S.



as Field Marshal Allenby, Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition, rendered official tribute to its tenacity and bravery.

But these are not the only military services that the Armenians have given to the Allies. From the very outbreak of the World War, refusing to accept the offer of the Turks, who promised them independence if they would join them in order to allow the Ottoman troops to reach the Transcaucasus to raise the Turanian population, and they did not hesitate to align themselves with the Allies. And in continuing the War for nearly a whole year on the Caucasian front, after the collapse of Russia, the Armenian Volunteers, under their own leaders, prevented the German forces from obtaining oil, as has been declared by General Ludendorff himself, who states that this was one of the causes of the inferiority of the German army and its notably feeble resistance.

On the other hand, by their action, the Armenian Volunteers held in the Caucasus, important Turkish forces and prevented them from fighting elsewhere.\* They thus came to the assistance indirectly but very effectively, of the allied troops fighting in Mesopotamia and in Palestine, and later in the Salonica campaign, the victorious outcome of which unquestionably was one of the most powerful causes that led to the defeat of the Central Powers.

Nevertheless, in spite of her promise, the Treaty of Sevres abandons that largest part of Cilicia to the Turks, while it takes from them the region of Smyrna and of Thrace. The Armenians of Cilicia, to whom this freedom was promised and who fought against the Turks in order to obtain it, therefore see themselves once more returned to the domination of their ancient oppressors.

But recent events in Greece have modified the situation. The new direction of Greek politics at the fall of Mr. Venizelos brings up the question again. We do not ask for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres, but whether it is revised or not, it seems at the least that negotiations will break open from which diplomacy could take advantage, if it wishes, to come to the aid of Armenians in order

## Document 6-2

to realize in Cilicia their very modest prayer and at the same time protect French interests.

The Armenians, considering what has already been done, and the signing by France of the Treaty of Sevres, no longer ask for the liberation of Cilicia, but while submitting to Ottoman sovereignty, they simply demand that the Christian population not be abandoned to the administration of Turks whom the Allies themselves have recognized to be incapable of governing non-Turkish peoples, and as they declared first in the letter of Mr. Clemenceau to the Ottoman Delegation that came to the Peace Conference in Paris and later in the declaration that was issued at the Conference at Spa.

The only solution then, is to grant to these peoples an autonomous Christian administration under French protection, with a mixed gendarmerie under French command into which may be introduced other national elements. This gendarmerie could be organized within a short time and its finances assured out of the resources of the country itself as soon as pacified.

We repeat that this solution which alone will make life possible to the Christian people of Cilicia would offer to France certain advantages which may be summed up as follows:

- 1:- It can be brought about by diplomacy alone without affecting the Treaty of Sevres. And France is able to do it readily, since Cilicia, under the Tripartite Accord is part of the French zone of influence, and because of this same "Accord" she need not withdraw her troops until the execution of the Treaty is effectually assured.
- 2:- It would call for no further sacrifice either of men or money.
- 3:- It would avoid all international difficulties, for it would not affect either the letter or the spirit of the Treaty of Sevres. The autonomous Christian administration could be brought about by a simple irade of the Sultan.



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- 4:- It would perpetuate the peace of the northern region of Syria and establish security on the Syrian boundary.
- 5:- It would permit France to evacuate Cilicia by means of its mixed gendarmerie as above mentioned.
- 6:- It would make more real the privileges of an economic, commercial and agricultural order in this region which is richer than any of the other regions placed under her mandate.

As to the 250,000 Christians of Cilicia whose official and traditional guardian is France, and who have returned to Cilicia under her own encouragement, they could by this solution enjoy a real security, no longer subject to vexations, injustices and the arbitrariness of an administration that has more than proved its incapacity to rule over non-Turk races and whose sad memory has not yet been effaced.

THE PRESIDENT

Delegation Nationale Armenienne

BOGHOS NUBAR

*THIS TRANSLATION WAS DONE BY JOHN A. SHISHMANIAN, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT SENT NO REPLY TO THIS MEMORANDUM.*



## Document 7

TRANSLATION BY JOHN A. SHISHMANIAN

BELGE IV  
DOCUMENT IVCILICIA & THE WAR of 1914-1918

(The following is a translation of a statement prepared by the Delegation Nationale Armenienne, at Paris, and signed by its President, Boghos Nubar.)

Paris December 9, 1920.

On the circumstances and conditions under which the "Orient" was created in 1916.

We deem it useful to recall the circumstances under which an accord was brought about between the French Government and the Delegation Nationale Armenienne in October, 1916, on the subject of Armenian Volunteers and to give certain details of the commitment on the part of the French Government.

In 1916, certain conferences took place between the Quai d'Orsay and the Delegation Nationale Armenienne. I was then called to London and after my conferences with Mr. Georges Picot and Sir Mark Sykes, who in the name of their respective governments had negotiated the Accord of 1916 relative to the fate of Turkey in Asia, I had a last meeting with them on October 27 at the Embassy of France, where the conditions upon which the Delegation Nationale Armenienne undertook to furnish Volunteers for an expedition into Cilicia were settled.

It was at a most critical period of the war, and the Allies could not think of withdrawing any of their forces on the Western front to be sent to the East; that is why Mr. Georges Picot had been instructed to call for Volunteers against the



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Turks. Need I state that we hastened to offer this additional cooperation to the Allies? I say "additional" because since the outbreak of the war the Armenians had never ceased to fight at the side of the Allies.

During the interview, Mr. Georges Picot brought out the necessity to the Armenians of acquiring a new realization of their national aspirations. I replied: "They are ready to do that". And I added, however, that the Volunteers would not offer themselves in really effective numbers unless they were assured of being enlisted against their ancient enemy, to liberate their native soil. Armenian Volunteers who were residents of France, had already been fighting for two years on the Western front; but under these present circumstances it seemed that those of our (Armenian) other communities would not willingly enlist elsewhere than in Cilicia.

Mr. Picot agreed with this and declared himself in accord with my position. He only asked in order to avoid any misunderstandings, if an expedition into Syria or on the coast of Smyrna, or even in the Balkans, undertaken for the purpose of defeating the Turks, would be considered in harmony with our plans. I replied that the object being to liberate Armenia, a landing carried out for strategical reasons in Syria or in Asia Minor, would surely satisfy our demands; but as to the Balkans, this would be doubtful.

Mr. Picot agreed and added that his question had no other motive than to define the issue and avoid all misunder-



## Document 7-2

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-3-

standings. This point having been clarified, I added that to allow me to support with greater energy a call for Volunteers and to obtain better results, I should be placed in a position to give assurances that at the end of the War, France would include Cilicia within the boundaries outlined in the 1916 Accord of the Allies; would create an autonomous Armenia to permit the race to reconstruct itself and for Armenian nationality to develop under the protection of France.

Mr. Picot then authorized me to give that assurance.

Consequently, it was agreed that I send a dispatch to my son in Egypt, where many Armenian refugees were eagerly awaiting the call to enlist, instructing him to take all the necessary steps in order to encourage enlistments advising the Volunteers that I had received formal assurances from the French Government that after the victory of the Allies, the aspirations of the Armenian people would receive full satisfaction in Cilicia.

It was thereupon decided in brief:

- 1- That the Volunteers would be utilized exclusively as a landing party in Asia Minor for the purpose of fighting their traditional enemies and to free their native soil.
- 2- That France promised -- after an Allied victory -- to give autonomy to Cilicia placed under her protection.
- 3- That the following telegram addressed to my son in Egypt, be sent in code by way of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was done that same day:

"October 27, 1916

"Arakel Bey Nubar, Cairo

Referring to my letter of October 6, on the question of Volunteers. Having since then, received formal assurances that upon an Allied victory, our national aspirations shall be satisfied, I direct you to take the necessary steps to encourage



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and facilitate the enlisting of the greatest number of Volunteers possible, with such precautionary measures as are indicated in my said letter, and all other precautions that may be deemed necessary. Shall return to Paris this week."

NUBAR



Such were the commitments on both sides.

The Armenians, relying upon the promise to free Cilicia, their homeland, responded to the appeal in large numbers, and the Government of the Republic (French) sent a Commission to Egypt under the direction of M. le Commandant Romieu to organize the corps of Volunteers that would be assembled and drilled on the island of Cyprus.

This Commission arrived at Cairo in November, 1916, and made contact with all the Armenian groups, and thus was created La Legion d'Orient later renamed La Legion Armenienne, because it was almost exclusively made up of Armenians. Commandant Romieu addressing himself to prominent Armenians confirmed to them this London Agreement and allowed them to read a letter from Mr. Briand, the President of the Conseil des Ministres, declaring that he was in complete accord with the Delegation Nationale Armenienne.

And the Commandant declared in these words:

1- That the constitution of the Legion d'Orient had as its main object to give to the Armenians the freedom of Cilicia and thus to create for them a new realization of their national aspirations.

2- That the Armenian Legionnaires would fight against the Turks and only in Cilicia.

3- That the Legion Armenienne would form a nucleus of the future Armenian army.

As soon as organized, the Legion d'Orient took part under the flag of France and the command of French officers in



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the Palestine Campaign, where it formed the largest part of the French contingent. It fought valiantly and its leaders paid tribute to its bravery. It was cited in the Orders of the French Expeditionary Corps (1) and Field Marshall Lord Allenby, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces, has testified to their valor and to their splendid military bearing (2).

As to Cilicia, the commitments recited herein were carried out from November, 1918, to December, 1919, lands of Syria and Cilicia entrusted to the administration of Mr. Georges Pirot, officially were known as "le Commissariat General de la France en Armenie".

During this entire period, I received official communications concerning Cilicia, which came from the "Service Administratif en Armenie" and from the "Colonel, Administrateur en Chef en Armenie".

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(1) "The Commanding Officer of the French Detachment under whose command the Armenians fought, has brought to light the endurance and the spirit of the Armenian soldiers, whose loyalty to the Allies never faltered".

(2) Dated October 12, 1918:

"Delegation Nationale Armenienne, Paris. My sincere thanks to you and to Armenians for your kind telegram of congratulations. I am proud of having had a group of Armenians under my command. They fought brilliantly and had a great share in the victory."

ALLENBY

*Allenby*



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Finally by official permission, upon orders of the High Commissioner, Mr. Georges Picot, 208,000 Armenians, refugees in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, were returned to Cilicia -- "Into their homeland" said the French authorities.

The Armenians therefore have carefully carried out their commitments.

Nevertheless, the treaty of Sevres, signed by France, leaves the greater portion of Cilicia under Ottoman sovereignty, while it presents autonomy to the Kurds (Article 62) who made war against the Allies and who with the Turks had participated in massacring Armenians who were the allies of France. The Kurds to whom France had made no promises. Those who loyally supported the cause of the Allies are sacrificed, while those who fought the allies are favored.

And yet, we could even be content today by obtaining an autonomous administration in Cilicia under Turkish sovereignty and French control. This autonomous administration could be accomplished through diplomatic channels. It would require nothing more than an irade from the Sultan.

The Delegation Nationale Armenienne hopes that the government of the Republic will be pleased to make its decision, which while preserving the interests of France will also permit her to keep her promises and attain the modest satisfaction of our demands. Otherwise, it means the abandonment of those whom France herself brought back into Cilicia and whose brothers fought at her side against the Turks.

The President  
Delegation Nationale Armenienne.  
BOGHOS NURAR



## RECENT DOCUMENTS

**DOCUMENT 1: LETTER OF A GROUP OF RETIRED TURKISH AMBASSADORS TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MRS.NANCY PELOSY**

**DOCUMENT 2: STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA ON ARMENIAN REMEMBRANCE DAY, APRIL 24, 2009**

**DOCUMENT 3: PROTOCOL ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA**

**DOCUMENT 4: PROTOCOL ON DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA**

