



Հարգելի՛ ընթերցող.

ԵՊՀ հայագիտական հետազոտությունների ինստիտուտը, չհետապնդելով որևէ եկամուտ, իր կայքերում ներկայացնելով հայագիտական հրատարակություններ, նպատակ ունի հանրությանն ավելի հասանելի դարձնել այդ ուսումնասիրությունները:

Մենք շնորհակալություն ենք հայտնում հայագիտական աշխատասիրությունների հեղինակներին, հրատարակիչներին:

Մեր կոնտակտները՝

Պաշտոնական կայք՝ <http://www.armin.am>

Էլ. փոստ՝ info@armin.am

**NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF ARMENIA
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES**

ARMAN J. KIRAKOSSIAN

**BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN
QUESTION AND
THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE**



VIENNA 2014

UDC 941 (479.25)

Recommended for publication by the Scientific Council of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia.

The author thanks Ms. Liane-Sophie Hamamciyan, MA, for editing the manuscript.

Kirakossian, Arman J.

Brief History of the Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide / Arman J. Kirakossian. – “Grakan Hayrenik” CJSC, (“Hayastan” Publishing House), Vienna, 2014, 48 p.

This book provides a brief history of the diplomatic and legal aspects of the Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide, thereby analyzing numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements referring to Armenians, and Armenia. It explores various stages of the Armenian Question against the backdrop of the Ottoman Empire, the existing policies of the European Great Powers as well as the prevailing international and regional dynamics. Includes bibliography of literature in English.

ISBN 978-5-540-02361-0

© 2014 by Arman J. Kirakossian

Brief History of the Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide

Armenian-Turkish relations are considered to be one of the most complicated, and unresolved problems in international politics. This strained relationship is based on a number of historical, legal and political issues relating to the Armenian Genocide and Turkey’s continued opposition on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the opening of the borders with the Republic of Armenia.

To better understand the status of these relations, a brief history of the Armenian Question, the Armenian Genocide, and recent developments beginning from the second half of the nineteenth century will be introduced hereafter.

* * *

On the eve of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, the territories historically populated by Armenians were divided between the Ottoman and Russian Empires. Both parts are respectively called Western Armenia and Eastern Armenia. The name Western Armenia was however, put into circulation after 387, when the kingdom of Greater Armenia was divided between the Persian and Roman Empires. Western Armenia fell under Ottoman Turkey’s domination in **1555 by the Treaty of Amasya signed with Persia**, and Eastern Armenia became Russia’s territory by the **Treaty of Turkmenchay (1828) - signed as a result of the Russo-Persian war of 1826-1828.**

In the early 19th century, the Ottoman Empire – at the time the largest sovereign state in the Near East – became an object of competition between the Great European Powers. From an ethnic perspective, the Ottoman Empire was a composite of over 60 nationalities and tribes of different cultural and religious affiliations and of dissimilar levels of social, economic, political, and cultural development. Each of the European Powers, guided by their national interests, strove for political and economic domination of the Empire while defending the principle of its territorial integrity. The preservation of the *status quo* eventually metamorphosed into a senseless, irrelevant principle obscuring the long-term processes of ethnic and religious divisions and administrative decay in the Ottoman Empire.

The European Powers used the precarious state of the Christian nations, including Armenians, to put pressure on and interfere in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire and to win new political and commercial concessions. However this deteriorated the condition of the Christian minority in the Empire. The Ottoman Government saw a threat for the future of its multinational and multireligious Empire in the Christian population, which was aspiring to throw off the centuries-long yoke. Trying to suspend the Empire's collapse and to take the country out of extreme backwardness, in 1839 the Ottoman Government proclaimed the reform program of *Hatt-i Sherif of Gulhane* (*Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber*), which declared the immunity of all its subjects' life, property and dignity, the equality of the Muslim and non-Muslim population, as well as

economic reforms. However, as a result of the resistance of Empire's regressive circles, the reforms remained on the paper.

During the Crimean War, 1853-1856, the Empire plunged into a new crisis. The pressure exerted by Great Britain, France and Austro-Hungary in 1856 made the Sultan's Government proclaim the *Hatt-i Humayun* (*Imperial Edict*), which gave additional rights to Christians. These reforms remained unfulfilled as well and thus made changes neither in the Empire's state and social life, nor in the life of oppressed peoples.

More than 3 million Armenians inhabiting Western Armenia and other parts of the Ottoman Empire were undergoing national, economic, political and religious oppression. The 1860s witnessed a rise in the Armenian liberation movement, with insurrections in Van and Zeytoun in 1862 and in Moush in 1863.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 ended up with Russia's victory, as the Russian troops in the Balkans approached the walls of Constantinople (Istanbul) and occupied almost all of Western Armenia on the Caucasian front. The outcome of the war and the successful national liberation struggle of the Balkan nations inspired the Armenians to fight for their liberation. Furthermore, the expansionist policies of Russia, carried out under the cloak of "protection" of the Christian peoples in the Ottoman Empire happened to coincide with the national aspirations of the Armenian people.

The Armenian Question was initially addressed in Article 16 of the **1878 Russo-Turkish preliminary Treaty of San**

Stefano, which stated *“as the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupy in Armenia, and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security from Kurds and Circassians.”* Under Article 19 Kars, Ardahan, Bayazid, Batum, Oltu, Ardanoush, Artvin, Alashkert, Kaghizman, Khumar were transferred to Russia.

For the first time, Armenia and Armenians were reappearing in an international document in modern history. Nevertheless, it was obvious that the Russian Government was not keen on securing autonomy for Armenia, as it happened in the case of Balkan peoples. Russia was satisfied with its status as protector of Armenians in the eastern provinces and implementer of reforms. By acknowledging the possibility of reprisals against the Armenian population in Western Armenia, the Russian Government turned the implementation of reforms in Armenia into a subject of international law.

The Treaty of San Stefano, however, was signed in a period of acute international crisis, as Russia faced strong resistance from Great Britain and Austria-Hungary. The British Government took immediate measures to deprive Russia of the results of its military victory. Under unfavorable international conditions, the Russian Government had to sign a **Secret Agreement with the British Government on May 30, 1878**, which stripped Russia half of the advantages it had gained. As

such, Russia had to give up the Bayazid and Alashkert Valley; it agreed that the protection of the Armenian Christians was to be guaranteed jointly by the European Powers. The British Government also succeeded in forcing the Ottoman Government to sign a secret **Anglo-Turkish (Cyprus) Convention on June 4, 1878**, according to which Great Britain occupied Cyprus in return committing itself to return the territories occupied by Russia during the war, as well as to protect the Ottoman Empire's territorial integrity and interests.

Moreover, by the initiative of Great Britain and Austria-Hungary an international congress was held, which aimed at depriving Russia from the results of its victory in the war. On the eve of the **Congress of Berlin (June 13 to July 13, 1878)** the Armenian national delegation headed by Mkrtich Khrimyan (a prominent Armenian figure, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, 1869-1873, the Catholicos of all Armenians, 1893-1907) left for Europe to conduct negotiations with European countries. Getting no real guarantees by the European capitals, the Armenian national delegation left for Berlin, but was not allowed to take part in the sessions of the Congress. The Berlin Congress, which modified the provisions of the San Stefano Treaty, also deprived Russia of its monopoly over the Armenian Question. Under Article 61 of the **Treaty of Berlin**, *“the Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend*

their application.” According to Article 60 of the Treaty of Berlin, Kars, Ardahan and Batum, with their adjacent territories, were annexed to Russia and the Valley of Alashkert and Bayazid were ceded to the Ottoman Empire.

While, under the provisions of Article 16 of the Treaty of San Stefano the withdrawal of the Russian troops was an incentive to carry out the reforms in Western Armenia, it was not clear how the Powers would exercise supervision over the measures undertaken by the Ottoman Empire. In the Treaty of San Stefano, the name Armenia was still utilized, while the Treaty of Berlin only spoke of Armenian populated provinces. The issue was not merely semantic, since British diplomacy avoided using the geographical place named *Armenia* to preclude even the possibility of establishing, there, autonomy in the future. Having benefited from his agreement with the British Government, taken advantage of the indifference of the European Powers, and abusing the unclear and ineffective language of Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty, Sultan Abdul Hamid II set out to redraw the administrative units and intensified the campaign in order to decrease the number of Armenians so that the term “*provinces inhabited by the Armenians*” would cease to exist.

At the end of the 1870s and at the beginning of the 1880s, Great Britain was more insistent in its demands on effecting reforms in Western Armenia. By its initiative in 1880, the European Powers presented a joint note to the Sultan’s Government demanding to carry out immediate reforms. The British position on the Armenian Question was motivated by the need to prevent Western Armenia from falling under

Russian influence, and prepared the ground for forcing the Porte to accept the British takeover of Egypt.

Realizing that the Armenian Question was being used as an instrument by European Powers, the Government of Abdul Hamid II began to address the issue by increasingly persecuting the Armenian elements of the Empire. Among the measures used were: inciting Muslim fundamentalism, spreading anti-Armenian propaganda, permitting robberies and murders, forced conversion of Armenians to Islam, stricter censorship, unleashing the Kurdish tribes, and creating an irregular Kurdish cavalry. As a result of such policy the 1880s and 1890s experienced, through the creation of the first Armenian political parties, a new phase in the Armenian national liberation movement. Resistance against the policies of oppression increased in Western Armenia, and Zeytoun, Van, Vaspurakan, Sasoun, Alashkert were marked by rebellions.

In July and August 1894 the Ottoman authorities organized the massacre of the Armenian population of Sasoun where more than 10,000 people were slaughtered. Yet, due to the pressure exerted by Europe’s public opinion and the European Powers, the Sultan was forced to establish a commission - consisting of the representatives of Great Britain, Russia and France - investigating the events in Sasoun. In April 1895, the British Government drafted a reform package for Western Armenia, which provided *de facto* autonomy of the region under the patronage of the European Powers. **On May 11, 1895, after France and Russia joined the offer, the changed version of the British program was presented to the**

Ottoman Porte. The reform program consisted of the following basic proposals: 1) the reduction of the number of *vilayets* (provinces); 2) the appointment of the *vali* (governor) in consent with the Powers; 3) a general amnesty and release of political prisoners and return of exiled and refugee Armenians; 4) the improvement of the judicial system and the penitentiaries; 5) the appointment of a committee superintending the effected reforms and meeting with the approval of the Powers; 6) the establishment of a steady superintending committee consisting of three Muslim and three Christian state officials; 7) a compensation for the victims of the massacres of Sasoun and Talvorik; 8) the right of religious apostasy; 9) the preservation of the privileges of Armenians; 10) the improvement of the condition of the Armenian population in the other parts of Asia Minor; and 11) administrative reforms concerning tax-collecting, the status of *vilayets'* officials, police and gendarmerie, supervision over Kurds and Kurdish *Hamidiye* cavalry. The opposing position of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) with regard to the reform proposal became apparent throughout the announcement of Abdul Hamid II, on June 3, who rejected the May Program.

On September 17, 1895, the Armenians held a peaceful demonstration in Constantinople to protest against the delayed implementation of the reform measures. The Government responded promptly by organizing a pogrom, with a death count of more than 6,000 Armenians. On October 15, Abdul Hamid II received the Ambassadors of the European Powers, who urged him to calm the European public opinion, meet the

Armenians' demands and carry out reforms in Armenia for preserving the Empire's territorial integrity. Despite its announcement of effecting reforms on October 20, the Sultan's Government did not carry them out. Instead making use of the discrepancies among the European Powers the Government perpetrated, from September 1895 to January 1896, mass massacres in the six Armenian provinces and in other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

In some regions, the Armenians put up self-defense (Zeytoun, 1895, Van, 1896). In August 1896, a group of Armenians seized the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople to gain the attention of the European Powers on the Armenian Question and to hasten the reforms to be carried out. However, through the mediation of European diplomats the incident was solved quickly. Despite, the authorities did not miss the opportunity of perpetrating new massacres in the Empire's capital, slaughtering this time more than 10,000 Armenians.

From 1894 to 1896, more than 300,000 Armenians were slaughtered and about 200,000 Armenians were forcibly converted to Islam or fled to different countries.

In October 1896 the British Government turned to other European Powers arguing the necessity of taking joint steps on the Armenian Question and offered to call a Conference of the Powers to find a final solution for the crisis. From December 1896 to February 1897, the Conference of the Powers' Ambassadors, summoned in Constantinople, worked out a new project of reforms. Yet, this was also buried in oblivion because of the Greek-Turkish war.

In the beginning of the 20th century, British diplomacy refused any intervention in the Armenian Question fearing to speed up the division of Asia Minor into parts - which might have not ended up in its favor. Yet, it still hoped that the Ottoman authorities would try to improve the condition in Armenian provinces by carrying out reforms. However, the Young Turk Government, which came to power in 1908, was not going to implement any reforms. Rather, it stirred up hostility between the nations, backed and encouraged the lawlessness of local authorities, the settlement of refugees migrated from the Balkans, destructive raids by Kurdish detachments on Armenian populated provinces, robbery and the massacre of Armenians. In April 1909, new massacres of Armenians were carried out in Adana province, slaughtering more than 30,000 Armenians.

In spite of the differences in their programs and activities, the Armenian political parties were united under the issue of liberating Armenia and creating an independent state. However, unlike the other oppressed nations of the Empire, the Armenian parties did not come together under a united movement. The attempt to make a joint front with non-Turkish peoples (particularly with Kurds) also failed. On the contrary, the Turkish authorities managed to use the Kurdish tribes to their ends stirring them up against the Armenians.

1912-1914, when a new blow was dealt to the Turkish dictatorship as a result of the national liberation struggle of the Balkan peoples, the Armenian Question again became a subject of negotiation between the Great Powers and Turkey. A struggle over the implementation of reforms began and

lasted until the eve of World War I. In 1913, the Russian Government presented to the European Powers a project of reforms, which was discussed at the meeting of Ambassadors in Constantinople. The project, which was worked out by the Russian Embassy and was based on both the May Program of 1895 and the proposal made by the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople, envisaged to make a province uniting six Armenian *vilayets* (Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Kharput, Sivas). The governor of that province was to be a Christian subject or a European appointed for a 5-year term by the Great Powers' consent. He would exercise the province's executive power, and would have the right to appoint and dismiss all the administrative officials. Police and gendarmerie would obey the governor; the army would also be put under his disposal if necessary. The administrative council and the six councilors (3 Muslims, 3 Christians) would function under the governor. Further on, it envisaged to dismiss Kurdish detachments, return the lands captured from Armenians or their equivalent as well as to prohibit the settlement of Muslims migrated from the Balkans in the Armenian provinces. The Powers were to supervise the implementation of the reforms.

Great Britain and France mainly agreed with the Russian project; however, Germany and the other Powers of the Triple Alliance decisively resisted the main terms of the Russian project offering to assume the Turkish program - which was preserving the former way of ruling *vilayets* and was avoiding foreign supervision - as the basis for discussion. Throughout diplomatic struggle **Russia succeeded in forcing Turkey to sign an Agreement on January 26, 1914** by which Western

Armenia was divided in two parts (Erzurum, Trabzon, Sivas and Van, Bitlis, Kharput, Diarbekir), governed by two foreign General Inspectors appointed by the consent of the Great Powers. Though the agreement was insufficient and did not give the Armenians a wide range of rights for self-governing, as it was envisaged by the Russian program, it could create favorable conditions for the future of Western Armenia.

Yet, the appointed inspectors Westenenk (Netherlands) and Hoff (Norway) did not manage to attend to their duties. Making use of World War I the Young Turk Government denounced the agreement and the contracts signed with the inspectors.

Conducting war in union with Germany, the Turkish ruling circles hoped to bring to life their long cherished idea to alienate the Caucasus from Russia, and establish the *Great Turan* by uniting the Muslims of Middle East, Caucasus, Russia and Central Asia. Yet, Russia was not the only obstacle for achieving this goal; there was also the Armenian nation inhabiting the western and eastern parts of historical Armenia. This idea was providing the breeding ground for the program of extermination of the Armenian nation, which consisted of a policy of massacres carried out throughout that whole period of time. The war provided a good chance for the Turkish rulers to carry out their program of genocide on a whole nation while at the same time justifying their criminal actions by wartime.

In October 1914 during a secret meeting headed by the Minister of Internal Affairs Mehmed Talaat Pasha, a special body called *Triple Executive Committee* was established, consisting of the Young Turk leaders Nazim Bey, Behaeddin

Shakir and Midhat Shukri. The committee received wide authorizations, was financed by and provided with arms. Special detachments, *Teskilati Mahsuse*, were established consisting of convicts sentenced to death and released from prisons or places of exile and other criminals. They were outfitted, armed and sent to areas inhabited by Armenians to cause disturbances and organize interracial clashes.

In February 1915 the Minister of War Ismail Enver Pasha ordered to annihilate the Armenian soldiers serving in the army. On April 24 - and the following days - more than 800 writers, journalists, doctors, scientists, clergymen as well as Armenian deputies of the Parliament were captured and exiled deep in Anatolia. Most of them were massacred on their way to the places of exile and the others on their arrival. **On May 24 the Governments of Great Britain, France and Russia appeared with a joint announcement**, pointing out that "*for about a month the Kurd and Turkish population of Armenia has been massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assistance of Ottoman authorities*". This announcement may be considered the first international document, which denounces the Armenian Genocide as "*new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization*" and requires from all members of the Ottoman Government as well as local authorities to bear responsibility for it.

From May to June mass deportations and massacres of the Armenian population occurred in Western Armenia (the provinces of Van, Erzurum, Bitlis, Kharput, Sivas, Diarbekir), Cilicia, Western Anatolia and other places. Armenians who were banished from their permanent residences were sent to

Mesopotamia and Syria where special concentration camps were established for them. The Armenians were exterminated both in their permanent places of inhabitation and on their way to the places of exile. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians died of starvation, maladies and epidemics. Thousands of Armenians were exterminated in Ras ul-Ayn and Deir ez-Zor and other camps. While carrying out that program, the mass deportations and massacres of 1.5 million Armenians were rationalized by the necessity to displace Armenians living close to the front. Western Armenia was deprived of its native Armenian population.

Because of their successful actions in the Caucasus front, by 1916, the Russian troops had occupied most of Western Armenia. **On May 1916, England and France signed the Secret Agreement of Sykes-Picot** dividing the Asian territories of the Ottoman Empire. Yet, in the document, there was neither a reminding about Armenia's independence or self-dependence nor about the future of the Armenian nation. The agreement was envisaging to establish five areas: "*blue*" which included Western Syria, Lebanon, Cilicia together with South-Western Anatolia (Aintab, Urfa, Mardin, Diarbekir and Hakyari) and was to be passed to France; "*red*" area, which included Southern and Central Iraq, Haifa and Akka harbors of Palestine and was to be passed to Great Britain; "*brown*" area (the rest of Palestine) where was to be established an international government by mutual consent of Russia and the other Powers. Eastern Syria and Mosul entered into France's area of influence ("A" area). Transjordan and the northern part of Baghdad *vilayet* entered into Great Britain's zone of

influence ("B" area). The territories departed to Russia (including Western Armenia) were to make the "*yellow*" area. A year after Italy had declared war to Germany, a "*green*" area (South-Western Anatolia) and a "C" area (the western and central part of Anatolia) envisaged for Italy, also appeared on the map of the Ottoman Empire.

In June 1916 Russia established a *General-governorship of the provinces captured from Turkey by the right of war in the occupied territories of Western Armenia.* In the first period of the war Russia still appeared in its role as defender of Christians and particularly Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. Thereby, protesting against the deportation and massacres of the Armenians and creating voluntary Armenian detachments. Yet, later on, it aspired to exclude the Armenian Question from the agenda of Russian diplomacy and reduced the Armenians political significance to naught. The Armenian *vilayets*, occupied by the right of war, were to turn into Russia's remote provinces practically deprived of Armenian population.

On April 25, 1917, after the victory of the February revolution, the Provisional Government formed in Russia made a decision to take the governance of occupied provinces of Western Armenia under its rule. The deported and exiled Armenians were allowed to return to their homes. At the same time, the new Russian Government was perusing the policy of Czarism in Western Armenia, violating the rights of Armenians to self-determination in every possible way. In May 1917, a state of non-official armistice was reached on the Russian-Turkish front. However, here, as well as in the Western front, the soldiers were seized in revolutionary mood.

The desire of Russian soldiers to leave the front and return to their homes became more apparent after the revolution in October 1917. The Caucasian front was falling into ruin thus creating favorable conditions for the Turkish offensive.

On December 29, 1917 the Soviet Government, which came to Russia's power, passed a *Decree on Turkish Armenia*, which recognized the rights of Armenians to self-determination and the restoration of the once lost statehood. The Soviet Government officially declared that it recognizes "*Turkish Armenia's right of free self-determination to the extent of absolute independence*". The implementation of the decree was, to a large extent, up to the unification of Armenian national forces, the restoration of order in the region, the establishment of a militia, the suppression of mass desertion and the usage of the military units of the Russian army. However, the difficult and complicated situation in the region and the anti-Soviet position of the Transcaucasian Commissariat - which has been organized in November 1917 in Tbilisi - deteriorated the miserable conditions of the Armenians. Violating the **Erzinjan Truce of December 1917**, the Turkish forces passed to an offensive along the whole front line, in February 1918, and seized again Western Armenia. Turkey took the opportunity provided by the Russian revolution to capture - until mid-March - Erzinjan, Bayburd, Trabzon, Derjan and Erzurum.

On March 3, 1918, the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed between Russia on the one hand and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey on the other. According to Article 4 and the Russian-Turkish Supplemental

Treaty, Western Armenia, Kars and Ardahan provinces were ceded to Turkey. Russia committed itself to clear immediately the territories of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum provinces of its troops, to demobilize voluntary detachments, to keep a single division in the Caucasus and recognize the borders of 1877. Serving the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to its ends, the Turkish Government exerted pressure on Transcaucasia, forcing latter's separation from Russia in order to divide the region into parts and establish its own rule. Refusing to take part in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and not accepting the terms of the Treaty, the Transcaucasian Commissariat decided to conduct separate negotiations with Turkey. Although the Transcaucasian Seim had to accept the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk under the pressure of Turkish ultimatum, Turkey broke off the negotiations and took the offensive. This time Turkey was intended to break the Russian-Turkish border of 1877 and to transfer the military operations to Transcaucasia. In the middle of May 1918, the Turkish forces occupied Alexandropol (Gyumri) constituting a real threat for Yerevan. However, the Armenian forces and the people's volunteer corps stopped the Turkish army in Sardarapat, Gharakilisa (Vanadzor) and Bash Aparan and defeated them in the main directions, thus eliminating the threat of conquering Eastern Armenia and exterminating the Armenian nation. At the same time, the negotiations between Turkey and the Transcaucasian Seim were resumed. Turkey went on claiming the separation of Transcaucasia from Russia and the recognition of its conquests.

On May 26, 1918, the Transcaucasian Seim announced its self-dissolution. On the same day the establishment of the Republic of Georgia was proclaimed. Accordingly, the Republic of Azerbaijan was proclaimed on May 27 and the Republic of Armenia on May 28. In spite of hard conditions, the proclamation of the Republic of Armenia has been one of the most important events in the history of the Armenian nation. After centuries-long losses, the national statehood was restored.

On June 4, 1918 the Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed between the Government of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Armenia, in Batum. Under Article 2, the territory of the Republic of Armenia was enclosed by a part of Yerevan province - of the former Russian Empire - and a number of contiguous areas with a total territory of 10,000 square kilometers. In addition to Western Armenia, Turkey also got Kars, Ardahan, Surmalu, Sharur, Nakhijevan province, a considerable part of Aleksandropol and Ejmiadzin provinces. Article 4 planned Turkey's military support in case that the Republic of Armenia turns to it *"for securing order and peace inside the country"*. All the articles of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, which were not in contradiction with Batum's Treaty, remained in force.

In consequence of the defeat of Turkey, on **October 30, 1918 an Armistice was concluded between the Entente and Turkey at the port of Mudros**, on the Aegean Island of Lemnos. The Articles 11 and 16 envisaged the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Transcaucasia and Cilicia. The Article 24 worded that *"in case of disturbances in any of Armenian*

provinces the Allies assume the right to capture a part of it". Immediately after concluding the armistice, the Turkish troops abandoned the territory of the Republic of Armenia and Kars province. The borders of 1914 were restored.

Under the pressure of the Allies the new Turkish Government, called to account those who induced Ottoman Turkey to conduct the war and to organize the deportations and slaughters of the Armenians. In December 1918 investigation groups collecting accusatory evidences were formed. The territory of Ottoman Turkey was divided into 10 court-investigative districts; in January 1919 special military courts were established. During the court sittings, which had begun in April 1919 and had persisted - with stays (the Britain command unexpectedly exiled 77 defendants to the island of Malta in May) - till January 1922, investigated the criminal activities of the leaders of the Young Turk Government, the members of the Central Committee, officials, the provincial executive secretaries of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and the detachments of *Teskilati Mahsuse* - the perpetrators of massacres, and the organizers of deportations and massacres in Yuzgat, Trabzon, Byoyukdere and Kharput. 11 out of the total number of defenders were sentenced to death by default (in absentia) and 75 were sentenced to different periods of imprisonment. Yet, the sentences were never carried out.

In 1919-1920 the Government of the Republic of Armenia spared no efforts to find - with the help of Western Powers - a solution for the Armenian Question and to unite the eastern and western parts under a sovereign independent state. The

Armenian Question was discussed at the **Paris Peace Conference (from January 1919 to January 1920)**, which was called by the victorious powers of World War I for preparing and signing peace treaties with the defeated Powers. The Conference provided peace treaties for Germany (**Peace Treaty of Versailles**), Austria (**Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain**), Hungary (**Peace Treaty of Trianon**), Bulgaria (**Peace Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine**) and Turkey (**Peace Treaty of Sevres**) thus preparing ground for the postwar Versailles system. Although the Republic of Armenia was not officially invited to attend the Conference, however, on February 1919 two Armenian delegations (the National delegation headed by the Armenian politician, the founder of the Armenian General Benevolent Union, Poghos Nubar and the delegation of the Republic of Armenia headed by the Armenian politician, chairman of the Armenian National Council and chairman of Armenia's Parliament, Avetis Aharonyan) arrived in Paris and turned to the Ally Powers with the request to recognize the Armenian national demands. The Foreign Minister of France offered the Armenian delegates to draw up an appropriate memorandum. The memorandum consisted of the following points: the recognition of an Armenian independent state within the borders of the Armenian *vilayets*, Cilicia, and the Republic of Armenia; the warrant of the territorial integrity and inviolability of the Armenian state, by one of the Ally Powers or the League of Nations; the implementation of Armenia's mandate within a 20 years term, through one of the Powers; the compensation of Armenia for all casualties that had incurred; the right of return

for all forcibly deported Armenians; the punishment of all those who are at fault for the Armenians mass exterminations. This document did not find appropriate response. The Allied Powers, were engaged in the problems of defeated Germany, and thus were not in a haste to discuss the Armenian Question. However, on January 19, 1920, the conference *de facto* recognized the Republic of Armenia.

From 19 to 26 of April 1920, at the session of the Supreme Council of the Entente in San Remo, the draft of the Peace Treaty with Turkey was discussed along with a number of other issues. During the negotiations with Armenia, Avetis Aharonyan and Poghos Nubar were allowed to assist. Although the Government of Sultan's Turkey did not accept the draft Peace Treaty, it was confirmed by the Conference, and thus provided the ground for the Peace Treaty of Sevres. The Conference of San Remo also turned to the US President Woodrow Wilson with the aim of making him both accept the mandate of Armenia and become a mediator who will define its borders. This decision was also affirmed by the League of Nations. However, on June 1st, 1920 the US Senate rejected President Woodrow Wilson's suggestion to undertake Armenia's mandate.

On August 10, 1920, the Allied Powers, the victors of World War I, concluded along with Armenia a Peace Treaty with Turkey in the French city of Sevres. Avetis Aharonyan signed the treaty on behalf of the Republic of Armenia. Together with the representative of Western Armenians - the leader of the National delegation Poghos Nubar - he also signed a complementary treaty with the main

Allied Powers on the rights of minorities, diplomatic and trade relations. Articles 88-93 were entitled "Armenia". The Sultan's Government of Turkey recognized Armenia as a free and independent state. Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agreed to submit the question of borders between Turkey and Armenia in the provinces of Erzurum, Trabzon, Van and Bitlis to the arbitration of the United States of America. They further on consented on accepting any stipulations the United States may prescribe apropos the access of Armenia to the sea, as well as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the frontier that was set. The borders between Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia were respectively to be determined by the direct agreement between the concerned States. The law on abandoned property passed in 1915 by the Ottoman Empire was voided. Security, freedom, life and equality of minorities left in Turkey were to be protected under the law by the government. With regard to the issue of "Punishments", the Turkish Government recognized the right of the Allied Powers to transfer all people who broke wartime laws and rules, as well as all information and documents on their engagement in criminal actions to the Military Tribunal.

Before the Treaty of Sevres was concluded the commission appointed by the US President Woodrow Wilson, studied topography, economy, transportation, water resources, trade routes as well as demographical and other issues necessary to be taken into account while demarcating. The commission's suggestions were submitted for consideration on September 1920. The President introduced his program to the European

Powers on November 1920. According to that program, Armenia would have received two third of the provinces of Van and Bitlis, almost the whole province of Erzurum, and most of Trabzon province including the port. The overall territory would have made for about 100,000 square kilometers. Uniting latter with the Republic of Armenia the Armenian independent state would have had a territory for about 160,000 square kilometers. The Peace Treaty of Sevres could have contributed to the solution of the Armenian Question and give Armenians the territory necessary for national unification. However the Sultan's Government did not ratify the Treaty.

The Turkish nationalist government, headed by Mustafa Kemal - which came to power in 1923 - did not recognize the Treaty either. The Soviet Government, aspiring to direct the Kemalist movement against the Entente and to deprive latter from the opportunity to use Armenia as a stronghold against Soviet Russia, tried to stabilize the situation in the region by its mediation, to avert the danger of war and achieve stable borders between Armenia and Turkey. However, in 1920 Soviet-Armenian and Soviet-Turkish negotiations were broken off and delayed for many times. While, the Government of the Republic of Armenia was thus gaining time to conclude the Treaty of Sevres, the Turkish part did not want to cede the territories of Western Armenia.

In summer 1920, Soviet Russia rendered Turkey considerable military and financial assistance, which was used against Greece in the West and against the Republic of Armenia in the East. In September 1920, the Turkish army

took the offensive. Capturing new territories and carrying out massacres in the eastern part of Armenia, the Ankara Government aimed at depriving Armenians from the opportunity to establish their own state. The Government of the Republic of Armenia supposed that by carrying the terms of the Treaty of Sevres, Great Britain, France, the USA and Italy would appear in favor of Armenians and counter-attack Turkey. The Armenian Government also turned to the League of Nations with the request to act appropriately against Turkey. However, those claims did not have desired results. The Turkish troops went on the offensive. The uncompromising and martial attitude of the Kemalist Government towards Armenia was strengthened by precarious international conditions, particularly by the military confrontation between the Entente and Soviet Russia. Each of the parties was trying to use Turkey in its favor. The Armenian army, demoralized by revolutionary propaganda and weakened as a result of continuous confrontations against the neighbors' encroachments, was defeated.

The Government of the Republic of Armenia signed a Peace Treaty with Turkey on December 2, 1920 in Alexandropol, according to which the state of war was considered to be ended and the boundaries between the two countries were decided. The province of Kars and Surmalu were left to Turkey (more than 20.7 thousand square kilometers) and the provinces of Nakhijevan, Sharur, Shahtakhti - where special administrations were to be established through referendum - were declared to be under the provisional patronage of Turkey. Article 3 gave Armenia the

right to put a claim of holding referendum in the province of Kars and the district of Surmalu, yet it pointed out that those territories "*had irrefutable historical, ethnic and legal ties with Turkey*". In return, the Republic of Armenia undertook not to maintain any military organization - except a gendarmerie corps of 1500 riflemen with 8 mountain or field guns and 20 machine guns, for the protection of its internal peace - and to fully omit military conscription. Further on, the Armenian Government rejected the Treaty of Sevres as well as denounced all the treaties concluded to the detriment of Turkey. As such, the Turkish Government gained the right to take all railroads and transportation roads in Armenia under its control. According to Article 7 "*the Turkish Government renounces its right to demand lawful damages... and in the same manner the two parties forego their rights to ask for damages because of the changes which took place as a result of the general war*". In that way the Turkish Government was released from recovering losses of exterminated and deported Armenians; according to the data of Paris Peace Conference those losses made about 19 billion francs.

On the same day, under the pressure of Soviet Russia, the Government of the Republic of Armenia sent in its resignation. The new Soviet Government of Armenia did not recognize the Alexandropol Peace Treaty.

On March 16, 1921 a Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood was concluded between Russia and Turkey in Moscow. According to its first article, Russia's Soviet Government agreed not to recognize any international Treaty, which was relating to Turkey and was not ratified by Turkey's

Great National Assembly, thereby first of all referring to the Treaty of Sevres. The last part of Articles 1, 2, and 3 referred to the issue of territorial borders. Whole Western Armenia together with the province of Kars, the districts of Kaghizman, Surmalu were left to Turkey. According to a special article the province of Nakhijevan, the greater part of Sharur-Daralagyaz province and a part of Yerevan province were detached from Armenia and annexed to Azerbaijan's state sovereignty. Further to that, it was pointed out that "*an autonomous territory under Azerbaijan's patronage on condition that this protectorate will not be yield to a third country*" would be established in Nakhijevan province.

The Moscow Treaty completely contradicted the interests of the Armenians and did not further their aspiration on uniting their homeland – the Armenian highland. Carrying out its commitments according to the Moscow Treaty, the Soviet Government took active part in drafting a treaty between Turkey and the Transcaucasian Republics.

On October 13, 1921 a Treaty was concluded in Kars between Soviet Armenia, Soviet Georgia, Soviet Azerbaijan on the one hand and Turkey on the other by the participation of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). This treaty duplicated the Moscow Treaty by insignificant changes. Article 1 of the Treaty denounced all the Treaties concluded in the past among negotiating parties including the Treaty of Alexandropol. By Article 2 the parties did not recognize any of the international acts imposed by Turkey including the Treaty of Sevres. The boundaries between Turkey and the Transcaucasian Republics

were determined under Article 4. According to Article 5 of the Treaty Nakhijevan province, with overwhelming Armenian population, became a self-governing territory under Azerbaijan's patronage. Under Article 17, at present violated by the Turkish Government, the negotiating parties committed themselves "*...to take all the necessary measures to preserve and further the development of railway, telegraphic and other communication means as quickly as possible, as well as... provide free transportation of people and goods*". In fact, the Treaty of Kars reiterated and endorsed the main terms of the Moscow Treaty violating the vital interests of Armenians and the Armenian nation.

In February 1921, France appeared with a claim to reconsider the Treaty of Sevres at the Supreme Council of the Entente. As such the proposal of reconsidering the Sevres Treaty - made by France and Italy - was discussed during the conference held in London, February-March 1921, in the presence of the Entente, the defeated Germany and Turkey. Making use of the new international climate and contradictions among the Entente Powers, the Government of Ankara claimed to restore the prewar boundaries, except for the province of Kars. The delegations headed by Avetis Aharonyan and Poghos Nubar vainly tried to persuade the representatives of the Entente Powers to carry out all the articles of the Treaty of Sevres referring to Armenia and to achieve "administrative autonomy" for Cilicia, in France's sphere of influence. However, the Conference only complied with an indistinct formulation of the right to have an *Armenian national*

homeland within the bounds of Turkey's eastern provinces, which was not recognized by the Turkish Delegation.

1920- 1921, the French administration of Cilicia did not take any measures to ensure the security of the Armenian population. Making use of the circumstances, the local Turk officials, and Kemalist troops organized the slaughter of 25,000 Armenians and the deportation of the Armenian population from Cilicia. **In October 1921, the Turkish-French Treaty signed in Ankara ceded Cilicia to Turkey.**

The International Conference of Lausanne of 1922-1923, ended with the signing of a number of documents, among which the most important was the **Lausanne Peace Treaty**, which determines today's boundaries of Turkey and as a matter of fact has been substituting the Treaty of Sevres. The Armenian Question was also discussed during the conference. The delegation of Avetis Aharonyan was not officially allowed to take part in the conference, as it did not represent Armenia any more. Nevertheless in common with the National delegation, a memorandum, suggesting three possible solutions for the cause was presented: 1. The foundation of the Armenian national homeland. 2. The expansion of the territory of the Republic of Armenia by means of annexing a part of Western Armenia to it with an access to the sea. 3. The creation of the Armenian national homeland in Cilicia.

As for the issue of national minorities the 1st commission and sub commission discussed the idea of the Armenian national homeland at a few sessions. However, in spite of the pro-Armenian announcement of the Entente Powers, the Turkish Delegation decidedly rejected the idea of creating the

Armenian national homeland reasoning that mainly Turks populated the eastern provinces and Cilicia. The Turkish delegation also pointed out that it had concluded treaties in accordance with international law and had established "*neighborly relations*" with Soviet Armenia. The Armenian Question was last touched upon at the session of the 1st commission on July 17, 1923. From then on, it turned into an issue of Armenian refugees and was handed over to the League of Nations. The concluded Lausanne Peace Treaty, included thus no more mentioning about Armenia or Armenians. According to Article 42 the Turkish Government undertook to grant full protection to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries, and other religious establishments of the minorities.

Yet, during more than 40 years, the governments of the Ottoman Empire succeeded in cleaning out native-born Armenians not only in the Armenian highland but also in the whole territory of the Empire by carrying out their genocidal policy of forcible Islamization, mass massacres and deportations - the culmination of which was the Genocide of Armenians of 1915-1916. The chief motive of the Genocide was to prevent and impede both the fair and vital aspirations of the Armenian nation to have a secure and free life, as well as the intentions of the European Powers, Russia and the USA to carry out special reforms in Turkey's eastern provinces and to give autonomy or to establish an independent and united Armenian state in the future.

At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century the Armenian nation was yield to tribulations and passed through terrible disasters. However, it could survive

and establish a semi-independent statehood in the eastern part of its native land, as one of the Republics of the Soviet Union. Those who once escaped from the Genocide and scattered all over the world established the Armenian Diaspora.

By the end of World War II, when the victory of the Soviet Union was obvious, the Soviet Government, headed by Joseph Stalin, adopted a policy of exerting pressure on Turkey, aiming at extorting territorial concession in favor of the USSR. Making use of the new international situation following World War II, the Soviet Government declared, on March 1945, its intention of denouncing the **Soviet-Turkish 1925 Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality**. Yet, in June 1945, the Soviet-Turkish negotiations on the regulation of the relations between the USSR and Turkey were reopened in Moscow, as the relations were seen as not satisfactory for the new situation and thus were requiring serious improvements. The Turkish party proposed to conclude a new Treaty of alliance. The Soviet Government agreed to conclude the Treaty under the condition that Turkey would return Kars and Ardahan, captured in 1921. Moreover, Stalin intended to annex Kars to Soviet Armenia and Ardahan to Soviet Georgia. At the same time, the Soviet Government enlarged the number of its troops along the whole Soviet-Turkish border as well as engaged in effective propaganda among the Armenian Diaspora. The new strategy adopted by the Soviet Union completely coincided with the fair aspirations of the Armenian nation to come back to their native country and to return Kars to Armenia. With this claim the Armenian organizations and the prominent figures of the Diaspora turned during the **San Francisco Constituent**

Conference of the United Nations (in April 1945), Berlin Conference of the three heads of the USSR, USA, Great Britain (in August 1945), the Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London (in September 1945), Moscow Conference of the three foreign ministers (in December, 1945), the first Session of the UN General Assembly in London (in January 1946) and etc., to the leaders of the Victorious Powers, and the UN. On November 29, 1945 the Catholicos of all Armenians, Gevorg VI, turned to the leaders of the USSR, USA and Great Britain with the request to annex the territories captured by Turkey to Soviet Armenia.

At the Berlin (Potsdam) Conference, the heads of the three Allied Powers discussed among other problems also the territorial issues between the USSR and Turkey. However, Great Britain and the US rejected farther discussions refusing to change Soviet-Turkish borders. Basing upon the absence of support by the Western allies - in view of the rising problem, their yearning to keep Turkey's territorial integrity at any price, which has been rendered in form of generous economic assistance - the Soviet Government, gave up further discussions of the issue. Later, on May 30, 1953, the Soviet Government announced, *"for the sake of preserving good-neighboring relations and maintaining peace and security the Governments of Armenia and Georgia consider it possible to give up their territorial claims from Turkey...Thus the Soviet Government announces that the Soviet Union has no territorial demands to Turkey"*. The position of the USSR was maintained in the future as well in a number of international documents.

The crime committed by Ottoman authorities to the Armenian nation corresponds to the definition of the special **Convention of the UN General Assembly 1948 “On Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide”** according to which “*genocide means the acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group*”. The word Genocide was coined during the Second World War by a Polish lawyer of Jewish descent Raphael Lemkin, who was looking for a word that would convey the full dimension of the Nazi atrocities, though he also was deeply conscious of precedents, especially the killing of Armenians in 1915-1916 by the Young Turk Government of the Ottoman Empire. Although the Nazis’ attempt to exterminate the Jews was not the earliest instance of genocide in the 20th century, it has become the template for evaluating and defining other genocides, particularly the Armenian Genocide.

Mid-1960s, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the struggle of the Diaspora Armenians over getting the recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the international community, became more active. Since 1965, after a prolonged silence imposed by Stalinism, the Government of Soviet Armenia has begun marking the anniversary of the Armenian Genocide on April 24. In memory of the victims of the Armenian Genocide, the memorial complex of Tsitsernakaberd was erected in Yerevan and later on, the Genocide museum was built.

At the beginning of the 1960s the interest of the international community with regard to the Armenian Question

got more intensified and was discussed in international organizations. The issue of the Armenian Genocide turned to become the chief subject of the Subcommittee for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of National Minorities of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. In 1973 the representative of Rwanda pointed out in paragraph 30 of the Special Report made for the 26th Session of the Commission, that “*passing on to the present century one can record the existence of full actual account on the Armenians Genocide which can be characterized as ‘The first Genocide of the twentieth century’.*” The report was highly appreciated and adopted unanimously. In August 1985, during the 38th Session of the Commission, the report of the representative of Great Britain on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, where the Armenian Genocide made up a large part, was discussed. The 24th paragraph of the report characterized “*the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1916*” as an example of genocide. It pointed out “*according to the estimation of independent authorities and trustworthy eye-witnesses more than half of the Armenian population was probably assassinated or sent to death caravans. It is borne out by the US, German, Great Britain archival documents as well as evidences represented by the diplomats of the Ottoman Empire of that period and its ally Germany.*”

In Paris, a special session of the Permanent People’s Tribunal (April 1984) was devoted especially to the issue of the Armenian Genocide. It stated: “*1. The Armenian population did and do constitute a people whose fundamental, both individual and collective, should have been and shall be*

respected in accordance with international law; 2. The extermination of the Armenian population groups through deportation and massacre, constitutes a crime of genocide not subject to statutory limitations within the definition of the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of December 9, 1948; with respect to the condemnation of this crime, the aforesaid Convention is declaratory of existing law in that it takes note of rules which were already in force at the time of the incriminated acts; 3. The Young Turk Government is guilty of this Genocide with regard to the acts perpetrated between 1915 and 1917; 4. The Armenian Genocide is also an "international crime" for which the Turkish state must assume responsibility, without using the pretext of any discontinuity in the existence of the state to elude that responsibility; 5. This responsibility implies first and foremost the obligation to recognize the reality of this Genocide and the consequent damages suffered by the Armenian people; 6. The United Nations Organization and each of its members have the right to demand this recognition and to assist the Armenian people to that end."

The Congress of the International Council of Churches (USA) made, in May 1989, an unanimous decision on the Genocide of Armenians. The decision called for all the churches "to turn to the Governments of their countries to exert pressure on Turkey for recognizing the fact of the Armenian Genocide."

On June 18, 1987, the European Parliament passed a special resolution "On the political solution of the Armenian Question". In the preamble of the document it was

pointed out that "the Turkish Government, by refusing to this day to acknowledge the Genocide of 1915, thus continues to deny the Armenian nation the right to have its own history... that the historically proven Genocide hasn't got neither political condemnation nor appropriate compensation..., that the recognition of the Armenian Genocide by Turkey will from now on be considered to be a humane treatment of moral rehabilitation towards Armenians which will only do honor to the Turkish Government." One of the most important terms of the resolution is the following "The tragic events that took place during 1915-1917 toward the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire are Genocide according to the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 9, 1948."

The crime committed against the Armenian nation has been recognized as Genocide by the Parliaments of 19 countries (Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela), and the Vatican. The Government of the Republic of Armenia considers the international recognition of the Genocide not only as the recognition of a tragedy of a nation, but rather as the recognition of a crime against humanity of global scale, which must also have a preventive significance for the future of humankind. However Turkey not only pursues the policy of not recognition and denial of the Armenian Genocide but also refuses to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Armenia.

Since its independence in 1991, Armenia has always demonstrated commitment to normalize the relations with Turkey. Armenia's position has been reflected in the decades-long principle of establishing relations "without preconditions." It was the bottom-line principle for starting the negotiations with Turkey in 2008, and it is reflected in the **Protocols on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Armenia and Turkey and on the Development of Relations between Armenia and Turkey signed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Armenia and Turkey on October 10, 2009 in Zurich.**

The idea was to avoid stumbling blocks and to create a positive environment for the development of bilateral relations, understanding and reconciliation between the two societies after the establishment of diplomatic relations and the opening of the borders. Turkey has backtracked from the reached agreements. Not only has it refrained from ratifying the protocols but has returned to the language of preconditions that it had used before the beginning of the process. Linking the Armenian-Turkish rapprochement to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict settlement would negatively influence both processes, which are progressing at different paces, and are independent from one another.

The normalization of the Armenian-Turkish relations would have a positive impact in achieving peace, political stability, security and cooperation in the region.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adalian, Rouben Paul (Ed.). *Guide to the Armenian Genocide in the U.S. Archives, 1915-1918*. Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1994.

Adalian, Rouben Paul. *The Armenian Genocide: Revisionism and Denial*. In: *Genocide in Our Time: An Annotated Bibliography with Analytical Introductions*. Ann Arbor, MI: Pierian Press, pp. 85-105.

Adonz N. *Towards the Solution of the Armenian Question*. London, 1920.

Akcam, Taner. *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide*. London and New York: Zed, 2004.

Akcam, Taner. *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*. New York: Metropolitan, 2006.

Anderson, Matthew S. *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923*. New York: Macmillan, 1966.

Balakian, Peter. *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*. New York: HarperCollins, 2003.

Barton, James L. *The Story of Near East Relief, 1915-1930*. New York: Macmillan, 1930.

Bliss, Edwin. *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*. Philadelphia: Keystone Publishing Co., 1896.

Bloxham, Donald. *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Bloxham, Donald and Moses A. Dirk (Eds.). *The Oxford Book on Genocide Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Bryce James. *Transcaucasia and Ararat*. London: Macmillan, 1896.

Bryce, James, and Arnold Toynbee (Eds.). *The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Falloden by Viscount Bryce*. London: Joseph Causton & Sons, 1916.

Charney, Israel W. (Ed.) *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984.

Charney, Israel W. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Genocide*. Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1999.

Clayton C. D. *Britain and the Eastern Question: Missolonghi to Gallipoli*. London: Lion Library, 1971

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *The documentation of the World War I Armenian massacres in the Proceedings of the Turkish Military Tribunal*. In: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1991, No. 23 (4), pp. 549-576.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *The Role of the Special Organization in the Armenian Genocide during the First World War*. In: *Minorities and Wartime: National and Racial Grouping in Europe, North America, and Australia during the Two World Wars*. Oxford and Providence, RI: Berg Publishers, 1993, pp. 1-39.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *The Complicity of the Party, the Government, and the Military: Selected Parliamentary and Judicial Documents on the Armenian Genocide in Official Turkish Records*. In: *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, Special Issue, 1994, 22 (1), pp. 29-96.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in Turkish sources*. In: *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*. Volume 2. London: Mansell Publishing, and New York: Facts on File, 1994, pp. 86-138.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in German and Austrian Sources*. In: *The Widening Circle of Genocide*. Volume 3 in the Series, *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994, pp. 77-125.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*. Oxford, UK: Berghahn, 1995.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of the Historical Evidence of Complicity*. Cambridge, MA: Blue Crane Books, 1996.

Dadrian, Vahakn. *The Determinants of the Armenian Genocide*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1998.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *The Naim-Andonian Documents on the World War I Destruction of Ottoman Armenians: The Anatomy of Genocide*. In: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1996, No.18 (3), pp. 311-360.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: The World War I Armenian Case and its Contemporary Legal Ramifications*. In: *Yale Journal of International Law*, 1989, No. 14 (2), pp. 291-315.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *The Turkish Military Tribunal's Prosecution of the Authors of the Armenian Genocide: Four major court-martial series*. In: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 1997, No. 11 (1), pp. 28-59.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *The Key Elements in the Turkish Denial of the Armenian Genocide: A Case Study of Destruction and Falsification*. Cambridge, MA: Zoryan Institute, 1999.

Davis, Leslie A. *The Slaughterhouse Province*. New Rochelle, New York: A.D. Caratzas, 1989.

Derogy, Jacques. *Resistance and Revenge: The Armenian Assassinations of Turkish Leaders Responsible for the 1915 Massacres and Deportations*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990.

Djemal, Ahmad, Pasha. *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-1919*. New York: Arno Press, 1973.

Fein, Helen A *Formula for Genocide: A comparison of the Turkish Genocide (1915) and the German Holocaust (1939-1945)*. In: *Comparative Studies in Sociology, Volume I*. Greenwich, CO: JAI Press, 1978, pp. 271-293.

Frey, Rebecca Joyce. *Genocide and International Justice*. New York: Facts on File, 2009.

Graber, G.S. *Caravans to Oblivion: The Armenian Genocide, 1915*. New York: Wiley, 1996.

Green, Frederick Davis. *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey*. New York: G.P. Putman & Sons, 1895.

Greene, Frederick Davis. *Armenian Massacres, or the Sword of Mohammed*. Philadelphia: American Oxford, 1896.

Gust, Wolfgang (Ed.) *The Armenian Genocide: Evidence from the German Foreign Office Archives, 1915-1916*. New York: Berghahn, 2014.

Harris, James Rendell, and Harris, Helen B. *Letters from the Scenes of the Recent Massacres in Armenia*. London: J. Nesbet, 1897.

Hodgetts, Edward Arthur. *Round about Armenia: The Record of a Journal across the Balkans through Turkey, the Caucasus and Persia*. London: Sampson Low and Marston, 1916.

Höss, Annette. *The Trial of Perpetrators by the Turkish Military Tribunals: The Case of Yozgat*. In: *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics*. New York: St. Marin's Press, 1992, pp. 208-221.

Housepian-Dobkin, Marjorie. *Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1988.

Hovannisian, Richard G. (1967). *Armenia on the Road to Independence 1918*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Hovannisian Richard G. *The Republic of Armenia*. Four volumes. Berkley, CA: University of California Press: Vol. 1 (1971): *The First Year, 1918-1919*; Vol. 2 (1982): *From Versailles to London, 1919-1920*; Vol. 3 (1996): *From London to Sevres, February-August 1920*; Vol. 4 (1996): *Between Crescent and Sickle: Partition and Sovietization*.

Hovannisian, Richard G. (Ed.). *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1986.

Hovannisian, Richard G. (Ed.) *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics*. London: Macmillan, 1992.

Hovannisian, Richard G. *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998.

Kaiser, Hilmar. *The Bagdad Railway and the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1916: A Case Study in German Resistance and Complicity*. In: *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998, pp. 67-112.

Kaiser, Hilmar. *Genocide at the Twilight of the Ottoman Empire*. In: *The Oxford Book on Genocide Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 365-386.

Karal E. *Armenian Question (1878-1923)*. Ankara, 1975.

Kirakossian, Arman J. *British Diplomacy and the Armenian Question, from the 1830's to 1914*. Princeton and London: Gomidas Institute Books, 2003.

Kirakossian, Arman J. (Ed.) *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: U.S. Media Testimony*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004.

Kirakossian, Arman J. (Ed.) *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: British Media Testimony*. Dearborn: Armenian Research Center/University of Michigan, 2008.

Kirakossian, John S. *The Armenian Genocide: The Young Turks before the Judgment of History*. Madison, Connecticut: Sphinx Press, 1992.

Kloian, Richard D. *The Armenian Genocide, News Accounts from the American Press: 1915-1922*. Richmond, CA: Anto Printing, 1980.

Knapp, Grace H. *The Tragedy of Bitlis*. London: Sterndale Classics, 2002.

Kuper, L. *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.

Krikorian H. *The Mandate for Armenia*. Constantinople, 1919.

Kuper, Leo. *International Action against Genocide*, London: Minority Rights Group, 1982.

Kuper, Leo. *The Pity of It All: Polarisation of Racial and Ethnic Relations*. London: Duckworth, 1977.

Landau, Jacob M. *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation*. 2d rev. ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.

Lang, David Marshall. *Armenia: Cradle of Civilization*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1980.

Lemkin, R. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation; Analysis of Government; Proposals for Readers*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944.

Lewy, Guenter. *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005.

Lloyd George, David. *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1939.

MacColl, Malcolm. *The Sultan and the Powers*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1896.

McCarthy, Justin. *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire*. London: Arnold Publishers, 2001.

Melson, Robert. 2004. *The Armenian Genocide*. In: *Defining the Horrific: Readings on Genocide and Holocaust in the Twentieth Century*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2004, pp. 119-127.

Melson, Robert. *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995.

Mikaberidze, Alexander (Ed.). *Atrocities, Massacres, and War Crimes*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013.

Miller, Donald E. and Touryan Miller, Lorna. *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Moravian, Suzanne E. *The American Missionaries and the Armenian Question: 1915-1927*. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1994.

Morgenthau, Henry. *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1918.

Morgenthau, Henry, III. *Mostly Morgenthau: A Family History*. New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1991.

Morley, Bertha. *Marsovan 1915: The Diaries of Bertha Morley*. Ann Arbor: Gomidas Institute, 1999.

Nansen, Fridtjof. *Armenia and the Near East*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928.

Nassibian, Akaby. *Britain and the Armenian Question, 1915-1923*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984.

Northrop, Henry Davenport. *The Mohammedan Reign of Terror in Armenia*. Philadelphia: American Oxford, 1896.

Ohandjanian, Artem. *Armenia 1915: Austro-Hungarian Diplomatic Reports Prove the Genocide*. Vienna: Society for Promotion of Armenian History and Culture, 2007.

Öke, Kemal. *The Armenian Question, 1914-1923*. Nicosia, Cyprus: K. Rustem and Brothers, 1998.

Peroumian, Rubina. *Literary Responses to Catastrophe: A Comparison of the Armenian and the Jewish Experience*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1993.

Peroumian, Rubina. *The History of the Armenian Question*. Yerevan: Hye Edit, 2000.

Power, S. *A problem from hell: America and the age of genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2003.

Peterson, Merrill D. *Starving Armenians: America and the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1930 and After*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2004.

Pierce, James Wilson (Ed.). *The Story of Turkey and Armenia with a Full and Accurate Account of the Recent Massacres Written by an*

Eye-witness. A Sketch of Clara Barton and the Red Cross. Baltimore: R. H. Woodward, 1896.

Redgate, A. E. *The Armenians*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.

Rodogno, David. *Against Massacre. Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire 1815-1914*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Rolin-Jacquemyns, Gustave. *Armenia, Armenians and the Treaties*. London, 1891.

Rost, Yuri. *Armenian Tragedy: An Eye Witness Account of Human Conflict and National Disaster in Armenia and Azerbaijan*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990.

Rummel, R. *Death by Government*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994.

Sarafian, Ara (Ed.). *United States Official Documents on the Armenian Genocide*. Vol. 1, *The Lower Euphrates*. Watertown, Mass.: Armenian Review, 1993.

Sassounian, Harut. *The Armenian Genocide: Documents and Declarations 1915-1995*. Glendale, CA: 80th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide Commemorative Committee, 1995.

Schabas, W. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Smith, Roger W. *Denial of the Armenian Genocide*. In: *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review, Volume 2*. London: Mansell Publishing; and New York: Facts on File, 1991, pp. 63-85.

Smith, Roger W., Markusen, Eric, and Lifton, Robert Jay. *Professional ethics and the denial of Armenian Genocide*. In: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 1995, No. 9(1), pp. 1-22.

Somakian, Manoug J. *Empires in Conflict: Armenia and the Great Powers, 1895-1920*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1995.

Straw, David. *Human Rights Violation in Turkey*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Suny, Ronald. *Armenia in the Twentieth Century*. Chino, CA: Scholars Press, 1983.

Talat, Mehmet. *The Posthumous Memoirs of Talaat Pasha*. In: *Current History*, New York: New York Times, 1921, pp. 287-295.

Ternon, Yevs. *The Armenians: History of a Genocide*. Delmar, NY: Caravan, 1990.

The Crime of Genocide: Prevention, Condemnation and Elimination of Consequences. Proceedings of International Conference, December 14-15, 2000, Yerevan. Yerevan: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, 2011.

Topdijian, V. *Post-generational Trauma in First, Second and Third Generational Children of Armenian Genocide Survivors*, Master Thesis, California State University at Northridge, 2007.

Toriguian Sh. *Armenian Question and the International Law*, Beirut, 1983.

Totten, Samuel. *The Literature, Art and Film of Genocide*. In: *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*. London: Mansell Publishing; and New York: Facts on File, 1988, pp. 232-240.

Toynbee, Arnold J. *Armenian Atrocities: The Murder of a Nation*. London and New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915.

Vickery, Bess P. *Mount Holyoke Courageous: Young Christian Women Go to the Near East, 1840-72 and Respond to the Armenian Holocaust 1872, 1895, 1915*. New York: Roundtable Press, 2000.

Walker, Christopher J. *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

Weitz, E. D. *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Werfel, Franz. *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*. New York: Carroll and Graf, 1983.

Whitaker, Ben. *Revised and Updated Report on the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, New York: United Nations, UN Document E/CN.4/ Sub.2/1985/6.

Willis, James F. *Prologue to Nuremburg: The Politics and Diplomacy of Punishing War Criminals of the First World War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1982.

Winter, Jay (Ed.) *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey: A Modern History*. London and New York: I. B. Taurus, 1993.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The Armenian historian and diplomat Arman J. Kirakossian serves as Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia to Austria and Permanent Representative to the OSCE and International Organizations in Vienna.

Before embarking on a diplomatic career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia in 1991, he held several high-level academic positions at the National Academy of Sciences. He was Project Director at the Center of Scientific Information for Social Sciences, then Senior Fellow and Associate Director of the Armenian Diaspora Studies Department. In 1999, he earned the degree of Doctor of Sciences (Dr. Habil.) in History.

From 1991 to 1994, he held the post of First Deputy Foreign Minister, and, from October 1992 to February 1993, served as Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia.

Arman J. Kirakossian was Armenia's Ambassador to Greece (1994-1999) and USA (1999-2005). In 2005-2011 he was appointed again as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia.

Dr. Kirakossian is author of several books and more than 120 publications. Four of his books were published in English: "British Diplomacy and the Armenian Question" (Gomidas Institute, Princeton and London, 2003), "The Armenian Massacres 1894-1896: U.S. Media Testimony" (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 2004), "Armenia-USA: Current Realities and Vision for Future" (Yerevan State University Press, 2007), "The Armenian Massacres 1894-1896: British Media Testimony" (University of Michigan, Dearborn, 2008). He is Professor of History and International Relations at the Yerevan State University.

Cover page by Vigen Kzartmyan

Published in Vienna, Austria

by Good Friends Werbeagentur GmbH

A-1010 Vienna, Josefsplatz 6

 good friends