



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>*

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**Decree issued in 1917 by the Sharif of Mecca for the Protection of Armenians**

## **The Hashemite Royal Court**

*In the Name of God, The Compassionate, The Merciful*

*We Thank Only God And No One But God*

*From Al-Husayn Ibn Ali, King of the Arab Lands and Sharif of Mecca and its Prince to The Honorable and Admirable Princes - Prince Faisal and Prince Abd al-Aziz al-Jarba - greetings and the compassion of God and His blessings. This letter is written from Imm Al-Qura (Mecca), on 18 Rajab 1336 [A.D. 1917], by the praise of God and no God except Him. We ask peace upon God's Prophet, his family and his companions (may peace be upon him). We inform you that in our gratitude to Him we are in good health, strength and good grace. We pray God that He may grant us and you His abundant grace. What is requested of you is to protect and to take good care of everyone from the Jacobite Armenian community living in your territories and frontiers and among your tribes; to help them in all of their affairs and defend them as you would defend yourselves, your properties and children, and provide everything they might need whether they are settled or moving from place to place, because they are the Protected People of the Muslims (Ahl Dimmat al-Muslimin) - about whom the Prophet Muhammad (may God grant him His blessings and peace) said: "Whosoever takes from them even a rope, I will be his adversary on the day of Judgment." This is among the most important things we require of you to do and expect you to accomplish, in view of your noble character and determination. May God be our and your guardian and provide you with His success. Peace be upon you with the mercy of God and His blessings.*

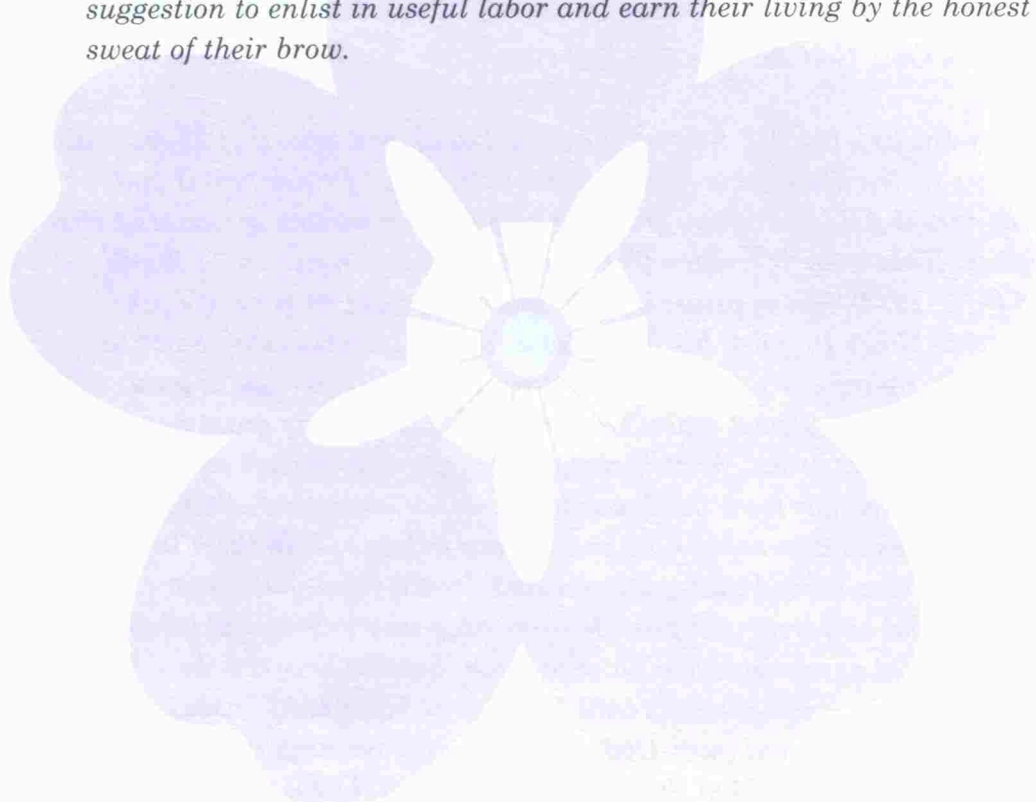
*Al-Husayn Ibn Ali*



# MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATURK

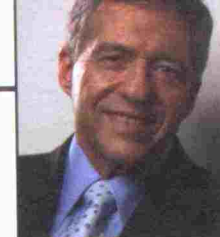
President of the Republic of Turkey (1923 - 1938)

*These leftovers from the former Young Turk Party, who should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects who were ruthlessly driven en masse from their homes and massacred, have been restive under the Republican rule. They have hitherto lived on plunder, robbery and bribery, and become inimical to any idea or suggestion to enlist in useful labor and earn their living by the honest sweat of their brow.*



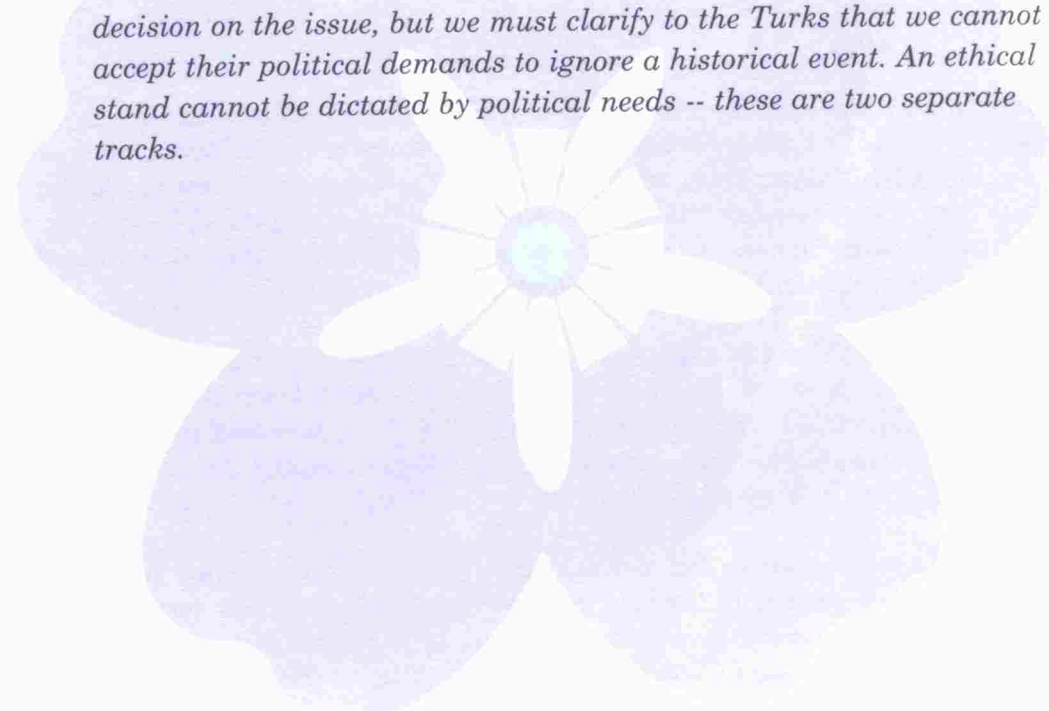
Los Angeles Examiner, August 1, 1926.

# YOSSI BEILIN



Minister of Justice of Israel (1999 - 2001)

*It doesn't have to be this way. I think that our attitude toward such a dreadful historic event cannot be dictated by our friendly relations with Turkey, even though that relationship is particularly important to me as one who worked so hard to develop it. I also see the contradiction between the political track and the ethical one. Something happened that cannot be defined except as genocide. One-and-a-half million people disappeared. It wasn't negligence, it was deliberate. I do not think that the government has to take an official decision on the issue, but we must clarify to the Turks that we cannot accept their political demands to ignore a historical event. An ethical stand cannot be dictated by political needs -- these are two separate tracks.*



Minister Yossi Beilin was quoted by Lilly Galili, "A Holocaust By Any Other Name," Ha'aretz, April 24, 2000.

Mr. Beilin made a similar statement on the Armenian Genocide in 1994, while serving as Deputy Foreign Minister of Israel.



## POPE BENEDICT XV (1914 - 1922)

Letter to the Ottoman Sultan

September 10, 1915

To His Majesty  
Mahomet V  
Emperor of the Ottomans

Your Majesty,

Whereas the chagrin due to the horrors of the formidable struggle -- in which Your Majesty's flourishing Empire is engaged with the great Nations of Europe -- tears Our heart; the very painful echo of the moans of an entire people, who in the vast domains of the Ottomans are subjected to unutterable sufferings, reaches all the way to Us.

The Armenian nation has already seen many of its sons sent to death, numerous others thrown in jail or driven into exile, among them many clergymen and even some bishops. And now, we are hearing that the entire inhabitants of villages and cities are forced to abandon their homes to be transferred, in the midst of great pain and suffering, to remote concentration sites, where, in addition to the deep anguish, they have to undergo the darkest miserable deprivations and even torture due to hunger.

We believe, Sire, that such excesses are taking place against the will of Your Majesty's Government. That is why, We turn to Your Majesty in full confidence and ardently exhort Him to desire, in His magnanimous generosity, to have pity and to intervene for a people who by the very religion they practice are led to remain faithful and submissive to the Person of Your Majesty.

If there are among the Armenians traitors or people guilty of other crimes, let them be judged and punished according to the law. But let your Majesty in His very high sense of justice not allow that innocent people be caught up in the same punishment as the culprits and that Your Sovereign Clemency descend even upon those who have deviated.

Let Your Majesty pronounce His word of peace and pardon, powerful and invoked, and let the Armenian nation, sheltered from violence and reprisal, would bless the sublime name of its Protector.

In this sweet hope, We pray Your Majesty would accept the best wishes that We have for the conservation, prosperity and happiness of His people.

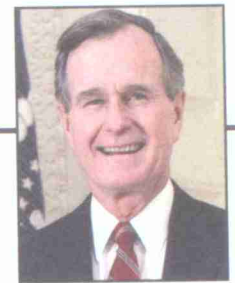
From the Vatican, on the 10th of September 1915.

**Benedict XV, Pope**

Translated from French

## GEORGE H. W. BUSH

President of the United States (1989 - 1993)



April 20, 1990

**Presidential Statement**

**Armenian Remembrance Day**

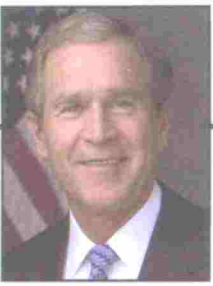
...Their [Armenians] history, though marked by a number of tragedies, nonetheless reflects their faith and the strength and resilience of their tradition. Those tragedies include the Earthquake of 1988 and, most prominently, the terrible massacres suffered in 1915-1923 at the hands of the rulers of the Ottoman Empire.

The United States responded to the victims of the crime against humanity by leading international diplomatic and private relief efforts....

On this seventy-fifth anniversary of the massacres, I wish to join with Armenians and all peoples in observing April 24, 1990 as a day of remembrance for the more than a million Armenian people who were victims. I call upon all peoples to work to prevent future acts of inhumanity against mankind, and my comments of June 1988\* represent the depth of my feeling for the Armenian people and the sufferings they have endured.

\*Refers to the following statement George H. W. Bush made as Vice President in 1988:

"The United States must acknowledge the attempted genocide of the Armenian People in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, based on the testimony of survivors, scholars, and indeed our own representatives at the time, if we are to ensure that such horrors are not repeated."



## GEORGE W. BUSH

President of the United States (2001 - 2009)

*April 24, 2001*

### *Presidential Statement*

*Today marks the commemoration of one of the great tragedies of history: the forced exile and annihilation of approximately 1.5 million Armenians in the closing years of the Ottoman Empire. These infamous killings darkened the 20th century and continue to haunt us to this day. Today, I join Armenian Americans and the Armenian community abroad to mourn the loss of so many innocent lives. I ask all Americans to reflect on these terrible events....*



## JIMMY CARTER

President of the United States (1977 - 1981)

*May 16, 1978*

### *Remarks at White House Reception*

*...I feel close to you because you were the first Christian people, first Christian nation, and because of that, your deep religious beliefs, I doubt that any other people have ever suffered more. I know that through the early years of the foundation of your people's home, you suffered a great deal. But it's generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916, there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest tragedies that ever befell any group. And there weren't any Nuremberg trials. There weren't any high public figures who recognized how much you and your families had to suffer.*

*Well, I feel very deeply that I, as President, ought to make sure that this is never forgotten, not only the tragedy of your history but also the present contributions that you make and the bright future that you have.*

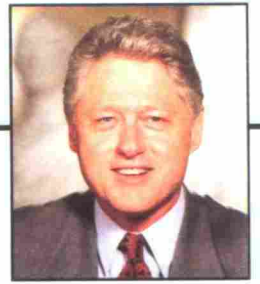


## WINSTON CHURCHILL

Prime Minister of Great Britain (1940 - 1945; 1951 - 1955)

*In 1915 the Turkish Government began and ruthlessly carried out the infamous general massacre and deportation of Armenians in Asia Minor. ...The clearance of the race from Asia Minor was about as complete as such an act, on a scale so great, could well be. It is supposed that about one and a quarter millions of Armenians were involved, of whom more than half perished. There is no reasonable doubt that this crime was planned and executed for political reasons. The opportunity presented itself for clearing Turkish soil of a Christian race....*

*The Armenian people emerged from the Great War scattered, extirpated in many districts, and reduced through massacre, losses of war and enforced deportations adopted as an easy system of killing, by at least a third. Out of a community of about two and a half millions, three-quarters of a million men, women, and children had perished. But surely this was the end.*



## BILL CLINTON

President of the United States (1993 - 2001)

*April 24, 1996*

### *Presidential Statement*

#### *Armenian Remembrance Day*

*Eighty-one years ago today, in the city of Constantinople, more than two hundred Armenian civic, political, and intellectual leaders were arrested, deported and subsequently executed. That day marked the beginning of one of this century's darkest moments.*

*I join with Armenians around the world, on this solemn day, in commemorating the senseless deportations and massacres of one and a half million Armenians that took place from 1915-1923 in the Ottoman Empire. Tragically, our century has repeatedly borne witness to man's senseless inhumanity to man. Together we mourn the terrible loss of so many innocent lives....*



# ADOLF HITLER

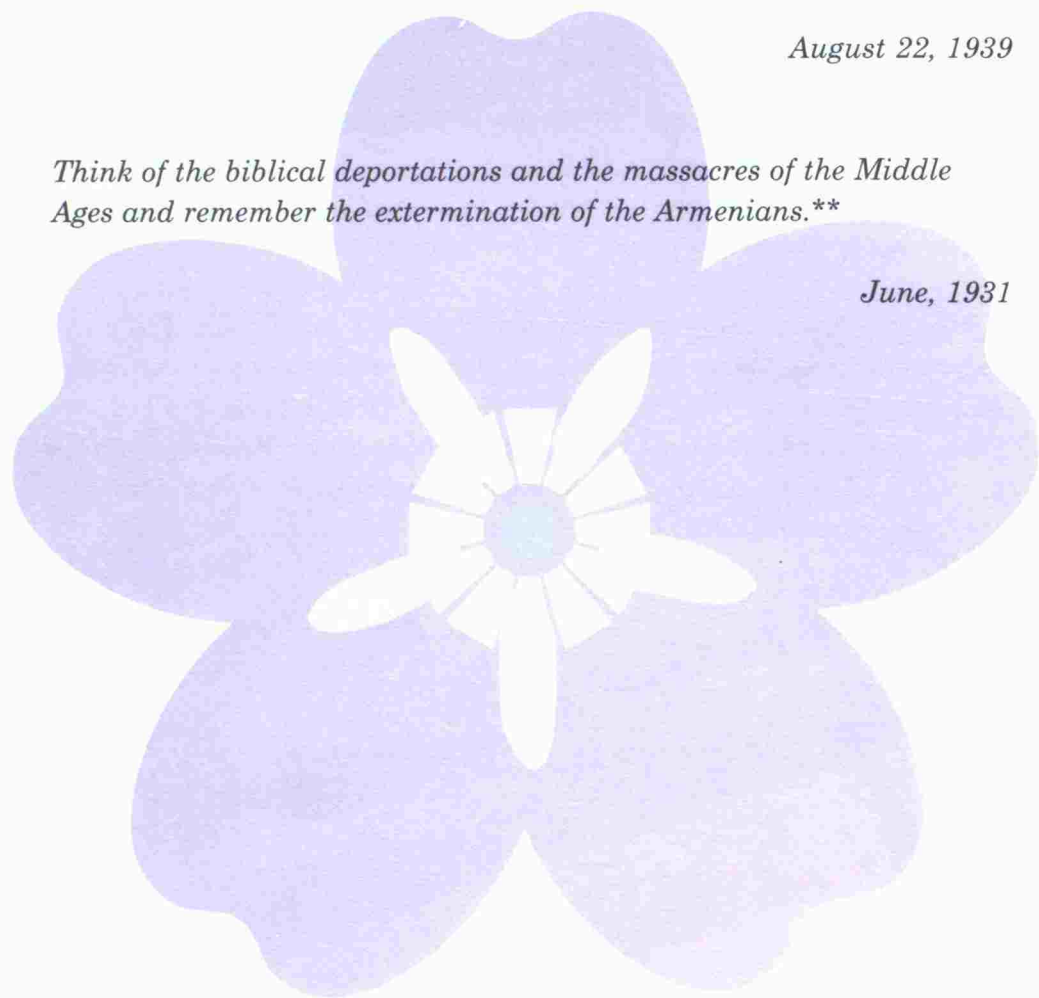
Chancellor of Nazi Germany (1933 - 1945)

*Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?\**

*August 22, 1939*

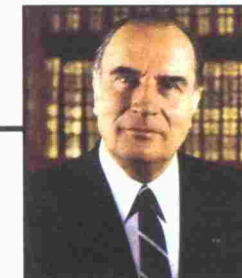
*Think of the biblical deportations and the massacres of the Middle Ages and remember the extermination of the Armenians.\*\**

*June, 1931*



\* *Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939*, edited by E. L. Woodward and Rohan Butler, Third Series, vol. vii, 1939 (London, 1954), p. 257; See also Kevork B. Bardakjian, *Hitler and the Armenian Genocide* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Zoryan Institute, 1985).

\*\* *Secret Conversations With Hitler: The Two Newly-Discovered 1931 Interviews*, edited by Edouard Calic (New York: John Day Company, 1971).

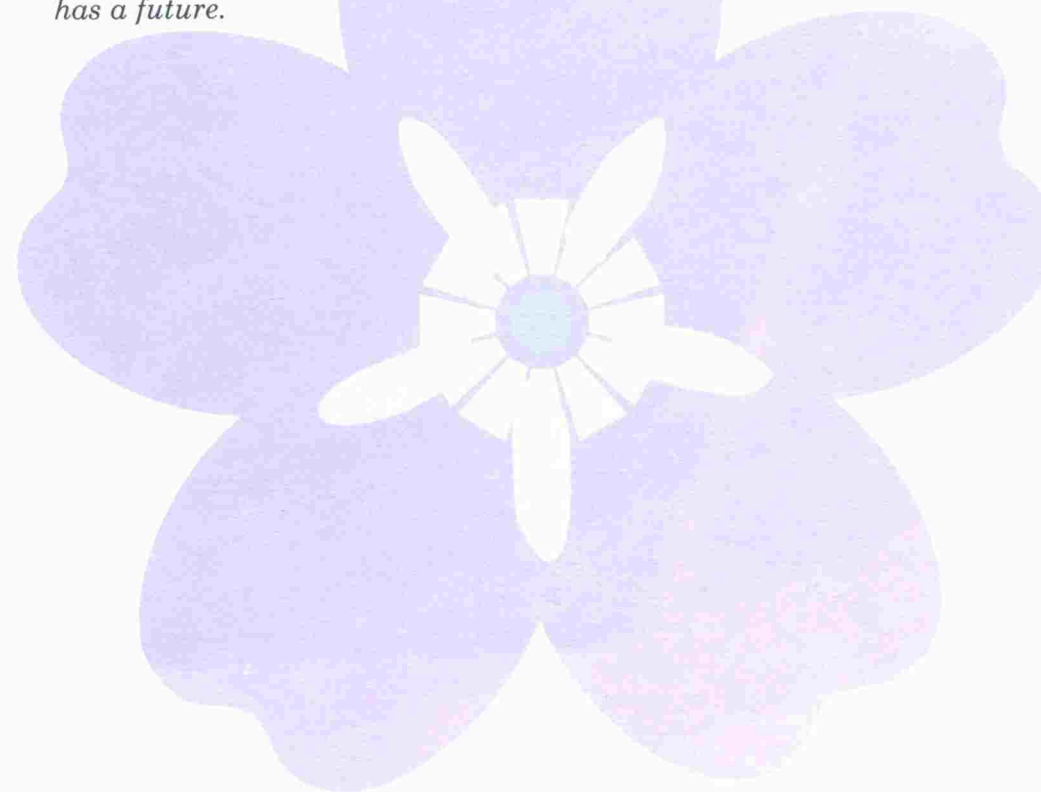


# FRANÇOIS MITTERAND

President of France (1981 - 1995)

*January 6, 1984*

*It is not possible to erase the memory of the genocide that has afflicted you. It must be inscribed in human memory, and this sacrifice must serve as a lesson to young people. At the same time, it is a lesson in the will to survive, so that everyone will know for a long time to come that this people does not belong to the past, but is a part of the present and has a future.*



*Le Monde*, January 10, 1984.

Translated from French

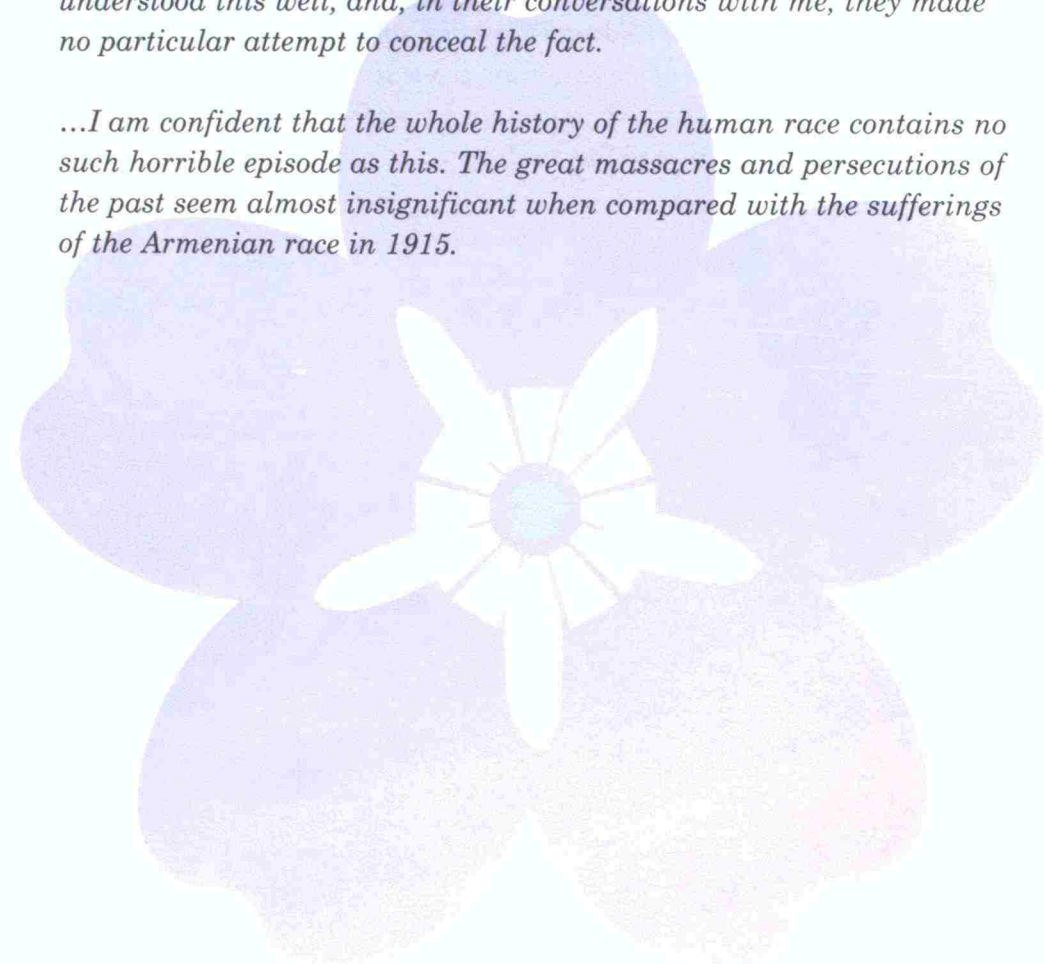


## HENRY MORGENTHAU

U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1913 - 1916)

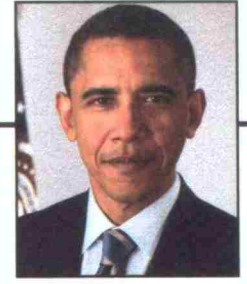
*...When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.*

*...I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared with the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915.*



## BARACK OBAMA

President of the United States of America (2009-2017)



*April 24, 2014*

### *Presidential Statement*

*Today we commemorate the Meds Yeghern and honor those who perished in one of the worst atrocities of the 20th century. We recall the horror of what happened ninety-nine years ago, when 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their deaths in the final days of the Ottoman Empire, and we grieve for the lives lost and the suffering endured by those men, women, and children. We are joined in solemn commemoration by millions in the United States and across the world. In so doing, we remind ourselves of our shared commitment to ensure that such dark chapters of human history are never again repeated.*

*I have consistently stated my own view of what occurred in 1915, and my view has not changed. A full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts is in all of our interests. Peoples and nations grow stronger, and build a foundation for a more just and tolerant future, by acknowledging and reckoning with painful elements of the past. We continue to learn this lesson in the United States, as we strive to reconcile some of the darkest moments in our own history. We recognize and commend the growing number of courageous Armenians and Turks who have already taken this path, and encourage more to do so, with the backing of their governments, and mine. And we recall with pride the humanitarian efforts undertaken by the American Committee for Syrian and Armenian Relief, funded by donations from Americans, which saved the lives of countless Armenians and others from vulnerable communities displaced in 1915....*

*Today, our thoughts and prayers are with Armenians everywhere, as we recall the horror of the Meds Yeghern, honor the memory of those lost, and reaffirm our enduring commitment to the people of Armenia and to the principle that such atrocities must always be remembered if we are to prevent them from occurring ever again.*



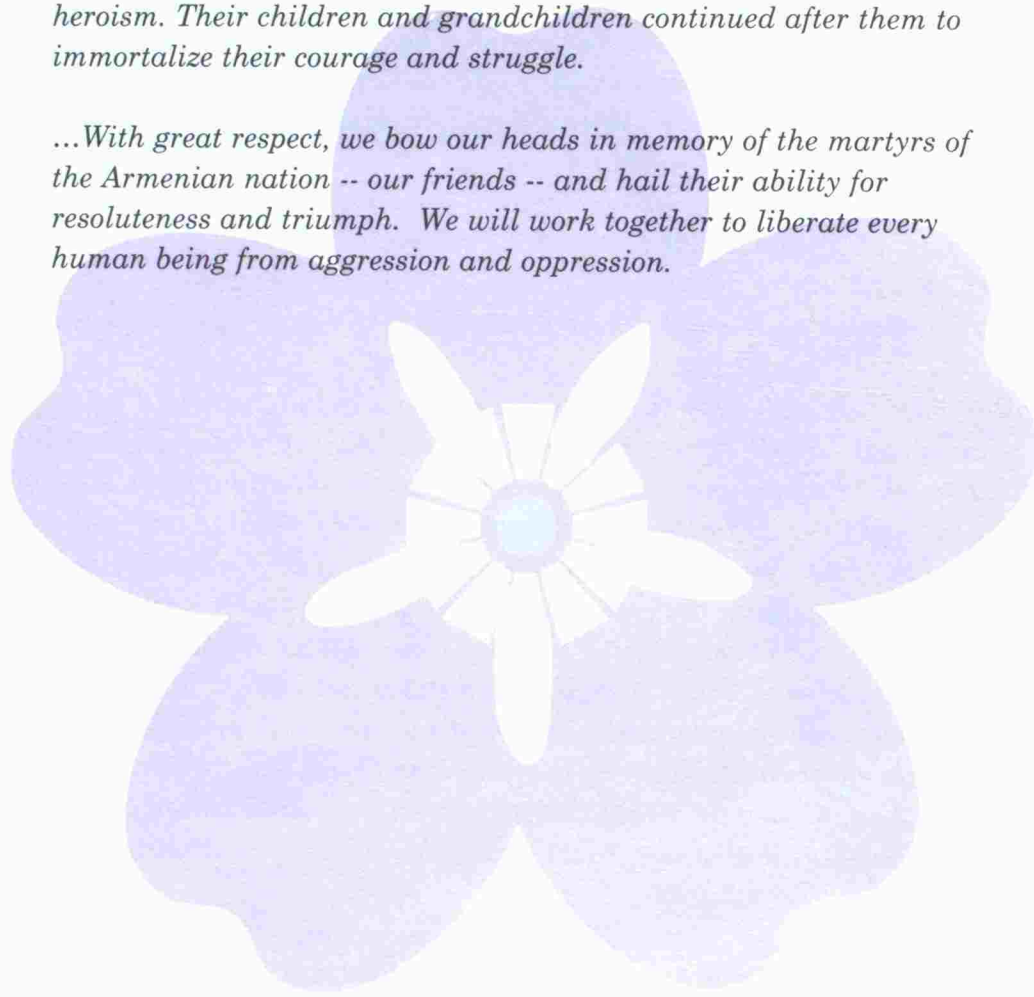


## ABD AL-QADER QADDURA

Speaker of the Syrian Parliament (1988 - 2002)

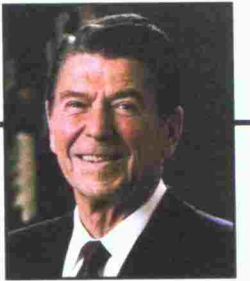
*As we visit the Memorial and the Museum of the Genocide that the Armenian nation suffered in 1915, we stand in full admiration and respect in front of those heroes that faced death with courage and heroism. Their children and grandchildren continued after them to immortalize their courage and struggle.*

*...With great respect, we bow our heads in memory of the martyrs of the Armenian nation -- our friends -- and hail their ability for resoluteness and triumph. We will work together to liberate every human being from aggression and oppression.*



During his visit to the Armenian Genocide Monument and Museum in Yerevan, Armenia, on July 16, 2001, the Speaker of the Syrian Parliament inscribed the above message in the Museum's Book of Remembrance.

Translated from Arabic.



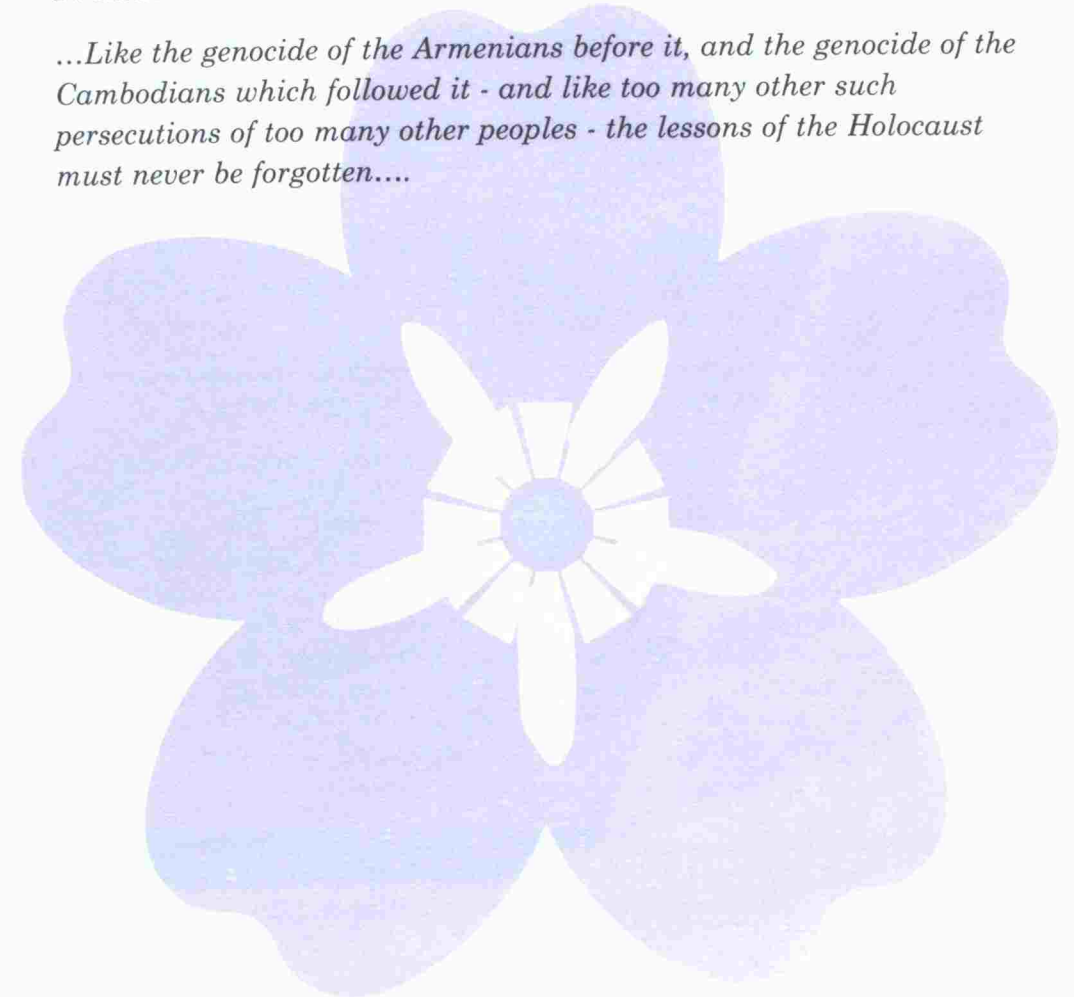
## RONALD REAGAN

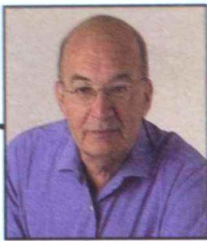
President of the United States (1981 - 1989)

*April 22, 1981*

### **Presidential Proclamation 4838**

*...Like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it - and like too many other such persecutions of too many other peoples - the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten....*





## YOSSI SARID

Minister of Education of Israel (1999 - 2000)

*I join you, members of the Armenian community, on your Memorial Day, as you mark the 85th anniversary of your genocide. I am here, with you, as a human being, as a Jew, as an Israeli, and as Education Minister of the State of Israel.*

*Every year, Armenians gather in Israel and all over the world to remember and to remind the world of the terrible disaster that befell your people at the beginning of the last century.*

*For many years, too many years, you were alone on your Memorial Day. I'm aware of the special significance of my presence here today along with other Israelis. Today perhaps for the first time you are less alone.*

*The Armenian Memorial Day should be a day of reflection and introspection for all of us, a day of soul-searching. On this day, we as Jews, victims of the Shoah should examine our relationship to the pain of others.*

*The massacre, which was carried out by the Turks against the Armenians in 1915 and 1916, was one of the most horrible acts to occur in modern times.*

*...Today in Israel very few youngsters...know about the Armenian Genocide. I know how important the position of the Jews, and especially the attitude of the State of Israel to your genocide, are for Armenians in the world. As Minister of Education of the State of Israel, I will do whatever is in my capacity in order that this monumental work, The Forty Days of Musa Dagh, is once more well known to our children. I will do everything in order that Israeli children learn and know about the Armenian Genocide. Genocide is a crime against humanity and there is nothing more horrible and odious than Genocide. One of the objectives of our education - our main objective - is to instill sensitivity to the harm to the innocent based on nationality alone. We, Jews, as principal victims of murderous hatred are doubly obligated to be sensitive, to identify with other victims.*

*We have to evoke among the young generation natural and deep indignation against manifestations of genocide in the past, in the present and in future. Genocide is the root of all evil and we have to make supreme political and educational efforts to uproot and extirpate it.*

*Whoever stands indifferent in front of it, or ignores it, whoever makes calculations, whoever is silent always helps the perpetrator of the crime and not the murdered.*

*...I would like to see a central chapter on genocide, on this huge and inhuman atrocity. The Armenian genocide should occupy a prominent place in this program which does justice to the national and personal memory of every one of you, to the memory of all the members of your nation. This is our obligation to you; this is our obligation to ourselves....*

April 24, 2000

## KONSTANTINOS STEFANOPOULOS

President of Greece (1995 - 2005)



*July 10, 1996*

### *Presidential Decree No. 162 (1)*

*Organizing of manifestations for the memorial day of the genocide of the Armenians by Turkey*

*The President of the Hellenic Republic*

*Taking under consideration:*

- 1. The provision of article 2 of Law 2397/1996 (A'80) "April 24th is established as memorial day of the genocide of the Armenians by Turkey".*
- 2. The provision of article 27 of law 2081/1992 (A'154).*
- 3. The dating from 3.7.1996 opinions of the National Council of the Orthodox Armenians Diocese in Greece and the Armenian National Committee of Greece.*
- 4. The fact that from the provisions of this decree no encumbrance occurs to the National Budget.*
- 5. The 474/1996 and 192/1997 consultative responses of the State Council.*
- 6. The DID144.1/21566/10.10.1996 Joint Decision of the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization (B'932), upon recommendation of the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Public Administration and decentralization, we decide:*

### *Article 1*

*April 24th is established as the memorial day of the genocide of the Armenians by Turkey (article 1 of Law 2397/1996 A'80).*

### *Article 2*

*The memorial manifestations include, holding of a memorial service at the site of the monument of the Armenian Genocide at Chrisostomou Smirnis square at the Municipality of Nea Smirni, at the Armenian Orthodox Church of Panagia in Xanthi, speeches and laying of wreaths by the General Secretary of the District and by representatives of the local self-government and the Armenian Community.*

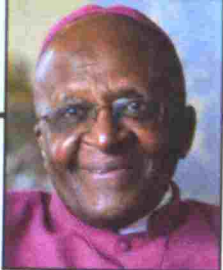
### *Article 3*

*The program of the memorial manifestations is formed by decision of the local prefect, in collaboration with the National Council of the Orthodox Armenians Diocese in Greece.*

*We confide the publication and the execution of the present decree to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization.*

**Konstantinos Stefanopoulos**  
*The President of the Republic*

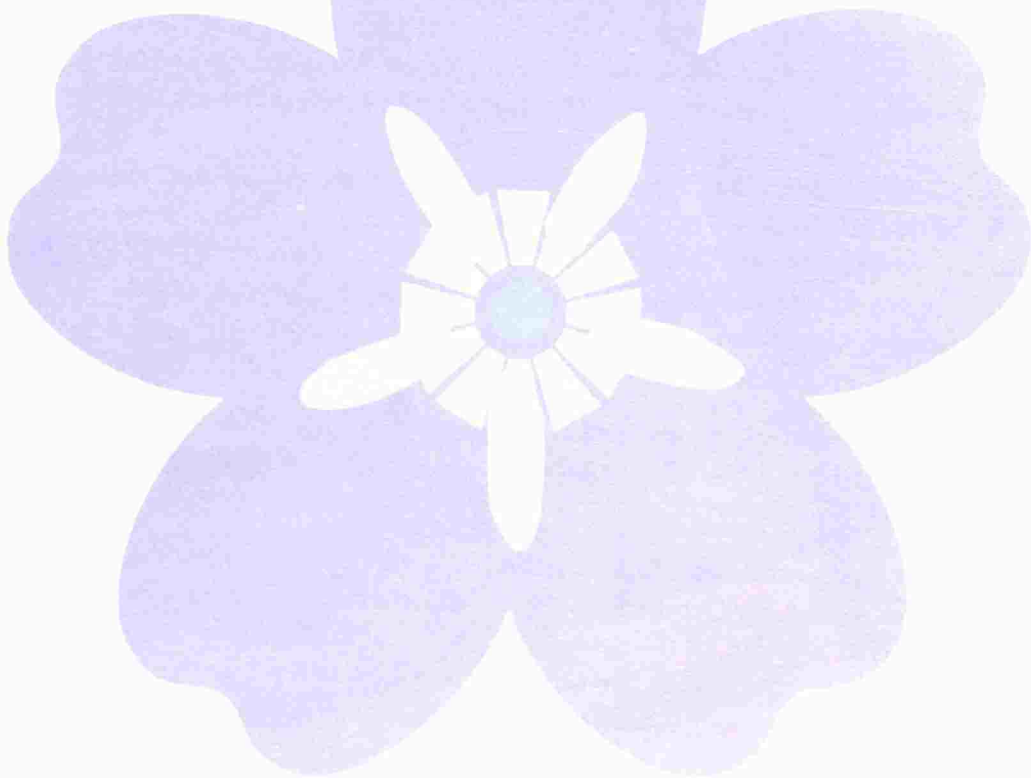
**L. Papadimas**  
*The Deputy Minister of the Interior,  
Public Administration and Decentralization*



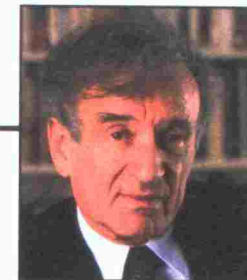
## ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU

Nobel Laureate for Peace (1984)

*It is sadly true what a cynic has said, that we learn from the history that we do not learn from history. And yet it is possible that if the world had been conscious of the genocide that was committed by the Ottoman Turks against the Armenians, the first genocide of the twentieth century, then perhaps humanity might have been more alert to the warning signs that were being given before Hitler's madness was unleashed on an unbelieving world.*



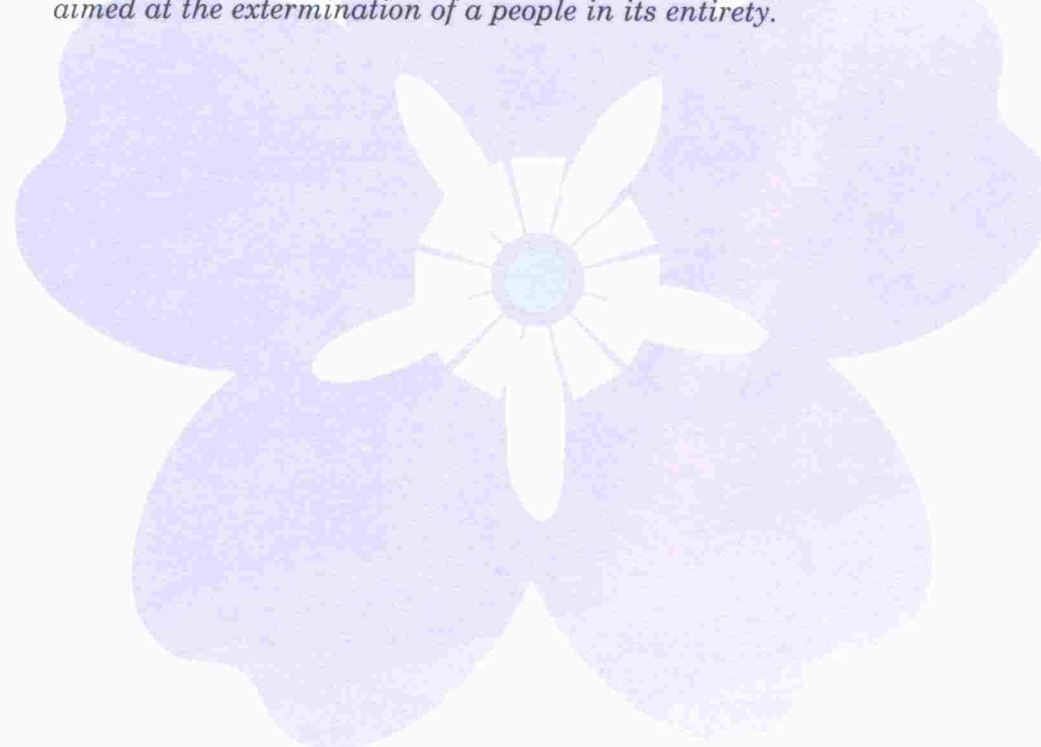
The Foreword to *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, edited by Israel W. Charny. Published in 1999 by the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem.



## ELIE WIESEL

Nobel Laureate for Peace (1986)  
Holocaust Survivor  
Founding Chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

*Talat and Enver wanted to liquidate the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire... the savage butchery in Armenia, the first genocide of the 20th century.... The cold and calculating brutality of the theoreticians of massacre, the scheming of rapaciousness and the bloodthirstiness of the fanatical killers, the spirit of sacrifice of the victims.... The world is at war, but within this war another war is waged between a Great Power and a targeted, persecuted and oppressed minority. Deportations, forced marches, endless humiliation and mass murders aimed at the extermination of a people in its entirety.*



Translated from French.

Introduction to the French Edition of Franz Werfel's *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*. (Paris, Albin Michel, 1986.)

## SECTION II

### NATIONAL LEGISLATURES: LAWS, RESOLUTIONS, DECLARATIONS

- Argentina:** National Chamber of Deputies  
National Senate
- Armenia:** Declaration of Independence
- Belgium:** Senate
- Bolivia:** Chamber of Deputies  
Chamber of Senators
- Bulgaria:** Parliament
- Canada:** House of Commons  
Senate
- Chile:** Senate Resolution
- Cyprus:** House of Representatives
- France:** National Assembly  
Senate  
Law Signed by President
- Germany:** Parliament
- Greece:** Parliament
- Holland:** House of Representatives
- Italy:** Chamber of Deputies
- Lebanon:** Chamber of Deputies
- Lithuania:** Parliament
- Poland:** Parliament
- Russia:** Duma
- Slovakia:** Parliament
- Sweden:** Parliament

**Switzerland:** National Council  
**United States:** House of Representatives  
Senate  
Statement Submitted to World Court  
**Uruguay:** Senate and House of Representatives  
Law Signed by President  
**Vatican:** Joint Declaration  
**Venezuela:** National Assembly



# ARGENTINA

## National Chamber of Deputies

April 17, 1985

### DECLARATION

The National Chamber of Deputies

### DECLARES:

That it would regard with pleasure that the Executive -- through the Ministry of Foreign Relations and Religion -- should implement and intensify the pertinent measures at the United Nations Organization aimed at bringing about international acknowledgment of the genocide carried out against the Armenian people.

### REASONS

Mr. President:

On April 24, 1915, one of the most heinous massacres the human race has known in this century was put in motion. One and a half million Armenians were to be brutally eliminated with the clear and deliberate aim of wiping this industrious democratic nation, five times millenary, from the face of the earth.

Our president Hipólito Yrigoyen, in the decree he signed on May 20, 1920 recognizing the Armenian Republic, stresses as a salient fact among his reasons the deep democratic convictions of this courageous people. Later on, president Juan Domingo Perón, in 1946, recognized the international structure of which the Armenian Republic is a part. Resolution 96 (I) of December 11, 1946, of the United Nations Organization General Assembly declares genocide to be a crime of international law contrary to the spirit and purposes of the United Nations, and condemned by the civilized world.

In 1948, a bill was presented to the member states of the United Nations with a proposal for a Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This Convention came into force on January 12, 1951, and our country ratified it on October 31, 1963 during the administration of Dr. Arturo Humberto Illia.

Among the events leading up to UN General Assembly Resolution 96 (I) and the 1948 Convention are the principles of the Nuremberg Military Tribunal, and the deep and painful aftereffects which the crimes committed by Hitler's thugs produced in humanity. For these and other reasons, but mainly for strictly humanitarian ones, we consider it necessary that the Argentine Republic recognize before the United Nations and its ancillary organs the savage genocide the Armenian people endured in 1915. Our country respects the sacred right of nations to existence and to life. This is why numerous Armenian citizens, and other children and grandchildren of those that lost their lives in the events of 1915 live in our country.

The Argentine Nation, faithful to its democratic traditions and to adamantly upholding the most elementary human rights, has generously provided refuge for all those fleeing from wars or persecutions and seeking new possibilities of peace and progress. We wish to make clear in this declaration that we are not moved by any desire of vengeance or retribution against anyone in particular: we merely consider that acts of this nature must be denounced so that they are avoided in the future, and that the recognition of the 1915 genocide will contribute to justice being done and closing a shameful wound for the human race in this 20th century of progress, democracy, and respect for the integrity of peoples and nations.

Federico T. M. Storani

(Minutes of the Sessions of the National Chamber of Deputies, Session 48, April 17th, 1985, page 8134)

Translated from Spanish.

The National Chamber of Deputies also adopted Resolutions on the Armenian Genocide on Oct. 24, 2001, April 20, 2005, April 19, 2006, and January 15, 2007.



# ARGENTINA

## National Senate

June 19, 1985

### COMMUNIQUÉ

The National Senate  
Would regard with pleasure that the Executive, through the Ministry of Foreign Relations and Religion, should instruct our delegation at the United Nations Organization to back the request of the Armenian people to the effect of including the murders of the year 1915 in the prescriptions of the Convention of 1948 condemning genocide.

### REASONS

Mr. President:

On April 24, 1915, an action began for the destruction of the Armenians, which was to result in the massacre of one and a half million men, women, and children. Not only did this great massacre take place but also, before their death, the Armenians were stripped of their homes and possessions, ejected into the desert, and subjected to every kind of cruelty and deprivation.

The Armenians all around the world, who remember that first genocide of the 20th century, are in their Diaspora a progressive and democratic community who demand that such a tragic event be duly acknowledged as such. At present, the Subcommittee for the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities (United Nations Organization) is working at re-elaborating and updating a report on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, in which it is intended to re-insert the Armenian question.

It should be noted that in the final draft submitted to the Human Rights Commission of the afore-mentioned Organization, paragraph 30, which dealt with the question, had been omitted as a consequence of pressures, and the Commission has re-issued the report to the new head designated by the Organization without solving the problem.

The report is due to be considered in the city of Geneva, Switzerland, next August, when the subcommittee convenes, for which reason it is desirable, and indeed urgent, that measures such as that suggested be adopted.

As regards to our country, the contribution of the Armenians that have taken up residence here as they fled from the butchery has been singularly positive. Not only have they become part of our society but, with their industry and honesty, created a community favorable to our progress.

President Yrigoyen, in 1920 recognizing the Republic of Armenia, pointed out the conditions pertaining to that people, and inaugurated a period in which Argentina has expressed its permanent solidarity towards them.

For these reasons it is requested that the attached communiqué be approved.

Adolfo Gass, - Antonio O. Nápoli, - Humberto C. Sigal, - Luis A. J. Brasesco,  
Faustino M. Mazzucco, - Edison Otero

(Minutes of Sessions of the National Chamber of Senators, Session 8, June 19, 1985, page 629)

Translated from Spanish.

The Senate adopted similar declarations on May 5, 1993; April 11, 2002; August 20, 2003; and March 31, 2004.



# ARMENIA

## Declaration of Independence

August 23, 1990

### Declaration of Independence (excerpt) Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia August 23, 1990

The Republic of Armenia stands in support of the task of achieving international recognition of the Armenian Genocide in Ottoman Turkey and Western Armenia in 1915.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Law adopted by the Supreme Council November 22, 1988

Regarding the Condemnation of the Armenian Genocide of 1915 in Ottoman Turkey

The Supreme Council of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic decides to:

1. Condemn the 1915 Genocide of Armenians in Ottoman Turkey as a grave crime against humanity, and declare April 24 as a day of remembrance for the Armenian victims.
2. Present a proposal to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council to recognize and condemn the Armenian Genocide of 1915.
3. Recommend to the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic along with the Council of Labor Unions to review and resolve the issue of declaring April 24 as a non-work day, in exchange for another rest day.

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Council  
of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic  
H. Voskanyan

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council  
of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic  
N. Stepanyan  
Nov. 22, 1988  
Yerevan  
N 1401 - XI

Translated from Armenian.



## BELGIUM

### Senate

March 26, 1998

#### Resolution 1-736/3 Concerning the 1915 Genocide of Armenians living in Turkey

The Senate,

Considering the numerous studies dedicated to the situation of the Armenian population in Turkey at the beginning of the 20th century;

Considering the UN convention on the prevention and punishment of genocide, which provides a definition of the concept of genocide;

Considering the judicial verdicts that have applied this term to describe the state of Armenians living in Turkey in 1915, more specifically the verdict of the 'tribunal de grande instance' in Paris on 21 June 1995;

Considering the resolution by the European Parliament on 18 June 1987 concerning a "political solution to the Armenian Question", wherein it is recognized that the Armenians living in Turkey in 1915 were the victims of a genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman government of the time;

Considering that there cannot be the slightest doubt over the historical evidence regarding the organized and systematic murder of the Armenians;

Considering that the recognition of mistakes and crimes of the past is a precondition for reconciliation between peoples and that there cannot be peace without justice, either in Armenia or elsewhere;

Furthermore considering that only through the recognition of crimes committed by previous regimes it is possible to distance oneself from their aims and strive politically for reconciliation;

Considering that the differences between the Turkish and Armenian nations continue to drag on and even today lead to the loss of human lives, to the eviction of ethnic groups and to numerous violations of human rights in that region;

Considering that the Turkish and Armenian peoples have no choice but to co-exist peacefully in the long term;

Considering the friendly ties and co-operation between, on the one hand, Turkey, Belgium and the European Union and, on the other hand, Armenia, Belgium and the European Union;

Remarking that the 1987 resolution by the European Parliament has not led the Turkish government to recognize the historic reality of the 1915 genocide;

Requests the Turkish government to recognize the historic reality of the genocide committed in 1915 by the last government of the Ottoman Empire;

Requests the parliaments of the member states of the European Union to contribute to the reconciliation between the Turkish and Armenian peoples;

Requests the European Union and its member states to lend their support to initiatives in all domains aimed at promoting a dialogue between the Armenian and Turkish peoples;

Asks the government to transmit this resolution to the prime minister of the Turkish government, to the chairman of the European parliament, to the chairman of the European Commission, to the chairmen of the parliaments of the member states of the European Union, as well as to the chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Armenia.

Translated from French.



## BOLIVIA

### Chamber of Deputies

November 27, 2014

#### Multinational Legislative Assembly of Bolivia

##### Chamber of Deputies

D.C. No - 019/2014-2015

DECLARATION OF THE CHAMBER

THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

#### CONSIDERING:

That, on April 24th of 2014, the 99th anniversary of the genocide of Armenians perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire, between the years 1915 and 1923, was commemorated.

That, on the night of the 24th April of 1915, the Ottoman authorities, the leaders of the Union and Progress Party, known as Young Turks, launched their program of arrests of Armenian intellectuals, politicians, scientists, artists, priests, medical doctors, public personalities and professional people followed by strategic deportations and mass killings of the civil population of the territories of historic Western Armenia and Anatolia, with the tragic result of more than 1.5 million Armenian men, women and children assassinated.

That, at present, research carried out by men and women of different nationalities (including Armenians and Turks), and other documentary proof from other countries of the world, have demonstrated the facts of the acts of genocide against the Armenian people, and categorically confirmed the nature of a plan of extermination against this national minority, which inhabited the territories of the Ottoman Empire at that time.

#### THEREFORE,

The Chamber of deputies, applying what is established by Articles 103 and 131 of the General Regulations of the Chamber of Deputies,

**DECLARES:**

Its solidarity with the Armenian people and its descendants, who constitute the different Armenian communities in the world, in view of the fact that last 24th of April commemorated the 99th anniversary of the genocide of Armenians perpetrated by the authorities of the Ottoman Empire, between the years 1915 and 1923. Furthermore, the Chamber of Deputies of the Multinational Legislative Assembly, manifests its firm rejection of any negationist policies of crimes against humanity and manifests its support towards the efforts of the Armenian Diaspora, composed of survivors of this lamentable event, to obtain the recognition by Turkey and the international community of the genocide suffered by their ancestors.

To be registered, communicated and filed  
Assembly Hall  
La Paz, 27th November 2014

Marcelo William Elío Chávez  
President  
Chamber of Deputies



**BOLIVIA**  
Chamber of Senators

November 27, 2014

**Multinational Legislative Assembly of Bolivia**  
**Chamber of Senators**

DECLARATION OF THE CHAMBER N0 122/2014-2015  
THE PLENARY OF THE CHAMBER OF SENATORS,

**CONSIDERING:**

That the Multinational Legislative Assembly of Bolivia, shares solidarity with the Armenian people, with the struggle for its claims, the conservation of human rights, and the establishment of truth and justice, That the Chamber declarations express the official position of the Chamber of Senators, regarding matters of national and international interest,

**THEREFORE,**

The Chamber of Senators, in use of its faculties established by the Political Constitution of the State, and articles 164 and 165 of its General Regulations,

**DECLARES:**

Its firm commitments with human rights, truth and justice, and its solidarity and condemnation against every negationist policy regarding the genocide and crimes against humanity suffered by the Armenian Nation.

Given in the Assembly Hall of the Chamber of Senators of the Multinational Legislative Assembly of Bolivia, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of November of the year 2014.

To be registered, communicated, and filed

Senator Zonia Guardia Melgar  
Acting president of the Chamber of Senators





## BULGARIA Parliament

April 20, 1995

### Forty-Second Session

Sofia, Thursday, April 20, 1995

**Chairs:** Chairman, Blagovest Sendov and Vice Chair, Nora Ananieva

**Secretaries:** Mitko Nitov and Valery Sturshelov

Chairman Blagovest Sendov (rings): I am opening the session of the Parliament. I would guess that all of you would agree to broadcast this session of the Parliament live on TV. No objections. Please, inform the TV to broadcast this session live.

Ladies and gentlemen, people's representatives. Following the initiative of the National Committee for the "80th Anniversary of the Genocide of the Armenians" and a group of parliament members, I am addressing you with the following proclamation:

On April 24, 1995 we will commemorate the 80th anniversary of the barbarous act of genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire on the Armenian people. These tragic events connected to the destruction of more than a million innocent Armenians cause a great deal of revulsion and anger in the family of human beings. In today's world, this was the first attempt of mass genocide that subjects its perpetrators with utter disgrace.

We, as a civilized European country that has ratified the Convention Against Genocide by the United Nations and all the important international treaties covering the protection of Human Rights, mark this anniversary in order to officially proclaim that we will do our utmost so that never and nowhere else the act of genocide could be repeated at the threshold of the 21st century.

Let us observe and honor the memory of the victims of this genocide with a minute of silence.

*(All delegates stand up. One minute of silence)*

Translated from Bulgarian.



## CANADA House of Commons

April 21, 2004

Pursuant to Standing Order 93(1), the House proceeded to the taking of the deferred recorded division on the motion of Ms. Dalphond-Guiral (Laval Centre), seconded by Mr. Assadourian (Brampton Centre), Mr. Kenney (Calgary Southeast) and Ms. McDonough (Halifax),

**That this House acknowledge the Armenian genocide of 1915 and condemn this act as a crime against humanity.**

(Private Members' Business M-380)

The question was put on the motion and it was agreed to on the following division: 153 in favor; 68 against.



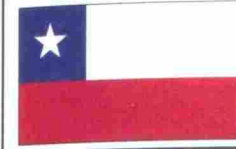
## CANADA Senate

June 13, 2002

1st Session, 37th Parliament,  
Volume 139, Issue 124

That this House calls upon the Government of Canada:

- (a) to recognize the genocide of the Armenians and to condemn any attempt to deny or distort a historical truth as being anything less than genocide, a crime against humanity, and
- (b) to designate April 24th of every year hereafter throughout Canada as a day of remembrance of the 1.5 million Armenians who fell victim to the first genocide of the twentieth century.



## CHILE Senate

June 5, 2007

### Senate Resolution The Honorable Senate

Considering:

1. That 24th of April, 1915, in Constantinople, then the capital of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, after the unjust arrest and later the disappearance of the entire leading class of the Armenian community, marks the beginning of a policy of systematic extermination of the Armenian population on the part of the imperial authorities.
2. That the brutal genocide, enacted between 1915 and 1923, resulted in the deaths of over 1.5 million Armenian citizens that lived in the lands of their ancestors for thousands of years.
3. That this reproachable action constituted the first ethnic cleansing of the 20th century and, moreover, even whatsoever judgment or interpretation of it, signifies a flagrant violation of the human rights of that nation.
4. That in spite of the intent to erase the collective memory of mankind and of the loss of sensibility of the great powers to end those acts, Armenians and their several organizations around the world have found that part of the international community may recognize the genocide in which they were doomed to be victims.
5. That such a recognition was granted in 1985 by the U.N. Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities clarifying the Armenian case as genocide.
6. That nations such as Uruguay, Argentina, Greece, Bulgaria, Belgium, Russia, Italy, Lebanon, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, Venezuela, Lithuania, Canada and France have made their own resolutions as well as the European Parliament.



# CYPRUS

## House of Representatives

April 29, 1982

### Resolution Unanimously Adopted By The House of Representatives of the Republic of Cyprus

The House of Representatives

On the occasion of the Anniversary of the genocide of the Armenian people which was started in 1915 in an organized manner by the then Turkish regime,

1. Notes with abhorrence and condemns unreservedly the crime against the Armenian people which had the dimensions of genocide and which uprooted the Armenians from ancestral lands.
2. Supports the full restoration of the inalienable rights of the Armenian people.
3. Underlines the harmonious and long-standing coexistence and brotherly cooperation with the Armenians of Cyprus and their contribution to the political, economic and cultural life of our country.
4. Considers this coexistence as evidence of the real possibility for harmonious coexistence of all the people of Cyprus regardless of language, religion or national origin.
5. In parallel considers it necessary to condemn the crime committed against the people of Cyprus by the Turkish invasion of 1974.

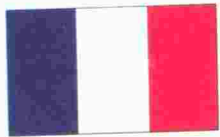
Translated from Greek.  
The Cypress House of Representatives adopted two other Resolutions on the Armenian Genocide on April 24, 1975 and April 19, 1990.

7. That our nation has yet to recognize the genocide, contrary to its permanent assurance that Human Rights takes precedence in international relations over above any agreement or obligation regardless of how important it may be.

8. That consequently it constitutes an ethical and moral imperative that Chile makes a resolution along the lines of 1985 which recognizes that the Ottoman Empire committed a brutal genocide in Armenia against a defenseless people that now cry out for moral compensation from the international community and especially Turkey.

By virtue of these outlined issues, the Honorable Senate of the Republic decides:

1. To support the Armenian nation in condemning the genocide of its people and,
2. To call on the government of Chile to adhere to the 1985 United Nations decision.



**FRANCE**  
National Assembly

November 29, 1998

Adopted Text no. 140

National Assembly

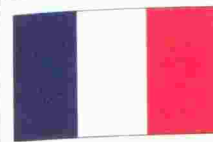
Eleventh Legislature  
Ordinary Session of 1997- 1998

Adopted in first reading by National Assembly relating to recognition of the Armenian Genocide of 1915.

The National Assembly adopted the law proposal, the content of which follows:

**France publicly recognizes the Armenian Genocide of 1915.**

Publicly deliberated, in Paris on May 29, 1998



**FRANCE**  
Senate

November 7, 2000

N°22 SENATE REGULAR SESSION OF 2000-2001

Adopted by the Senate concerning the recognition of the Armenian Genocide of 1915.

**France publicly recognizes the Armenian Genocide of 1915.**

Deliberated in public session in Paris on November 7, 2000.



# FRANCE

Law Signed by President Jacques Chirac

January 29, 2001

Law no. 2001-70 of January 29, 2001, relating to the recognition of the Armenian Genocide of 1915:

The National Assembly and the Senate have adopted and the President of the Republic proclaims the following law:

**France publicly recognizes the Armenian Genocide of 1915.**

The present law shall be executed as a law of the state.

Paris,

January 29, 2001.

**Jacques Chirac,**  
The President of the Republic

**Lionel Jospin,**  
The Prime Minister

Translated from French.



# GERMANY

Bundestag (Parliament)

June 15, 2005

## Resolution

**German Bundestag Printed matter 15/5689 15th electoral period June 15, 2005**

Motion by the parliamentary groups of SPD, CDU/CSU, BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN and FDP commemorating the expulsion and massacre of Armenians in 1915 – Germany must make her contribution to the reconciliation between Turks and Armenians.

The Bundestag may resolve:

The German Bundestag honors and commemorates the victims of violence, murder and expulsion among the Armenian people before and during the First World War. The Bundestag deplors the deeds of the Young Turkish government in the Ottoman Empire which have resulted in the almost total annihilation of the Armenians in Anatolia. It also deplors the inglorious role played by the German Reich which, in spite of a wealth of information on the organized expulsion and annihilation of Armenians, has made no attempt to intervene and stop these atrocities.

The German Bundestag honors and commemorates the efforts made both by Turks and Germans who, working under difficult circumstances and conditions and against the resistance of their respective governments, have committed themselves in word and deed to saving Armenian women, men and children. It is particularly the memory and the work of Dr. Johannes Lepsius, who fought vigorously and effectively for the survival of the Armenian people, which is to be redeemed from oblivion and cherished and maintained to improve the relationship between the Armenian, the German and the Turkish people.

The German Bundestag is painfully aware from its own national experience how hard it is for every people to face the dark sides of its past. But it also believes that facing one's own history fairly and squarely is necessary and constitutes an important basis for reconciliation. This is true, in particular, within the European culture of remembrance to which belongs the open discussion of the dark sides of each national history. Against this Background, the German Bundestag deplors the fact that a full discussion of these events of the past in the Ottoman Empire is still not possible today

in Turkey, and that scientists and writers who wish to deal with this aspect of Turkish history are being prosecuted and exposed to public defamation. However, the German Bundestag also sees positive signs that Turkey, to an ever-increasing degree, approaches this subject within the above European culture of remembering.

Examples include:

- The Great Turkish Assembly has, for the first time, invited Turkish people of Armenian descent to discussions involving the crimes committed against the Armenians and the Turkish-Armenian relationship - A Turkish-Armenian women's dialog was held in Vienna - Initial contacts between Turkish and Armenian historians resulted in a first exchange of documents - Minister President Erdogan inaugurated Turkey's first Armenian museum in Istanbul with the Armenian Patriarch Mesrob and publicly suggested the establishment of a bilateral Turkish-Armenian panel of historians.

However, in this context, the German Bundestag perceives with great concern that the Armenian Conference of internationally renowned Turkish scientists, which was to be held in Istanbul from 25-27 May 2005, has been prevented by the Turkish Minister of Justice and that the positions taken by these scientists, which diverged from the government's opinion, were defamed as "a stab in the back of the Turkish nation." The proposal by Minister President Erdogan to set up a joint Turkish-Armenian commission of historians can only succeed if it is implemented on the basis of a free and public scientific discourse.

Germany, which has also made its contribution to the crimes against the Armenian people falling into oblivion, is now obliged to face her own responsibility. This responsibility involves supporting Turks and Armenians in seeking reconciliation and mutual understanding over the trenches of the past.

Both major churches in Germany, in particular, have for many years advocated the integration of the Armenians from Turkey. The Armenian communities which have settled here offer the opportunity of reconciliation and remembrance. Particularly in view of the large number of Turkish Muslims living in Germany, it is an important task to bring to mind the past and so to make the first steps toward reconciliation. But dealing with these historical events also has an immediate significance for the present. Today, the normalization of the relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia is of paramount interest and importance for the future of the entire region.

What is urgently needed is to establish trust-forming measures on both sides as defined in the OSCE principles. Turkey opening the borders to Armenia could, for instance, help to relieve Armenia's isolation and promote the taking up of diplomatic relations.

Due to its historic role in the Turkish-Armenian relations, Germany must assume a special responsibility as part of its neighborhood initiative of the EU. The aim must be to help normalize and improve the situation between Armenia and Turkey and so to help stabilize the Caucasus region.

One important contribution toward remembrance can be made by the German federal states. The duty of the information and education policy involves actions for facing the expulsion and annihilation of the Armenians as part of the whole history of ethnic conflicts in the 20th century, also in Germany.

The German Bundestag requests the Federal Government

- to help the Turks and Armenians to arrive at a settlement by remembering, reconciliation and forgiving historical guilt
- to ensure that Parliament, Government and society in Turkey deal without reservation with their role in relation to the Armenian people in the past and in the present
- to advocate the establishment of a commission of historians including Turkish, Armenian and international experts
- to ensure that not only the archives of the Ottoman Empire on this issue are made accessible to the general public, but also the copies of the German Foreign Office archives given by Germany to Turkey
- to insist on the actual organization of the conference scheduled in Istanbul but postponed under governmental pressure
- to press for freedom of opinion in Turkey, in particular with respect to the fate of the Armenians
- to help Turkey and Armenia to normalize their interstate relationships.

Berlin, June 15, 2005

Franz Müntefering and parliamentary group Dr. Angela Merkel, Michael Glos and parliamentary group Katrin Göring-Eckardt, Krista Sager and parliamentary group Dr. Wolfgang Gerhard and parliamentary group

#### **Reasons for the motion**

Ninety years ago, on April 24, 1915, the Young Turkish movement controlling the Ottoman Empire ordered the Armenian cultural and political elite in Istanbul to be arrested, deported inland and for the most part murdered. This day has become the day of remembrance for Armenians throughout the world for the expulsion and massacre of the Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire which took place as early as the end of the 19th century and intensified during the First World War.

When the Ottoman Empire joined the war, the Armenian soldiers drafted into the Ottoman army were grouped into work battalions and most were murdered. Beginning in the spring of 1915, women, children and old people were sent on death marches through the Syrian desert. Those who had not died or been murdered on the way met this fate at the latest when they reached the inhuman camps in the desert near Deir ez Zôr. Massacres were also committed by units specially set up for this purpose. Resistance by high-ranking Turkish officials against this course of action, as well as criticism from the Ottoman parliament, was brutally suppressed by the Young Turkish regime. Many areas from which Christian Armenians had been expelled were later settled with Kurds and Muslim refugees from the Balkan wars. Members of other ethnic Christian groups, in particular Arameic/Assyrian and Chaldean Christians, but also certain Muslim minorities, were also affected by deportations and massacres. According to independent estimates, more than 1 million Armenians fell victim to the deportations and mass murders. Many independent historians, parliaments and international organizations describe the expulsion and annihilation of the Armenians as genocide.

Until this day and contrary to the facts, the Turkish Republic as the legal successor of the Ottoman Empire denies that these atrocities had been well planned and organized and/or that the mass deaths during the resettlement treks and the massacres had been desired by the Ottoman government. The admitted severity of the actions against the Armenians has always been justified by the fact that many Armenians had fought on Russia's side against Turkey both in 1878 and in 1914/1915 and that there had supposedly been the danger that these Armenians would also have fallen into the back of the Ottoman Empire during WW I. Other Turkish defenses invoked the acts of violence committed by Armenians against Turks which occurred during the armed resistance to the Turkish resettlement measures. The terrorist attacks by Armenians against Turks perpetrated right into the eighties of the twentieth century are also used as justification for the Turkish position.

In all, the true extent of the massacres and deportations is still belittled and largely disputed in Turkey today. This Turkish attitude stands in opposition to the idea of reconciliation which guides the common values of the European Union. Even today, historians in Turkey are not free in coming to terms with the history of deportations and murder of Armenians and, in spite of some relaxation in the previous criminal liability, still find themselves under great pressure.

The German Empire as the major military ally of the Ottoman Empire was also deeply involved in these events. Both the political and the military leadership of the German Empire had been aware of the persecution and murder of the Armenians right from the beginning. The files of the German Foreign Office resting on reports by the

German embassy and consulates in the Ottoman Empire document the planned and organized execution of the massacres and deportations. In spite of urgent requests by many German personalities in science, politics and the churches, among these politicians like Philipp Scheidemann, Karl Liebknecht or Matthias Erzberger, and eminent persons of the protestant and catholic churches such as Adolf von Harnack and Lorenz Werthmann, the German Reich government failed to exert pressure on its Ottoman ally.

When the protestant theologian Dr. Johannes Lepsius presented the outcome of his research in Istanbul to the German Reichstag on October 5, 1915, the whole of the subject of the Armenians was censored by the German Reich government. In 1916, the German military censorship banned and confiscated Johannes Lepsius' "Report on the Situation of the Armenian People in Turkey". The copies of this documentation which Lepsius had sent directly to the delegates of the German Reichstag were intercepted by the authorities and not handed to the delegates until after the war in 1919. This almost forgotten policy of repression by the German Reich demonstrates that this chapter of history still waits to be dealt with in a satisfactory manner here in Germany.



## GREECE Parliament

April 25, 1996

### Hellenic Parliament Resolution 2397/1996

The bill "For the establishment of the 24th of April as the day of commemoration of the genocide of Armenians by Turkey" was unanimously accepted in principle, in article and in its entirety in one discussion and is as follows:

The 24th of April is established as the day of commemoration of the genocide of Armenians by Turkey.

#### Article 1

The 24th of April is defined as the day of commemoration of the genocide of Armenians by Turkey.

#### Article 2

The character, content, bearer and manner of organization of the commemoration events are determined by a presidential decree that is issued with the proposal of the Ministries of the Interior, and of Public Administration and Decentralization, after taking into consideration the advice of the most recognized Armenian guilds and organizations.

#### Article 3

The present law will be in effect after its publication in the Official Gazette of the Hellenic Government.



## HOLLAND House of Representatives

December 21, 2004

### Assembly Year 2004-2005

21 501-20 European Council Nr. 270

The Chamber,

Noting that the European Council, in the meeting on 16 and 17 December 2004, in Brussels, has decided on the start of the accession negotiations with Turkey on 3 October 2005;

Noting that the European Council in its conclusion has settled that an intensive political and cultural dialogue will take place with Turkey, whereby civil society will also be involved, in order to improve reciprocal understanding by bringing people together (conclusion 23);

Being of the opinion that herewith an honest acceptance of its own history of the candidate member-state is inextricably connected;

Requests the government to continuously and expressly raise the recognition of the Armenian genocide within the framework of its dialogue with Turkey.





## ITALY

### Chamber of Deputies

November 16, 2000

#### Resolution

The Italian Chamber of Deputies has observed that on November 15, 2000, the European Parliament approved by a large majority a proposal deriving from the Periodic Review on the progress made by Turkey towards admission to the European Union, a review completed by the European Commission in 1999. The Turkish government has been encouraged to intensify its efforts towards democratization, especially in the fields of criminal law reform, independence of the judiciary, freedom of expression, and the rights of minorities.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies has also observed that the recent resolution deals with questions concerning the Armenian people in three paragraphs of particular significance: "we urge recognition of the genocide inflicted upon the Armenian minority [within the Ottoman Empire] committed before the creation of the modern Republic of Turkey (paragraph 10); improvements of relations with Turkey's neighbors in the Caucuses, as proposed by the Turkish government itself (paragraph 20);" and, in support of the suggestions put forward in paragraph 21 by the Hon. D. Cohn-Bendit, President of the Bipartisan Parliamentary Commission on EU-Turkish Relations, "invites the Turkish government to open negotiations with the Republic of Armenia, restore diplomatic relations and trade between the two countries, placing an end to the blockade currently in place."

The Chamber of Deputies therefore urges the Italian Government, in concordance with the proposals described above, to pursue energetically the easing of all tensions between peoples and minorities in that area [i.e. the Caucasus], in order to create, with due observance of the territorial integrity of the two states, pacific coexistence and respect for human rights, thereby expediting a more rapid integration of Turkey within the European Community.



## LEBANON

### Chamber of Deputies

May 11, 2000

On the occasion of the 85th anniversary of massacres perpetrated by the Ottoman authorities in the year 1915, as a result of which 1.5 million Armenians fell victim, the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies recognizes and condemns the genocide perpetrated against the Armenian people and expresses its complete solidarity with demands of its Armenian citizens.

Furthermore, it believes that the international recognition of this genocide is a necessary condition for the prevention of similar crimes that may occur in the future.



# LITHUANIA

Seimas (Parliament)

December 15, 2005

## RESOLUTION

### REGARDING RECOGNITION OF THE GENOCIDE OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE

December 15, 2005  
Vilnius,

Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania,  
Commemorating the 90th anniversary of the genocide of the Armenian people, Condemning the Turkish Ottoman Empire's execution of the genocide of the Armenian people in 1915,  
Calls on the Turkish Republic to recognize this historical fact.

Republic of Lithuania  
Chairman of the Seimas  
**Arturas Paulauskas**

Translated from Lithuanian.



# POLAND

Seim (Parliament)

April 19, 2005

## RESOLUTION

Article 33 of the Seim Regulation

The Polish Parliament Adopts

On the 90th anniversary of the genocide committed against the Armenian people in Turkey during the First World War:

The Polish Republic's Parliament pays its respects to the victims of the genocide committed against the Armenian people in Turkey during the First World War.

The memory of the victims and the need to condemn the committed crime is the moral duty of all mankind, all nations and all people of goodwill.

Translated from Polish.



## RUSSIAN FEDERATION

### State Duma of Federal Assembly

April 14, 1995

Resolution by the State Duma of Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

Based on irrefutable historic facts which attest to the extermination of Armenians on the territory of Western Armenia from 1915 to 1922 and, in accordance with the following Conventions adopted by the United Nations:

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, December 9, 1948;

Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, November 26, 1968;

Aspiring to restore the humanitarian traditions of the Russian State and,

Emphasizing that through the initiative of Russia, the Great European Powers already in 1915 characterized the actions of the Turkish Empire against the Armenian people as a "Crime Against Humanity" and,

Noting that the physical extermination of the fraternal Armenian people in its historic homeland aimed at destroying Russia;

The State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation:

Condemns the perpetrators of the extermination of Armenians from 1915 to 1922;

Expresses its deep sympathy to the Armenian people and recognizes April 24 as a day of remembrance for the victims of the Genocide.

Translated from Russian.

The Russian Duma adopted a second Resolution on the Armenian Genocide on April 22, 2005.



## SLOVAKIA

### Parliament

November 30, 2004

### Resolution of the Slovak Parliament: No. 1341

The Slovak Parliament,

Recognizes the Armenian Genocide of 1915, during which hundreds of thousands of Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire were killed; and

Considers that act as a crime against humanity.

*Adopted by 70 votes in favor; 0 against.*

Translated from Slovak.



## SWEDEN Parliament

March 11, 2010

### Resolution

#### Proposal for Parliament Decision

1. The Parliament announces to the government its decision in reference to what is stated in the motion regarding Sweden recognizing the 1915 genocide against Armenians, Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans and Pontic Greeks.
2. The Parliament announces to the government its decision in reference to what is stated in the motion that Sweden should act within EU and UN for an international recognition of the 1915 genocide against Armenians, Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans and Pontic Greeks.
3. The Parliament announces to the government its decision in reference to what is stated in the motion that Sweden should act for Turkey to recognize the 1915 genocide against Armenians, Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans and Pontic Greeks.

"Forum for living history is an authority which has the mission to – with basis in the Holocaust - work with issues which concern tolerance, democracy and human rights. By illuminating the darkest pieces of the human history we want to affect the future."

So reads the description of an agency which works on mission by order of the Swedish Government and educates, among others, about the 1915 genocide. The lesson of history is one of the cornerstones of the present-day democracies where we have learned of our mistakes and by preventing repetition of earlier errors we strive for a better future.

However, a prevention of future missteps, especially if these are known from the history, cannot be implemented if one does not openly recognize committed errors. Thus, history revisionism is a dangerous tool for facilitating repetition of the dark pages of the history.

The 1915 genocide foremost engulfed Armenians, Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans and Pontic Greeks, but later came to also affect other minorities. It was the dream of a

large Turanic Empire, Great Turan, which caused the Turkish leaders wanting to ethnically homogenize the remains of the decaying Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 19th century. This was achieved under the cover of the ongoing world war, when the Armenian, Assyrian/Syrian/Chaldean and Pontic Greek population of the empire were, almost entirely, annihilated. Researchers estimate that about 1,500,000 Armenians, between 250,000 and 500,000 Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans and about 350,000 Pontic Greeks have been killed or disappeared.

During the short period following the Turkish defeat in 1918 until the time when the Turkish nationalistic movement, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, the genocide was discussed openly. Political and military leaders stood on trial, accused for "war crimes" and "committed crimes against humanity". Several of them were found guilty and sentenced to the death or prison. During these trials horrible details about the persecution of the minorities in the Ottoman Empire were revealed. Thus, Turkey went through the same phase as the one Germany experienced after the Second World War. However, the process was short-lived. The emergence of the Turkish nationalistic movement and the dissolution of the Sultanate resulted in the discontinuation of the trials and the majority of the accused were set free. Almost, the entire remaining Christian population - Armenians, Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans, and Pontic Greeks - were expelled from areas they had inhabited for over thousands of years.

#### UN Genocide Convention 1948, the European Parliament and Official Recognitions

Raphael Lemkin, the Polish-Jewish lawyer who coined the term "genocide" during the 1940s and was the father of the UN Convention of Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, was fully aware of the 1915 genocide and the failure of the international community to intervene. His revision of the definition was adopted in the UN Convention which reads as follows:

Article 2) In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- Killing members of the group;
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Furthermore, it is established that the present-day UN Convention from 1948 is not a new legislation, but merely a ratification of existing international laws on "crimes

against humanity" which were stated in the Sèvres Treaty, Article 230 (1920). Even more important is the fact that the UN Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, adopted on November 26, 1968, in power since November 11, 1970, which ratifies its retroactive non-prescriptive nature. Of this very reason, both massacres in the Ottoman Empire and the Holocaust are cases of genocide in accordance to the UN Convention, in spite the fact that both occurred before the Convention was established.

During the history of UN two larger studies/reports have been conducted on the crime of genocide. The first was the so-called Ruhashyankiko Report, from 1978, and the second was the Whitaker Report, conducted by Benjamin Whitaker in 1985 (Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Thirty-eighth session, Item 4 of the provisional agenda, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/6).

The 1915 genocide is mentioned in several places in as an example of committed genocides during the 20th century. The report was voted on in the Sub-Commission of the UN Commission on Human Rights with 14 votes for, 1 against and 4 abstentions, in August, 1985. On June 18, 1987, the European Parliament officially recognized the Armenian genocide. Since 1965, that is, the 50th anniversary of the genocide, several countries and organizations have officially recognized the 1915 genocide, among others Uruguay (1965), Cypress (1982), Russia (1995), Greece (1996), Lebanon (1997), Belgium (1998), France (1998), Italy (2000), The Vatican (2000), Switzerland (2003), Argentina (2003), Canada (2004), Slovakia (2004), Netherlands (2004), Poland (2005), Venezuela (2005), Germany (2005), Lithuania (2005), and Chile (2007).

### **Research on the 1915 Genocide and Swedish Knowledge**

Second to the Holocaust, the 1915 genocide is regarded as the most studied case in the modern time. Today a broad and interdisciplinary consensus exists among an overwhelming majority of genocide scholars who regard the massacres in the Ottoman Empire during World War I as genocide and which is referred by the scholars as the "genocide prototype" (while the Holocaust is called the "genocide paradigm"). The International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), an independent world leading and interdisciplinary authority within the area, has in several occasions ratified a consensus in this matter, namely: June 13, 1997, June 13, 2005, October 5, 2007 and April 23, 2008. The resolution from July 13, 2007 reads as follows:

WHEREAS the denial of genocide is widely recognized as the final stage of genocide, enshrining impunity for the perpetrators of genocide, and demonstrably paving the way for future genocides;

WHEREAS the Ottoman genocide against minority populations during and following the First World War is usually depicted as a genocide against Armenians alone, with little recognition of the qualitatively similar genocides against other Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire;

BE IT RESOLVED that it is the conviction of the International Association of Genocide Scholars that the Ottoman campaign against Christian minorities of the Empire between 1914 and 1923 constituted genocide against Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontian and Anatolian Greeks.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Association calls upon the government of Turkey to acknowledge the genocides against these populations, to issue a formal apology, and to take prompt and meaningful steps toward restitution.

On June 8, over 60 leading genocide experts in the world signed an appeal directed to the members of the Parliament where they dismissed the claims about disunity among scholars regarding the 1915 genocide. The research must continue and both Turkey and the world must secure the possibilities for an open, independent and undisturbed atmosphere, among others by Turkey having to give full access to its archives as well as allowing similar discussions without scientist, authors, journalists and publishers risking prosecution for having commented on the reality of the genocide.

New research at Uppsala University witnesses also about a genuine Swedish knowledge of the 1915 genocide. Swedish Foreign Ministry and General Staff Head Quarters were fully informed about the ongoing annihilation through reports which the Swedish Ambassador Per Gustaf August Cosswa Anckarsvärd and the Swedish Military Attaché Einar af Wirsén (both stationed in Constantinople) sent to Stockholm. Among others one can read the following:

\* Anckarsvärd, July 6, 1915: "Mr. Minister, The persecutions of the Armenians have reached hair-raising proportions and all points to the fact that the Young Turks want to seize the opportunity, since due to different reasons there are no effective external pressure to be feared, to once and for all put an end to the Armenian question. The means for this are quite simple and consist of the extermination of the Armenian nation."

\* Anckarsvärd, July 22, 1915: "It is not only the Armenians, but also the Turkish subjects of Greek nationality who at the present are subjected to severe persecutions... According to Mr. Tsamados [Greek chargé d'affaires] it [the deportations] cannot be any other issue than an annihilation war against the Greek nation in Turkey...."

\* Anckarsvärd, September 2, 1915: "The six so-called Armenian vilayets seem to be totally cleansed from at least its Armenian-Catholic Armenians.... It is obvious that the Turks are taking the opportunity -- now during the war -- to exterminate the Armenian nation so that when peace comes, the Armenian question no longer exists."

\* Wirsén, May 13, 1916: "The health situation in Iraq is horrifying. Typhus fever claims numerous victims. The Armenian persecutions have to a large degree contributed to the spreading of the disease, since the expelled [Armenians] in hundred thousands have died from hunger and deprivation along the roads."

\* Anckarsvärd, January 5, 1917: "The situation would have been different if Turkey had followed the advice of the Central Powers in letting them organize the question of provisioning etc...Even worse than this is, however, the extermination of Armenians, which, perhaps, could have been prevented if German advisers had in time received authority over the civilian administration as the German officers actually practise over army and navy."

\* Envoy Ahlgren, August 20, 1917: "The high prices continue to climb... There are several reasons: ...and finally the strong decreasing of labor power, caused partly by the mobilization but partly also by the extermination of the Armenian race."

In his memoirs "Memories from Peace and War" (1942), Wirsén dedicated an entire chapter to the genocide. In "The Murder of a Nation", Wirsén writes that:

"Officially, these [the deportations] had the goal to move the entire Armenian population to the steppe regions of Northern Mesopotamia and Syria, but in reality they aimed to exterminate the Armenians, whereby the pure Turkish element in Asia Minor would achieve a dominating position.... The annihilation of the Armenian nation in Asia Minor must upset all human feelings. The way in which the Armenian issue was solved was hair-raising."

In addition, there are numerous eyewitness accounts which missionaries and field workers such as Alma Johansson, Maria Anholm, Lars Erik Högberg, E. John Larson, Olga Moberg, Per Pehrsson and others published. Hjalmar Branting was the very first person, who long before Lemkin, used the term genocide ("folk-mord") when he, on March 26, 1917, called the persecutions against the Armenians as "an organized and systematic genocide, worse than what we ever have seen in Europe."

Recognition of the 1915 genocide is not only important in order to redress the affected ethnic groups and minorities which still live in Turkey, but also for the promotion of Turkey's development. Turkey cannot become a better democracy if the truth about its past is denied.

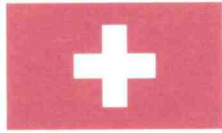
The Armenian journalist Hrant Dink was murdered for having openly expressed himself regarding the genocide and several others have been prosecuted by the same infamous Paragraph 301. The latest changes of the law by the Turkish Government are purely cosmetic and do not imply any changes what so ever. It is said that history should be left to historians and we completely support that. However, it is the responsibility of the politicians to act in accordance to historic facts and historic research.

Furthermore, a Swedish recognition of the truth and a historic fact should not imply any hinder for either the reform work in Turkey or Turkey's EU negotiations. With basis in what we have stated above, we consider that Sweden should recognize the 1915 genocide against Armenians, Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans, and Pontic Greeks. This should the Parliament present as its consideration to the Government.

Furthermore, we do consider that Sweden should act internationally, within the framework for EU and UN, for an international recognition of the 1915 genocide against Armenians, Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans, and Pontic Greeks. This should the Parliament present as its consideration to the Government.

As long as countries such as Sweden do not confront Turkey with the truth and the facts which are at hand, Turkey cannot go further on its path to a more open society, a better democracy and fully open up its possibilities for a membership in EU. Thus, Sweden should act for Turkey to recognize the 1915 genocide against Armenians, Assyrians/Syrians/Chaldeans, and Pontic Greeks. This should the Parliament present as its consideration to the Government.

Stockholm  
October 2, 2008



## SWITZERLAND National Council

December 16, 2003

02.3069 - Postulate

### Recognition of the Armenian genocide of 1915

The National Council recognizes the genocide of the Armenians in 1915. It requests from the Federal Council to register it and transmit its position through the usual diplomatic channels.

#### Explanation

1. The extermination of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War has annihilated more than a million people who were deported and massacred at the order of the Ottoman rulers. These facts, incontestable in their significance and magnitude, have served as a reference for Raphael Lemkin, the lawyer who coined the notion of genocide. The norms established by the United Nations in the 1948 Convention correspond precisely to the process of destruction endured by the Armenians.
2. By the recognition of the genocide of the Armenians, Switzerland will do justice to the victims, the survivors as well as their descendants, and will contribute to the prevention of other crimes against humanity. This is a decisive gesture by which Switzerland will show its commitment to human rights, respect for minorities, and international criminal law. In addition, it evokes the imprescriptible nature of crimes against humanity, and thus contributing to the struggle against negationism.
3. The Armenian Genocide has been recognized by the United Nations in 1985 through the adoption of the report of one of its expert committees, the Sub Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and then by the European Parliament in a resolution in 1987. In the last few years, the parliaments of France, Sweden and Italy have done the same, as well as numerous parliaments in Europe and elsewhere. The Canton of Geneva has done it twice: through the Grand Council in 1998 and through the State Council, last December. Finally, we can mention the position of the World Council of Churches through the adoption of a declaration in 1983.
4. On March 13, 2001, the National Council, after a unanimous decision of the Commissions of Foreign Policy of the two Chambers, transmitted to the Federal Council the petition of the Association of the Opponents to Genocide (Frankfurt-Am-Main) "so that they register it" and invited them to "address the question of the Armenian Genocide in the context of the political dialogue between Switzerland and Turkey." It is therefore natural for the National Council to ratify this position through a solemn declaration.
5. The National Council wishes through the adoption of this Postulate to contribute to the establishment of a lasting peace between Turks and Armenians, a peace that can only be established by a common vision, and which conforms to the historical truth.

Translated from French.



## UNITED STATES House of Representatives

September 10, 1984

98th Congress  
2nd Session

### House Joint Resolution 247

To designate April 24, 1985, as

#### "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man"

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That April 24, 1985, is hereby designated as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man", and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, especially the one and one-half million people of Armenian ancestry who were the victims of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923, and in whose memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians and their friends throughout the world.

*Passed by the House of Representatives on September 10, 1984.*

On April 8, 1975, the House of Representatives passed House Resolution 148, commemorating the Armenian Genocide.

On June 5, 1996, the House of Representatives adopted an amendment to the Fiscal Year 1997 Foreign Operations Appropriation Act to reduce aid to Turkey by \$3 million (the estimated amount of Turkey's payment for lobbying fees in the U.S.) until the Turkish government acknowledged the Armenian genocide and took steps to honor the memory of its victims.

On July 15, 2004, the House of Representatives adopted an amendment to the Fiscal Year 2005 Foreign Operations Appropriation Act to prohibit the Government of Turkey from using U.S. foreign aid to lobby against Congressional legislation on the Armenian Genocide.



# UNITED STATES Senate

May 11, 1920

66th Congress  
2nd Session

## Senate Resolution 359

Whereas the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered; and

Whereas the people of the United States are deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions of insecurity, starvation, and misery now prevalent in Armenia; and

Whereas the independence of the Republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the supreme council of the peace conference and by the Government of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, That a sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are hereby extended to the people of Armenia on the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that stable government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be it further

Resolved, That in order to afford necessary protection for the lives and property of citizens of the United States at the port of Batum and along the line of the railroad leading to Baku, the President is hereby requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to cause a United States warship and a force of marines to be dispatched to such port with instructions to such marines to disembark and to protect American lives and property.

*May 11, 1920 -- Considered and agreed to.*



# UNITED STATES Statement Submitted to World Court

May 28, 1951

## The Genocide Convention

The Genocide Convention resulted from the inhuman and barbarous practices which prevailed in certain countries prior to and during World War II, when entire religious, racial and national minority groups were threatened with and subjected to deliberate extermination. The practice of genocide has occurred throughout human history. The Roman persecution of the Christians, the Turkish massacres of Armenians, the extermination of millions of Jews and Poles by the Nazis are outstanding examples of the crime of genocide. This was the background when the General Assembly of the United Nations considered the problem of genocide. Not once, but twice, that body declared unanimously that the practice of genocide is criminal under international law and that States ought to take steps to prevent and punish genocide.

In 1946 the First General Assembly declared by Resolution 96 (I) that genocide was a crime under international law and entrusted to the Economic and Social Council the task of drafting a convention on the subject. An Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide was constituted by the Economic and Social Council for this purpose.

A Convention drawn up by that Committee and amended by the General Assembly was unanimously approved by the General Assembly in Paris on December 9, 1948.

This is an excerpt from a U.S. Government statement included in a volume published by the International Court of Justice (World Court), dated May 28, 1951. It is a compilation of the "Reservations to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," submitted to the ICJ by various governments, including the United States. Pages 24-25.





**URUGUAY**  
Senate and House of Representatives

April 20, 1965

Law No. 13.326

Day of Remembrance for the Armenian Martyrs

Legislative Power.

The Senate and House of Representatives of Uruguay meeting in the General Assembly,

Decree

**Article 1**

Declares the following 24th of April "Day of Remembrance for the Armenian Martyrs," in honor of the members of that nationality slain in 1915.

**Article 2**

The stations of the Official Radio Service must on that date conduct part of their broadcast in honor of the mentioned nation.

**Article 3**

Armenian descendants who are public servants are authorized to miss work on the mentioned date.

**Article 4**

Designate with the name of "Armenia," the 2nd Grade School, No. 156, in the Department of Montevideo.

**Article 5**

Communicate, etc.

Senate chambers, in Montevideo, the 20th of April, 1965.

Translated from Spanish.  
Uruguay adopted two other Resolutions on the Armenian Genocide on November 10, 1970 and August 9, 1972.



**URUGUAY**  
Law

March 26, 2004

**Day of Recognition for the Armenian Martyrs**

Bill Number 17.752

**Article 1**

The day of April 24 is declared as the "Day of Recognition for the Armenian Martyrs" in homage to the victims of this national massacre in 1915.

**Article 2**

The National Broadcasting Service of Uruguay (SODRE), and also other radio and television services, have the duty on this date to allocate part of their programming to the recognition of this event.

*The President of the Republic of Uruguay and  
the Secretary of the Press and Broadcasting.*

Translated from Spanish.



## VATICAN Joint Declaration

September 27, 2001

### Joint Declaration by His Holiness John Paul II and His Holiness Catholicos Karekin II

...The extermination of a million and a half Armenian Christians, in what is generally referred to as the first genocide of the twentieth century, and the subsequent annihilation of thousands under the former totalitarian regime are tragedies that still live in the memory of the present-day generation....



## VENEZUELA National Assembly

July 14, 2005

### Resolution

The National Assembly of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela

President: Nicolas Maduro Moros

Resolution: Agreement by means of which this Assembly expresses to the Armenian people, its government, and the strong and growing Armenian-Venezuelan community the endorsement of their just and delayed humanitarian vindication.

Official Gazette: No. 38.230 of 7/18/2005

Whereas, The first scientifically planned, organized and executed genocide in the history of humanity took place 90 years ago, perpetrated by the regime of the "Young Turks" and their ideology of "Pan Turkism", against the Armenian People, involving the extermination of almost two million people;  
Whereas, Crimes of this nature must be denounced in order to prevent them from happening again, in order to restore to the victims their human and national rights and to condemn the perpetrators;

Whereas, This genocide merits repudiation by the Turkish people and all people of the world;

Whereas, The people and the State of Venezuela have continuously condemned terrorism and racial, ethnical, religious and political discrimination;

Whereas, The people and the State of Venezuela permanently struggle against all types of terrorism, including State Terrorism;

Whereas, Due to political causes and interests, there is an ongoing attempt to change history through the negation of this genocide;

### The National Assembly Resolves

First: Express to the Armenian people, their government and the strong Armenian-Venezuelan Community, the support of their valid and delayed

The Armenian Genocide is also mentioned in an earlier Joint Communiqué issued by His Holiness John Paul II and His Holiness Catholicos Karekin II, on Nov. 9, 2000.

humanitarian aspirations of justice.

Second: Request from the European Union to postpone Turkey's membership bid, until the recognition by Turkey of the Armenian Genocide.

Third: Designate a committee of the National Assembly to deliver this resolution to the Armenian Parliament and Armenian religious authorities.

Fourth: Form a Venezuela-Armenia Parliamentary Friendship Group.

Fifth: To publicize this resolution.

Given, signed, and sealed, in the Federal Legislative Palace, headquarters of the National Assembly, in Caracas, on the 14th day of the month of July of 2005.

195th year of Independence and 146th year of Federation.

Nicolas Maduro Moros, President  
Ricardo Gutierrez, First Vice President  
Pedro Carreno, Second Vice President  
Ivan Zerpa Guerrero, Secretary  
Jose Gregorio Viana, Undersecretary

## SECTION III

### STATEMENTS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SCHOLARS

- **European Parliament**
- **Joint Declaration by France, Great Britain and Russia**
- **Statement on the Armenian Genocide by 150 Scholars and Writers**
- **Statement on the Armenian Genocide by 126 Holocaust Scholars**
- **United Nations War Crimes Commission Report**
- **UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities**
- **UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide**
- **World Council of Churches (Central Committee)**



June 18, 1987

## Resolution on a political solution to the Armenian question

Doc. A2-33/87

The European Parliament,

Convinced that recognition of the identity of the Armenian people in Turkey as an ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious minority follows on from recognition of its own history,

Whereas the Armenian side regards these events as planned genocide within the meaning of the 1948 UN Convention.

Whereas the Turkish State rejects the charge of genocide as unfounded,

Whereas, to date, the Turkish Government, by refusing to recognize the genocide of 1915, continues to deprive the Armenian people of the right to their own history,

Whereas the historically proven Armenian genocide has so far neither been the object of political condemnation nor received due compensation,

Whereas the recognition of the Armenian genocide by Turkey must therefore be viewed as a profoundly humane act of moral rehabilitation towards the Armenians, which can only bring honor to the Turkish Government;

Profoundly regretting and condemning the mindless terrorism by groups of Armenians who were responsible between 1973 and 1986 of several attacks causing death or injury to innocent victims and deplored by an overwhelming majority of the Armenian people,

Whereas the obdurate stance of every Turkish Government towards the Armenian question has in no way helped to reduce the tension,

1. Believes that the Armenian question and the question of minorities in Turkey must be resituated within the framework of relations between Turkey and the Community; points out that democracy cannot be solidly implanted in a country unless the latter recognizes and enriches its history with its ethnic and cultural diversity;

2. Believes that the tragic events in 1915-1917 involving the Armenians living in the territory of the Ottoman Empire constitute genocide within the meaning of the convention on the prevention and the punishment of the crime of genocide adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1948; Recognizes, however, that the present Turkey cannot be held responsible for the tragedy experienced by the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and stresses that neither political nor legal or material claims against present-day Turkey can be derived from the recognition of this historical event as an act of genocide;
3. Calls on the Council to obtain from the present Turkish Government as acknowledgment of the genocide perpetrated against the Armenians in 1915-1917 and promote the establishment of a political dialogue between Turkey and the representatives of the Armenians;
4. Believes that the refusal by the present Turkish Government to acknowledge the genocide against the Armenian people committed by the Young Turk government, its reluctance to apply the principles of international law to its differences of opinion with Greece, the maintenance of Turkish occupation forces in Cyprus and the denial of existence of the Kurdish question, together with the lack of true parliamentary democracy and the failure to respect individual and collective freedoms, in particular freedom of religion, in that country are insurmountable obstacles to consideration of the possibility of Turkey's accession to the Community;
5. Conscious of those past misfortunes, supports its desire for the development of a specific identity, the securing of its minority rights and the unrestricted exercise of its people's human and civil rights as defined in the European Convention of Human Rights and its five protocols;
6. Calls for fair treatment of the Armenian minority in Turkey as regards their identity, language, religion, culture and school system, and makes an emphatic plea for improvements in the care of monuments and for the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey and invites the Community to examine how it could make an appropriate contribution;
7. Calls on Turkey in this connection to abide faithfully by the provisions for the protection of the non-Muslim minorities as stipulated in Articles 37 to 45 of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne which, moreover, was signed by most Member States of the Community;

8. Considers that the protection of monuments and the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey must be regarded as part of a wider policy designed to preserve the cultural heritage of all civilizations which have developed over the centuries on present-day Turkish territory and, in particular, that of the Christian minorities that formed part of the Ottoman Empire;
9. Calls therefore on the Community to extend the Association Agreement with Turkey to the cultural field so that the remains of Christian or other civilizations such as the ancient classical, Hittite, Ottoman, etc., in that country are preserved and made generally accessible;
10. Expresses its concern at the difficulties currently being experienced by the Armenian community in Iran with respect to the Armenian language and their own education in accordance with the rules of their own religion;
11. Condemns the violations of individual freedoms committed in the Soviet Union against the Armenian population;
12. Condemns strongly any violence and any form of terrorism carried out by isolated groupings unrepresentative of the Armenian people, and calls for reconciliation between Armenians and Turks;
13. Calls on the Community Member States to dedicate a day to the memory of the genocide and crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century, specifically against the Armenians and Jews;
14. Commits itself to making a substantial contribution to initiatives to encourage negotiations between the Armenian and Turkish peoples;
15. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the European Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the EEC/Turkey Association Council and the Turkish, Iranian and Soviet Governments and the UN Secretary General.

Resolution discussed and approved by the European Parliament on June 18, 1987.

# JOINT DECLARATION BY FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, RUSSIA

May 29, 1915

## Telegram

American Embassy  
Constantinople

French Foreign Office requests following notice be given Turkish Government.

For about a month, the Kurd and Turkish population of Armenia has been massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assistance of Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place in middle April at Erzerum, Dertchun, Eguine, Akn, Bitlis, Mush, Sassoun, Zeitun, and through Cilicia. Inhabitants of about one hundred villages near Van were all murdered. In that city Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds. At the same time, in Constantinople, government ill-treats inoffensive Armenian population.

In view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied governments announce publicly to the Sublime-Porte that they will hold personally responsible [for] these crimes all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.

# STATEMENT ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE BY 150 SCHOLARS AND WRITERS

April 24, 1998

We Commemorate  
The Armenian Genocide of 1915  
and  
Condemn the Turkish Government's  
Denial of this Crime Against Humanity

On April 24, 1915, the Young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire began a systematic, premeditated genocide of the Armenian people - an unarmed Christian minority living under Turkish rule. **More than a million Armenians were exterminated** through direct killing, starvation, torture, and forced death marches. Another million fled into permanent exile. Thus an ancient civilization was expunged from its homeland of 2,500 years.

The Armenian Genocide was the most dramatic human rights issue of the time and was reported regularly in newspapers across the U.S. **The Armenian Genocide is abundantly documented** by Ottoman court-martial records, by hundreds of thousands of documents in the archives of the United States and nations around the world, by eyewitness reports of missionaries and diplomats, by the testimony of survivors, and by eight decades of historical scholarship.

After 83 years the **Turkish government continues to deny the genocide** of the Armenians by blaming the victims and undermining historical fact with false rhetoric. Books about the genocide are banned in Turkey. The words "Armenian" and "Greek" are nonexistent in Turkish descriptions of ancient or Christian artifacts and monuments in Turkey. Turkey's efforts to sanitize its history now include the funding of chairs in Turkish studies - with strings attached - at American universities.

It is essential to remember that...

- **When Raphael Lemkin coined the word *genocide*** in 1944 he cited the 1915 annihilation of the Armenians as a seminal example of genocide.
- The European Parliament, the Association of Genocide Scholars, the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem), and the Institute for the Study of Genocide (NYC) have **reaffirmed the extermination of the Armenians by the Turkish government as *genocide*** by the definition of the 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention.

**Denial of genocide strives to reshape history in order to demonize the victims and rehabilitate the perpetrators.** Denial of genocide is the final stage of genocide. **It is what Ellie Weisel has called a "double killing."** Denial murders the dignity of the survivors and seeks to destroy remembrance of the crime. In a century plagued by genocide, **we affirm the moral necessity of remembering.**

**We denounce as morally and intellectually corrupt** the Turkish government's denial of the Armenian genocide. **We condemn Turkey's manipulation** of the American government and American institutions for the purpose of denying the Armenian genocide. **We urge our government officials, scholars, and the media** to refrain from using evasive or euphemistic terminology to appease the Turkish government; we ask them to **refer to the 1915 annihilation of the Armenians as genocide.**

This statement has been signed by more than 150 distinguished scholars and writers, including:

**K. Anthony Appiah**  
Professor of Afro-American Studies & Philosophy, Harvard University

**Michael Arlen**  
Writer

**James Axtell**  
Professor History, College of William & Mary

**Ben Bagdikian**  
Former Dean of the Graduate School of Journalism, University of California at Berkeley

**Houston Baker**  
Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania

**Peter Balakian**  
Writer; Professor of English, Colgate University

**Mary Catherine Bateson**  
Clarence J. Robinson Professor in English & Anthropology, George Mason University

**Yehuda Bauer**  
Professor of Holocaust Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

**Robert N. Bellah**  
Elliott Professor of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley

**Norman Birnbaum**  
University Professor, Georgetown University

**Peter Brooks**  
Professor of Comparative Literature, Yale University

**Robert McAfee Brown**  
Professor of Theology and Ethics Emeritus, Pacific School of Religion

**Christopher Browning**  
Professor of History, Pacific Lutheran University

**Frank Chalk**  
Professor of History, Concordia University

**Israel W. Charny**  
Director, Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem

**Ward Churchill**  
Associate Professor of American Indian Studies, University of Colorado

**Rev. William Sloane Coffin**  
Pastor Emeritus, Riverside Church, N.Y.C.

**Vahakn Dadrian**  
Director, Genocide Study Project, H.F. Guggenheim Foundation

**David Brion Davis**  
Sterline Professor of History, Yale University

**James Der Derian**  
Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts

**Marjorie Housepian Dobkin**  
Writer

**Jean Bethke Elshtain**  
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Professor of Social and Political Ethics, University of Chicago Divinity School

**Kai Erikson**  
Professor of Sociology, Yale University

**Craig Etcheson**  
Acting Director, Cambodian Genocide Program, Yale University

**Helen Fein**  
Executive Director, Institute for the Study of Genocide, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

**Lawrence J. Friedman**  
Professor of History, Indiana University

**William Gass**  
David May Distinguished Professor of Humanities, Washington University

**Henry Louis Gates, Jr.**  
Professor of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University

**Carol Gilligan**  
Patricia Albjerg Graham Professor of Gender Studies, Harvard University

**Langdon Gilkey**  
Kennedy Distinguished Visiting Professor of Theology, Georgetown University

**Daniel Goldhagen**  
Associate Professor of Government & Social Studies, Harvard University

**Sandor Goodhart**  
Director of Jewish Studies, Purdue University

**Vigen Guroian**  
Professor of Theology and Ethics, Loyola College

**Geoffrey Hartman**  
Sterling Professor of Comparative Literature, Yale University

**Seamus Hearney**  
Harvard University; Nobel Laureate for Literature

**Judith Herman**  
Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School

**Raul Hilberg**  
Professor of Political Science Emeritus, University of Vermont

**Richard G. Hovannisian**  
Professor of Armenian and Near Eastern History, UCLA

**Kurt Jonahsson**  
Professor of Sociology, Concordia University

**Alfred Kazin**  
Writer, Distinguished Professor of English Emeritus, CUNY Graduate Center

**Steven Kepnes**  
Director of Jewish Studies, Professor of Religion, Colgate University

**Ben Kiernan**  
Professor of History, Yale University

**Robert Jay Lifton**  
Distinguished Professor of Psychiatry and Psychology, John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Graduate School of the City University of New York

**Deborah E. Lipstadt**  
Dorot Professor of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies, Emory University

**Norman Mailer**  
Writer

**Eric Markusen**  
Professor of Sociology, Southwest State University, Minnesota

**Robert Melson**  
Professor of Political Science, Purdue University

**Saul Mendlovitz**  
Dag Hammarskjold Professor of Law, Rutgers University

**W.S. Merwin**  
Writer

**Arthur Miller**  
Writer

**Henry Morgenthau III**  
Writer

**George L. Mosse**  
Professor Emeritus, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Hebrew University, Jerusalem

**Joyce Carol Oates**  
Writer

**Grace Paley**  
Writer

**Harold Pinter**  
Writer

**Robert A. Pois**  
Professor of History, University of Colorado

**Francis B. Randall**  
Professor of History, Sarah Lawrence College

**Nicholas V. Riasanovsky**  
Sidney Hellman Professor of European History, University of California, Berkeley

**Leo P. Ribuffo**  
Professor of History, George Washington University

**David Riesman**  
Henry Ford II Professor of Social Science, Harvard University

**Nathan A. Scott**  
William R. Kenan Professor of Religious Studies Emeritus, University of Virginia

**Christopher Simpson**  
Professor of Communications, American University

**Roger Smith**  
Professor of Government, College of William & Mary

**Susan Sontag**  
Writer

**Wloe Soyinka**  
Nobel Laureate, Woodruff Professor of the Arts, Emory University

**Max L. Stackhouse**  
Stephen Colwell Professor of Christian Ethics, Princeton Theological Seminary

**Charles B. Strozier**  
Professor of History, John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Graduate Center, City University of New York

**Rose Styron**  
Writer; former Chair Freedom to Write Committee, PEN American Center

**William Styron**  
Writer

**Ronald Suny**  
Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

**Raymond Tanter**  
Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan

**D.M. Thomas**  
Writer

**John Updike**  
Writer

**Kurt Vonnegut**  
Writer

**Derek Walcott**  
Professor of English, Boston University; Nobel Laureate for Literature

**Cornel West**  
Professor of Philosophy & Religion, and Afro-American Studies, Harvard University

**Howard Zinn**  
Professor Emeritus of History, Boston University

# STATEMENT ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

By 126 Holocaust Scholars, Holders of Academic Chairs,  
Directors of Holocaust Research and Studies Centers

March 7, 2000

## 126 HOLOCAUST SCHOLARS AFFIRM THE INCONTESTABLE FACT OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND URGE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES TO OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZE IT

At the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Scholars' Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches, convening at St. Joseph University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 3-7, 2000, one hundred twenty-six Holocaust Scholars, holders of Academic Chairs and Directors of Holocaust Research and Studies Centers, participants of the Conference, signed a statement affirming that the World War I Armenian Genocide is an incontestable historical fact and accordingly urge the governments of Western democracies to likewise recognize it as such. The petitioners, among whom is Nobel Laureate for Peace Elie Wiesel, who was the keynote speaker at the conference, also asked the Western Democracies to urge the Government and Parliament of Turkey to finally come to terms with a dark chapter of Ottoman-Turkish history and to recognize the Armenian Genocide. This would provide an invaluable impetus to the process of the democratization of Turkey.

Below is a partial list of the signatories:

**Prof. Yehuda Bauer**  
Distinguished Professor  
Hebrew University  
Director, The International Institute of  
Holocaust Research  
Yad Vashem, Jerusalem

**Prof. Israel Charny, Director**  
Institute of the Holocaust and Genocide,  
Jerusalem  
Professor at the Hebrew University,  
Editor-in-Chief of The Encyclopedia of  
Genocide

**Prof. Ward Churchill**  
Ethnic Studies  
The University of Colorado, Boulder

**Prof. Stephen Feinstein, Director**  
Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies  
University of Minnesota

**Prof. Saul Friedman, Director**  
Holocaust and Jewish Studies  
Youngston State University, Ohio

**Prof. Edward Gaffney**  
Valparaiso University Law School

**Prof. Zev Garber**  
Los Angeles Valley College

**Prof. Dorota Glowacka**  
University of King's Collage  
Halifax, Nova Scotia

**Dr. Irving Greenberg, President**  
Jewish Life Network

**Prof. Herbert Hirsch**  
Virginia Commonwealth University

**Prof. Irving L. Horowitz**  
Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor  
Rutgers University, NJ

**Rabbi Dr. Steve Jacobs**  
Temple Sinai Shalom  
Huntsville, Alabama  
Associate Editor of The Encyclopedia of  
Genocide

**Prof. Steven Katz**  
Distinguish Professor  
Director, Center for Judaic Studies  
Boston University

**Prof. Richard Libowitz**  
Temple University

**Dr. Marcia Littell**  
Stockton College  
Exec. Director, Scholars' Conference  
On the Holocaust and the Churches

**Franklin Littell**  
Emeritus Professor  
Temple University

**Prof. Hubert G. Locke**  
Washington University  
Co-founder of the Annual Scholars' Conference  
on the Holocaust and the Churches

**Dr. Elizabeth Maxwell**  
Executive Director of the  
International Scholarly  
Conference on the Holocaust, London, England

**Prof. Erik Markusen**  
Southwest State University, MN

**Prof. Saul Mendlovitz**  
Dag Hammerskjold Distinguished Professor  
of International Law  
Rutgers University

**Prof. Jack Needle, Director**  
Center for Holocaust Studies  
Brookdale Community College  
Lincroft, NJ

**Dr. Philip Rosen, Director**  
Holocaust Education Center of the Delaware  
Valley

**Prof. Alan S. Rosenbaum**  
Dept. of Philosophy  
Cleveland State University

**William L. Shulman, President**  
Association of Holocaust Organizations City  
University of New York

**Prof. Samuel Totten**  
The University of Arkansas  
Assoc. Editor of The Encyclopedia of Genocide

**Prof. Elie Wiesel**  
Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities  
Boston University  
Founding Chairman of the United States  
Holocaust Memorial Council  
Nobel Laureate for Peace





# UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION REPORT

May 28, 1948

## United Nations Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights

Report Prepared by the United Nations War Crimes Commission  
In Accordance with the Request Received from the United Nations  
Restricted - E/CN.4/W.20/corr. 1 -- 28 May 1948

Information Concerning Human Rights Arising from Trials of War Criminals

[Item I. omitted]

### II. Developments during the First World War

#### 1. The Massacres of the Armenians in Turkey

In connection with the massacres of the Armenian population which occurred at the beginning of the First World War in Turkey, the Governments of France, Great Britain and Russia made a declaration, on 28 May 1915, denouncing them as "crimes against humanity and civilization" for which all the members of the Turkish Government would be held responsible, together with its agents implicated in the massacres. The relevant part of this declaration reads as follows:

*"En présence de ces nouveaux crimes de la Turquie contre l'humanité et la civilisation, les Gouvernements alliés font savoir publiquement à la Sublime Porte qu'ils tiendront personnellement responsables des dits crimes tous les membres du Gouvernement ottoman ainsi que ceux de ces agents qui se trouveraient impliqués dans de pareils massacres."*

As will be shown later in more detail, the warning given to the Turkish Government on this occasion by the Governments of the Triple Entente dealt precisely with one of the types of acts which the modern term "crimes against humanity" is intended to cover, namely, inhumane acts committed by a government against its own subjects.

...The first peace treaty with Turkey, namely, the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on 10 August 1920, contained in addition to the provisions dealing with violations of the laws and customs of war [Articles 226-228 corresponding to Articles 228-230 of the Treaty of Versailles] a further provision, Article 230, by which the Turkish Government undertook to hand over to the Allied Powers the persons responsible for the massacres committed during the war on Turkish territory. The relevant parts of

this article read as follows:

"The Turkish Government undertakes to hand over to the Allied Powers the persons whose surrender may be required by the latter as being responsible for the massacres committed during the continuance of the state of war on territory which formed part of the Turkish Empire on the 1st August, 1914."

"The Allied Powers reserve to themselves the right to designate the Tribunal which shall try the persons so accused, and the Turkish Government undertakes to recognize such Tribunal."

"In the event of the League of Nations having created in sufficient time a Tribunal competent to deal with the said massacres, the Allied Powers reserve to themselves the right to bring the accused persons mentioned above before such Tribunal, and the Turkish Government undertakes equally to recognize such Tribunal."

The provisions of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres were obviously intended to cover, in conformity with the Allied note of 1915 referred to in the preceding section, offenses which had been committed on Turkish territory against persons of Turkish citizenship, though of Armenian or Greek race. This article constitutes therefore a precedent for Articles 6c and 5c of the Nuremberg and Tokyo Charters, and offers an example of one of the categories of "crimes against humanity" as understood by these enactments.

The Treaty of Sèvres was, however, not ratified and did not come into force. It was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24 July 1923, which did not contain provisions respecting the punishment of war crimes, but was accompanied by a "Declaration of Amnesty" for all offenses committed between 1 August 1914, and 20 November 1922.



**UNITED NATIONS SUB-COMMISSION  
ON PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION  
AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES**

July 2, 1985

*(Report adopted on August 29, 1985)*

**United Nations Economic and Social Council  
Commission on Human Rights  
Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination  
and Protection of Minorities**

Thirty-eighth session

Item 4 of the provisional agenda

E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/6 - 2 July 1985

**REVIEW OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN FIELDS WITH WHICH  
THE SUB-COMMISSION HAS BEEN CONCERNED**

*Revised and updated report on the question of the prevention and  
punishment of the crime of genocide  
Prepared by Mr. B. Whitaker*

**Paragraph 24**

24. Toynbee stated that the distinguishing characteristics of the twentieth century in evolving the development of genocide "are that it is committed in cold blood by the deliberate fiat of holders of despotic political power, and that the perpetrators of genocide employ all the resources of present-day technology and organization to make their planned massacres systematic and complete"<sup>11</sup>. The Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been the only case of genocide in the twentieth century. Among other examples which can be cited as qualifying are the German massacre of Hereros in 1904,<sup>12</sup> the Ottoman massacre of Armenians in 1915-1916,<sup>13</sup> the Ukrainian pogrom of Jews in 1919,<sup>14</sup> the Tutsi massacre of Hutu in Burundi in 1965 and 1972,<sup>15</sup> the Paraguayan massacre of Ache Indians prior to 1974,<sup>16</sup> the Khmer Rouge massacre in Kampuchea between 1975 and 1978,<sup>17</sup> and the contemporary Iranian killings of Baha'is.<sup>18</sup> Apartheid is considered separately in paragraphs 43-46 below. A number of other cases may be suggested. It could seem pedantic to argue that some terrible mass-killings are legalistically not genocide, but on the other hand it could be counter-productive to devalue genocide through over-diluting its definition.

**Paragraph 73**

73. In place of the law of the jungle of "vae victis" ("woe to the conquered") Hugo Grotius laid the foundation for international law during the terrible Thirty Years War in the Seventeenth Century with his work *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (Concerning the Laws of War and Peace). Following the founding of the Red Cross two centuries later, a series of Geneva and Hague Conventions were ratified seeking to establish international norms of conduct even in warfare. There were however no agreed sanctions or procedure to deal with war criminals. After the First World War, the defeated Germans themselves held some war crime trials in Leipzig in 1922, but these were unsuccessfully organized and 888 people out of the 901 charged in them were acquitted. The Turks also in 1919-20 held trials: not of 'war criminals' but of some of the Ottomans guilty of the Armenian genocide. When in the Second World War awareness of the extraordinary scale of the Nazi crimes became widespread, a European advisory Commission on War Crimes was set up to consider, as it was told by the French "an enemy who has sought to annihilate whole nations, who has elevated murder to a political system, so that we no longer have the duty of punishing merely those who commit but also those who plan the crime".<sup>56</sup> As early as January 1942 the representatives of nine occupied countries conferred in London and issued the St. James's Declaration that "international solidarity is necessary to avoid the repression of these acts of violence simply by acts of vengeance on the part of the general public and in order to satisfy the sense of justice of the civilized world".<sup>57</sup>

The Declaration announced that punishment for war crimes, whoever committed them, was now a principal war aim of the governments at the conference. It also made clear the intention to bring to justice not only those who themselves physically perpetrated such crimes, but those leaders who ordered them. The St. James's Declaration was approved by Britain, the United States and the USSR, and significantly, expressed disgust not only at atrocity but at the idea of more vengeance: it implied a desire for some form of judicial proceeding to determine guilt and satisfy a sense of justice. The St. James's conference was followed by one practical step: the United Nations War Crimes Commission was set up in London in 1943 to collect and collate information on war crimes and criminals.<sup>58</sup>

At the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers in November 1943, Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union had issued a joint declaration condemning Nazi atrocities in occupied Europe. This stated that 'at the time of the granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or who have taken part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions, will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of those liberated countries and of the Free Governments which will be erected therein.'

<sup>11</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *Experiences* (London, Oxford University Press, 1969).

<sup>12</sup> General von Trogha issued an extermination order; water-holes were poisoned and the African peace emissaries were shot. In all, three quarters of the Herero Africans were killed by the Germans then colonizing present-day Namibia, and the Hereros were reduced from 80,000 to some 15,000 starving refugees. See P. Fraenk, *The Namibians* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1985).

<sup>13</sup> At least 1 million, and possibly well over half of the Armenian population, are reliably estimated to have been killed or death marched by independent authorities and eye-witnesses. This is corroborated by reports in United States, German and British archives and of contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, including those of its ally Germany. The German Ambassador, Wangenheim, for example, on 7 July 1915 wrote, "the government is indeed pursuing its goal of exterminating the Armenian race in the Ottoman Empire" (Wilhelmstrasse archives). Though the successor Turkish Government helped to institute trials of a few of those responsible for the massacres at which they were found guilty, the present official Turkish contention is that genocide did not take place although there were many casualties and dispersals in the fighting, and that all the evidence to the contrary is forged. See, inter alia, Viscount Bryce and A. Toynbee, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire 1915-16* (London, HMSO, 1916); G. Chaliand and Y. Ternon, *Genocide des Armeniens* (Brussels, Complexe, 1980); H. Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York, Doubleday, 1918); J. Lepsius, *Deutschland und Armenien* (Potsdam, 1921: shortly to be published in French by Fayard, Paris); R.G. Hovanissian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence* (Berkeley, University of California, 1967); *Permanent People's Tribunal, A Crime of Silence* (London, Zed Press, 1985); K. Gurun, *Le Dossier Armenien* (Ankara, Turkish Historical Society, 1983); B. Simsir and others, *Armenians in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, Bogazici University Press, 1984); T. Ataov, *A Brief Glance at the "Armenian Question"* (Ankara, University Press, 1984); V. Goekjian, *The Turks before the Court of History* (New Jersey, Rosekeer Press, 1984); Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, *Armenia, the Continuing Tragedy* (Geneva, World Council of Churches, 1984); Foreign Policy Institute, *The Armenian Issue* (Ankara, F.P.I., 1982).

<sup>14</sup> Between 100,000 - 250,000 Jews were killed in 2,000 pogroms by Whites, Cossacks and Ukrainian nationalists. See Z. Katz ed., *Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities* (New York, Free Press, 1975), p.362; A. Sachar, *A History of the Jews* (New York, Knopf, 1967).

<sup>15</sup> The Tutsi minority government first liquidated the Hutu leadership in 1965, and then slaughtered between 100,000 and 300,000 Hutu in 1972. See Rene Lemarchand, *Selective Genocide in Burundi* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1974) and Leo Kuper, *The Pity of it All* (London, Duckworth, 1977).

<sup>16</sup> In 1974 the International League for the Rights of Man together with the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, charging the Government of Paraguay with complicity in genocide against the Ache (Guayaki Indians), alleged that the latter had been enslaved, tortured and massacred; that food and medicine had been denied them; and their children removed and sold. See Norman Lewis and others in Richard Arens ed., *Genocide in Paraguay* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1976); and R. Arens "The Ache of Paraguay" in J. Porter, *Genocide and Human Rights* (op.cit.).

<sup>17</sup> It is estimated that at least 2 million people were killed by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge government of Democratic Kampuchea, out of a total population of 7 million. Even under the most restricted definition, this constituted genocide, since the victims included target groups such as the Chams (an Islamic minority) and the Buddhist monks. See *Izvestia*, 2 November 1978; F. Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero* (London, Penguin Books, 1978); W. Shawcross, *Sideshow; Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1979); V. Can and others, *Kampuchea Dossier: The Dark Years* (Hanoi, Viet Nam Courier, 1979); D. Hawk, *The Cambodia Documentation Commission* (New York, Columbia University, 1983); L. Kuper, *International Action against Genocide* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1984).

<sup>18</sup> See evidence presented to United Nations Human Rights Commission and Sub-Commission, 1981-1984, and R. Cooper, *The Baha'is of Iran* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1985).

<sup>56</sup> United Kingdom Lord Chancellor's Office, LCO 2.2978. See A. and J. Tusa, op.cit.

<sup>57</sup> Telford Taylor, *International Conciliation*, No. 450 (April 1949).

<sup>58</sup> It was made up of representatives of 17 nations - but had no Russian member. Stalin would only join if every Soviet Republic were given separate representation. This was refused.



# UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE

December 9, 1948

## UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948.

The Contracting Parties,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world;

Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required;

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided.

### Article 1

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

### Article 2

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

### Article 3

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

### Article 4

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

### Article 5

The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

### Article 6

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

### Article 7

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition. The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

### Article 8

Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

### Article 9

Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the

responsibility of a State for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

### Article 10

The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

### Article 11

The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid. Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

### Article 12

Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

### Article 13

On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a proces-verbal and transmit a copy of it to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in Article 11. The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession. Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

### Article 14

The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force. It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period. Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

### Article 15

If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

### Article 16

A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

### Article 17

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in Article 11 of the following:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Article 11;
- (b) Notifications received in accordance with Article 12;
- (c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with Article 13;
- (d) Denunciations received in accordance with Article 14;
- (e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with Article 15;
- (f) Notifications received in accordance with Article 16.

### Article 18

The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations. A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

### Article 19

The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.



## WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (CENTRAL COMMITTEE)

February 21, 2005

Sunday, April 24, 2005 will be the 90 years Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, the tragic massacre of one-and-a-half million Armenians in Turkey and the deportation of another million from their homeland.

The World Council of Churches has addressed the need for public recognition of the Armenian Genocide and the necessity of Turkey to deal with this dark part of its history. The importance of Turkey evaluating its history has recently also been addressed by the Conference of European Churches relating to Turkey's relation to the European Union.

From the Christian perspective, the path towards justice and reconciliation requires the recognition of the crime committed as a sine qua non condition for the healing of memories and the possibility of forgiveness. Forgiveness does not mean forgetting but to look back with the intention to restore justice, the respect for Human Rights and relationships between perpetrators and victims.

The Public Issues Committee recommends the General Secretary and the staff to propose to all member churches to make Sunday, April 24, a day of memory of the Armenian Genocide and to consider further appropriate actions related to the 90 years Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide.

\* \* \*

In a separate statement on the International Criminal Court, the Central Committee said:

Human history is filled with examples of horrendous cruelties, aggressions and inhumanities. In just the 20th Century, there are four recognized genocides -- 90 years ago the Armenian genocide; 60 years ago the Holocaust; nearly 30 years ago the Khmer Rouge; and the most recent genocide in Rwanda, a little more than 10 years ago. There were very different ways of addressing these horrific crimes: there was almost no consequence for the Armenian genocide; the victors' justice in the Nuremberg trial for the Nazi war criminals; a failed local response with UN support to the Khmer Rouge; and the ad-hoc International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

Geneva, Switzerland

The Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches adopted a statement on the Armenian Genocide during its meeting in Vancouver, Canada, July 24-August 10, 1983.

## SECTION IV

### TREATIES, TRIBUNALS AND VERDICTS

- **Permanent Peoples' Tribunal**
- **Treaty of Sèvres**
- **Turkish Military Tribunal's Indictment of the Perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide**
- **Turkish Military Tribunal's Verdict**

# PERMANENT PEOPLES' TRIBUNAL

Session on the Armenian Genocide

Paris, France

April 13-16, 1984

The Permanent Peoples' Tribunal was called upon the request of the following organizations to devote a session to the case of the genocide of the Armenians:

- MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP (Paris, France)
- CULTURAL SURVIVAL (Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.)
- GESELLSCHAFT FUR BEDROHTE VOLKER (Gottingen, West Germany) which ask that the following questions be answered:

- 1) Is it established that the Armenian people were the victim of deportations, massacres, etc., in the Ottoman Empire?
- 2) Do these facts constitute a "genocide" in the sense of the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) and, consequently, do they fall under the 1968 Convention on the Non-Applicability of the Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity?
- 3) What are the consequences of this both for the international community and for the concerned parties?

The President of the Tribunal declared this request to be admissible in accordance with Article 11 of the statutes, and the Turkish government was informed, in application of the provision of Articles 14 and 15. The Turkish government was invited to send representatives or written documents to make its position known.

Since the Turkish government did not reply to this invitation, the Tribunal decided to insert into the record the two documents cited below, which contain the arguments of the Turkish party in support of its denial of the genocide of the Armenians.

The Tribunal held public hearings on April 13-14, 1984, at the Sorbonne in Paris, and the jury deliberated the matter on April 15, 1984.

At the conclusion of this discussion, the Tribunal pronounced the following verdict:

- Considering the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948;
- Considering the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of December 9, 1948;
- Considering the Nuremberg principles formulated by the International Law Commission and adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1951;

- Considering the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity, of November 26, 1968;
- Considering the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Peoples (Algiers, July 4, 1976);
- Considering the Statutes of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (Bologna, June 24, 1979);

## Having heard reports from:

- **Richard G. HOVANISSIAN**, Professor at the University of California at Los Angeles (U.S.A.), on the Armenian question from 1878 to 1923;
- **Gerard J. LIBARIDIAN**, historian and Director of the Zoryan Institute for Contemporary Research and Documentation (Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.), on the intent to commit genocide and the ideology of the "Young Turk" movement;
- **Christopher WALKER**, historian and author, on British sources concerning the Armenian genocide;
- **Dr. Tessa HOFFMAN**, Freie Universitat, West Berlin, on the Austrian and German sources concerning the Armenian genocide;
- **Yves TERNON**, historian and author, on the Armenian genocide in the Ottoman Empire in 1915-1916;
- **Joe VERHOEVEN**, Professor at the Catholic University in Louvain, on the Armenian people and international law;
- **Dickran KOUYMJIAN**, Professor at California State University, Fresno, on the destruction of Armenian historical monuments;

## Having heard testimony from:

- **Mr. Pappgen INDJIRABIAN** (France)
- **Mrs. Haigouhi BOYAJIAN** (United States)
- **Mr. Aram GUREGHIAN** (France)
- **Mr. Paul NAHABEDIAN** (United States) survivors of the massacres;

## Having heard:

- A report written by and read for Professor Leo KUPER of the University of California at Los Angeles on the concept of genocide as it applies to the massacre of the Armenians;
- A memorandum written by and read for Professor Theo Van BOVEN, former Director of the U.N. Human Rights Division, on the deletion of the reference to the massacre of the Armenians when the issue was under study by the United Nations Human Rights Commission;

## Having taken note of:

- The many documents presented by the rapporteurs of their reports,

including the documents coming from British and, in particular, from German sources;

- The important and abundant body of documentation from American sources;
- The documentation on the Unionists' trial in 1919 and the trial of Soghomon TEHLIRIAN held in Charlottenburg, Berlin, in 1921;
- The document entitled "The Armenian Issue: Nine Questions and Nine Answers" (Foreign Policy Institute, Ankara), stating the viewpoint of the current Turkish government;
- The testimony of Professor ATAÖV of the University of Ankara to the Criminal Court in Paris in January 1984, which repeats the arguments of the Turkish government.

### THE VERDICT

In answer to the questions which were put to it, the Tribunal hereby finds that:

- The Armenian population did and do constitute a people whose fundamental rights, both individual and collective, should have been and shall be respected in accordance with international law;
- 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 on 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;
- The Young Turk government is guilty of this genocide, with regard to the acts perpetrated between 1915-1917;
- 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;
- This responsibility implies first and foremost the obligation to recognize officially the reality of this genocide and the consequent damages suffered by the Armenian people;
- 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.

Members of this Permanent Peoples' Tribunal comprising the jury for the session on the Armenian Genocide:

**MADJID BENCHIKH** (Algeria),  
Professor of International Law at the University of Algiers;

**GEORGES CASALIS** (France),  
Theologian, Honorary Professor of the Institut Protestant de Theologie, Paris;

**HARALD EDELSTAM** (Sweden),  
Former Ambassador to Chile and Algeria;

**RICHARD FALK** (United States),  
Professor of International Law, Princeton University;

**KEN FRY** (Australia),  
Member of Parliament;

**ANDREA GIARDINA** (Italy),  
Professor of International Law at the University of Rome;

**SEAN MACBRIDE** (Ireland),  
Jurist, President of the International Peace Office, Nobel Peace Prize laureate and Lenin Peace Prize winner, American Medal for Justice;

**LEO MATARASSO** (France),  
Lawyer at the Paris Bar;

**ADOLFO PEREZ ESQUIVEL** (Argentina),  
Nobel Peace Prize laureate, general coordinator of "Servicio Paz y Justicia en America Latina" (Service for Peace and Justice in Latin America);

**JAMES PETRAS** (United States),  
Professor of Sociology, State University of New York;

**FRANÇOIS RIGAUX** (Belgium),  
Professor at the Faculty of Law of the Catholic University in Louvain;

**AJIT ROY** (India),  
Economist and journalist;

**GEORGE WALD** (United States),  
Professor Emeritus of Biology, Harvard University, Nobel Prize for Physiology and Medicine, 1967.



# TREATY OF SÈVRES

August 10, 1920

## THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS AND TURKEY SIGNED AT SÈVRES AUGUST 10, 1920

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY AND JAPAN,  
These Powers being described in the present Treaty as the Principal Allied Powers;

ARMENIA, BELGIUM, GREECE, THE HEDJAZ, POLAND, PORTUGAL,  
ROUMANIA, THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA,  
These Powers constituting, with the Principal Powers mentioned above, the Allied  
Powers, of the one part;

AND TURKEY,  
of the other part;

[Articles 1-87 omitted]

### ARMENIA

#### ARTICLE 88

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognises Armenia as a free and independent State.

#### ARTICLE 89

Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarisation of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier.

#### ARTICLE 90

In the event of the determination of the frontier under Article 89 involving the transfer of the whole or any part of the territory of the said Vilayets to Armenia, Turkey hereby renounces as from the date of such decision all rights and title over the

territory so transferred. The provisions of the present Treaty applicable to territory detached from Turkey shall thereupon become applicable to the said territory.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Turkey which Armenia will have to assume, or of the rights which will pass to her, on account of the transfer of the said territory will be determined in accordance with Articles 241 to 244, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will, if necessary, decide all questions which are not decided by the present Treaty and which may arise in consequence of the transfer of the said territory.

#### ARTICLE 91

In the event of any portion of the territory referred to in Article 89 being transferred to Armenia, a Boundary Commission, whose composition will be determined subsequently, will be constituted within three months from the delivery of the decision referred to in the said Article to trace on the spot the frontier between Armenia and Turkey as established by such decision.

#### ARTICLE 92

The frontiers between Armenia and Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively will be determined by direct agreement between the States concerned.

If in either case the States concerned have failed to determine the frontier by agreement at the date of the decision referred to in Article 89, the frontier line in question will be determined by the Principal Allied Powers, who will also provide for its being traced on the spot.

#### ARTICLE 93

Armenia accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

Armenia further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

[Articles 94-139 omitted]

## PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

#### ARTICLE 140

Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 141, 145 and 147 shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no civil or military law or

regulation, no Imperial Iradeh nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, Imperial Iradeh nor official action prevail over them.

#### ARTICLE 141

Turkey undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion. All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief.

The penalties for any interference with the free exercise of the right referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be the same whatever may be the creed concerned.

#### ARTICLE 142

Whereas, in view of the terrorist regime which has existed in Turkey since November 1, 1914, conversions to Islam could not take place under normal conditions, no conversions since that date are recognised and all persons who were non-Moslems before November 1, 1914, will be considered as still remaining such, unless, after regaining their liberty, they voluntarily perform the necessary formalities for embracing the Islamic faith.

In order to repair so far as possible the wrongs inflicted on individuals in the course of the massacres perpetrated in Turkey during the war, the Turkish Government undertakes to afford all the assistance in its power or in that of the Turkish authorities in the search for and deliverance of all persons, of whatever race or religion, who have disappeared, been carried off, interned or placed in captivity since November 1, 1914.

The Turkish Government undertakes to facilitate the operations of mixed commissions appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to receive the complaints of the victims themselves, their families or their relations, to make the necessary enquiries, and to order the liberation of the persons in question.

The Turkish Government undertakes to ensure the execution of the decisions of these commissions, and to assure the security and the liberty of the persons thus restored to the full enjoyment of their rights.

#### ARTICLE 143

Turkey undertakes to recognise such provisions as the Allied Powers may consider opportune with respect to the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of persons belonging to racial minorities.

Turkey renounces any right to avail herself of the provisions of Article 16 of the Convention between Greece and Bulgaria relating to reciprocal emigration, signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine on November 27, 1919. Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, Greece and Turkey will enter into a special arrangement relating to the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of the populations of Turkish and

Greek race in the territories transferred to Greece and remaining Turkish respectively.

In case agreement cannot be reached as to such arrangement, Greece and Turkey will be entitled to apply to the Council of the League of Nations, which will fix the terms of such arrangement.

#### ARTICLE 144

The Turkish Government recognises the injustice of the law of 1915 relating to Abandoned Properties (Emval-i-Metroukeh), and of the supplementary provisions thereof, and declares them to be null and void, in the past as in the future.

The Turkish Government solemnly undertakes to facilitate to the greatest possible extent the return to their homes and re-establishment in their businesses of the Turkish subjects of non-Turkish race who have been forcibly driven from their homes by fear of massacre or any other form of pressure since January 1, 1914. It recognises that any immovable or movable property of the said Turkish subjects or of the communities to which they belong, which can be recovered, must be restored to them as soon as possible, in whatever hands it may be found. Such property shall be restored free of all charges or servitudes with which it may have been burdened and without compensation of any kind to the present owners or occupiers, subject to any action which they may be able to bring against the persons from whom they derived title.

The Turkish Government agrees that arbitral commissions shall be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations wherever found necessary. These commissions shall each be composed of one representative of the Turkish Government, one representative of the community which claims that it or one of its members has been injured, and a chairman appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. These arbitral commissions shall hear all claims covered by this Article and decide them by summary procedure.

The arbitral commissions will have power to order:

- (1) The provision by the Turkish Government of labour for any work of reconstruction or restoration deemed necessary. This labour shall be recruited from the races inhabiting the territory where the arbitral commission considers the execution of the said works to be necessary;
- (2) The removal of any person who, after enquiry, shall be recognised as having taken an active part in massacres or deportations or as having provoked them; the measures to be taken with regard to such person's possessions will be indicated by the commission;
- (3) The disposal of property belonging to members of a community who have died or disappeared since January 1, 1914, without leaving heirs; such property may be handed over to the community instead of to the State;
- (4) The cancellation of all acts of sale or any acts creating rights over immovable property concluded after January 1, 1914. The indemnification of the holders will be a charge upon the Turkish Government, but must not serve as a

pretext for delaying the restitution. The arbitral commission will, however have the power to impose equitable arrangements between the interested parties, if any sum has been paid by the present holder of such property. The Turkish Government undertakes to facilitate in the fullest possible measure the work of the commissions and to ensure the execution of their decisions, which will be final. No decision of the Turkish judicial or administrative authorities shall prevail over such decisions.

#### **ARTICLE 145**

All Turkish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Turkish Government will submit to the Allied Powers a scheme for the organisation of an electoral system based on the principle of proportional representation of racial minorities.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings. Adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

#### **ARTICLE 146**

The Turkish Government undertakes to recognize the validity of diplomas granted by recognised foreign universities and schools, and to admit the holders thereof to the free exercise of the professions and industries for which such diplomas qualify.

This provision will apply equally to nationals of Allied powers who are resident in Turkey.

#### **ARTICLE 147**

Turkish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, and independently of and without interference by the Turkish authorities, any charitable, religious and social institutions, schools for primary, secondary and higher instruction and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

#### **ARTICLE 148**

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to racial, linguistic or religious minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational or charitable purposes.

The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the communities concerned.

#### **ARTICLE 149**

The Turkish Government undertakes to recognise and respect the ecclesiastical and scholastic autonomy of all racial minorities in Turkey. For this purpose, and subject to any provisions to the contrary in the present Treaty, the Turkish Government confirms and will uphold in their entirety the prerogatives and immunities of an ecclesiastical, scholastic or judicial nature granted by the Sultans to non-Moslem races in virtue of special orders or imperial decrees (firmans, hattis, berats, etc.) as well as by ministerial orders or orders of the Grand Vizier.

All laws, decrees, regulations and circulars issued by the Turkish Government and containing abrogations, restrictions or amendments of such prerogatives and immunities shall be considered to such extent null and void.

Any modification of the Turkish judicial system which may be introduced in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty shall be held to override this Article, in so far as such modification may affect individuals belonging to racial minorities.

#### **ARTICLE 150**

In towns and districts where there is resident a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals of the Christian or Jewish religions the Turkish Government undertakes that such Turkish nationals shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, and shall not be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their weekly day of rest. This provision, however, shall not exempt such Turkish nationals (Christians or Jews) from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Turkish nationals for the preservation of public order.

#### **ARTICLE 151**

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

[Articles 152-225 omitted]

#### ARTICLE 226

The Turkish Government recognises the right of the Allied Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by law. This provision will apply notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecution before a tribunal in Turkey or in the territory of her allies.

The Turkish Government shall hand over to the Allied Powers or to such one of them as shall so request all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war, who are specified either by name or by the rank, office or employment which they held under the Turkish authorities.

#### ARTICLE 227

Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of one of the Allied Powers shall be brought before the military tribunals of that Power.

Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of more than one of the Allied Powers shall be brought before military tribunals composed of members of the military tribunals of the Powers concerned.

In every case the accused shall be entitled to name his own counsel.

#### ARTICLE 228

The Turkish Government undertakes to furnish all documents and information of every kind, the production of which may be considered necessary to ensure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the prosecution of offenders and the just appreciation of responsibility.

#### ARTICLE 229

The provisions of Articles 226 to 228 apply similarly to the Governments of the States to which territory belonging to the former Turkish Empire has been or may be assigned, in so far as concerns persons accused of having committed acts contrary to the laws and customs of war who are in the territory or at the disposal of such States.

If the persons in question have acquired the nationality of one of the said States, the Government of such State undertakes to take, at the request of the Power

concerned and in agreement with it, or upon the joint request of all the Allied Powers, all the measures necessary to ensure the prosecution and punishment of such persons.

#### ARTICLE 230

The Turkish Government undertakes to hand over to the Allied Powers the persons whose surrender may be required by the latter as being responsible for the

massacres committed during the continuance of the state of war on territory which formed part of the Turkish Empire on August 1, 1914.

The Allied Powers reserve to themselves the right to designate the tribunal which shall try the persons so accused, and the Turkish Government undertakes to recognise such tribunal.

In the event of the League of Nations having created in sufficient time a tribunal competent to deal with the said massacres, the Allied Powers reserve to themselves the right to bring the accused persons mentioned above before such tribunal, and the Turkish Government undertakes equally to recognise such tribunal.  
The provisions of Article 228 apply to the cases dealt with in this Article.

[Articles 231-433 omitted]

# TURKISH MILITARY TRIBUNAL'S INDICTMENT OF THE PERPETRATORS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

April 28, 1919

## I. The Conditions of the Court Martial

### 1) *Its Central Purpose*

*Page 5:* The subject of this proceeding is the investigation of the matter [relating to] the tragedy that was brought about in connection with the Armenian deportations.

*Page 8:* [In line with] the recent decree concerning the formation and function of this Court Martial, the investigation of the matter of massacres and profiteering [emerges] as the principal task of this Court.

### 2) *The Theft of Important and Incriminating Documents*

*Page 5:* ...it is clear that an important part of the loose papers [belonging to the Special Organization] as well as those of the Central Committee, along with its registers, were stolen. According to the contents of the memo from the illustrious Interior Ministry, even former Director of Public Security Mr. Aziz did not, after he resigned his post, return the files containing important data and correspondence which he had obtained from the office prior to the resignation of Mr. Talat.

### 3) *The Elements of Prosecutorial Evidence*

*Page 4:* ...the investigative papers compiled [through pre-trial] examinations and the attached, detailed indictment [framed] by the Procuror-General of the Court Martial...

*Page 5:* [We shall] adduce evidence, proofs, depositions, and valid documents compiled by way of a careful and revelatory [pre-trial] investigation.

*Page 7:* ...the deposition of Vehip Pasa...is an accusatory document and a comprehensive proof...

*Page 8:* The assertions [contained] in the information...serve as an instrument of evidence adequate to document [the charges relating to] the Ankara deportations.

*Page 8:* [On the basis of] the production to a sufficient degree of the above cited evidence and proofs pertaining to the daring crimes [of the suspects cited] in the preceding [indictment]...

### 4) *On the Judicial Competence of the Court Martial*

*Page 8:* Those among the aforementioned [defendants] who [served] as ministers, put forward [the claim] of [official] duties as they denied [the charges] through statements [they made during the interrogatories]. They [thus] are bringing up for consideration for their defense [the claim that] the [proper] venue for the investigations and trials is not the Court Martial but the High Court, to be constituted in conformity with constitutional provisions.

*Page 8:* It is superfluous to explain, however, that [the application of] Article 92, on which they are relying, is restricted to those criminal deeds of the ministers or, collectively, of the Cabinet, involving political actions. According to the provisions of Article 33 of the above mentioned [constitutional] law, the ministers [enjoy] no privilege whatsoever for ordinary crimes they personally committed, or [when they] are accessories [to these crimes].

*Page 8:* Given the facts [that, a:] the venue for this category of crimes is ordinary courts; [that, b:] wherever a state of martial law is in force civil and judicial laws are entirely muted, with jurisdiction devolving upon Courts Martial, as stipulated by the respective law; [that, c:] pursuant to the recent decree, respecting the formation and functions of this Court Martial, [the Tribunal] decided to reject the inadmissible objection [of the defendants pleading official duties].

### 5) *The Proposed Sets of Penal Codes*

*Page 8:* In consideration of the misdeeds warranting retributive punishment for [defendants] Dr. Behaeddin Sakir, Dr. Nazim, Messrs. Atif, Riza, Cevat, Aziz, and 'Pasha' Messrs. Enver, Cemal and Talat, who were principal co-perpetrators, [it is demanded that they be subjected to the provisions of] the first paragraph of Article 45 and of Article 170 of the Penal Code.

*Page 8:* Though not principal co-perpetrators themselves, Messrs. Mithat Sükrü, Dr. Rusuhi, Küçük Talat, Ziya Gökalp, Kemal, and Sait Halim Pasa, Ahmet Nesimi, Sükrü, Ibrahim and Halil [emerge as] definite accessories since they knowingly supported the accused in their crimes. They [are therefore subject to the provisions of] paragraph two of Article 45 of the above cited code.

## II. The Conspiratorial and Paramount Role of Ittihad

### 1) *The Dual Character and Functions of the Party or Cemiyet*

Page 4: The Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyet embraced two mutually opposed characters [consisting] on the one hand of an external and public [facade] that was based on [a party] program and internal regulations, and on the other of a concealed and private [modus operandi covering] oral and secret instructions.

Page 5: ...the implementation and execution in a secret fashion of the intent of the leadership of Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyet...

Page 5: ...the criminal actions and operations [represented a mission] with which the secret network [of the Special Organization] was charged...by the leadership of Ittihad ve Terakki...

Page 5: [...in order to frame the guidelines for the criminal actions] and [to carry out] this kind of secret actions.

Page 5: The organization and execution of the Armenian tragedy [associated with] the Armenian deportations was directed and ensured through oral and secret instructions and orders.

Page 6: The fact that this telegram was among fugitive Mr. Talat's papers [compiled] by [the Inquiry Commission] of the Fifth Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, accents the important character of the cipher telegram [sent by Talat to] the above mentioned Zor district commissioner Ali Suat, and [accents the significance] of its secret character and intent as well as of [the attached instruction] to destroy it.

### 2) *Ittihad's Secret Designs Propelling Turkey's Entry Into the War*

Page 4: By recourse to a number of vile tricks and deceitful means [they] secured [Turkey's] entry into the First World War, thereby creating for the people an accomplished fact [and the opportunity] to carry out their secret goals...

Page 4: ...taking advantage of the [opportunity of the] general war with which Europe was preoccupied...

### 3) *The Links Between Ittihad's Top Leadership and the Special Organization*

Page 6: ...even the telegram...illustrates the relationship and ties between the Special Organization and Cemiyet.

Page 6: Mr. Resneli Nazim's presence in Mamuretulaziz (Harput) at that time as Ittihad ve Terakki's Inspector confirms his involvement in the destructive operations of the Special Organization and his ties to the Cemiyet.

### 4) *The Pivotal Role of the Responsible Secretaries, Delegates and Inspectors*

Page 5: [The perpetrators which] the Committee deployed in the provinces and the delegates of Ittihad ve Terakki [joined hands in committing] massacres...

Page 6: The deportations [from Bolu] were inspired [among others] by the exertions of [Bursa Responsible Secretary Doctor] Mr. Mithat.

Page 6: ...the letter, signed 'Balikesir's Ittihad ve Terakki Inspector Musa'...and turned over to Dr. Nazim...corroborates this [fact].

Page 6: The telegram sent to the Central Committee of Ittihad ve Terakki and [thence] forwarded, bore the signature of Samsun Responsible Secretary Rüstü...

Page 7: ...regarding the manner of massacre of some of the deportees by Kurd Alo's brigands organized through Çankiri Responsible Secretary Mr. Cemal Oguz...

Page 7: The level of interference by Ankara's Ittihad ve Terakki Responsible Secretary Mr. Necati...

Page 7: ...in a memo [which Deputy O. Ihsan] gave Talat during a meeting of the parliamentary group of Ittihad ve Terakki, he recounted the calamity and atrocities being perpetrated against the Armenians, requesting an investigation of all the responsible secretaries; Talat brushed [the memo] aside after scratching on it the notation 'keep it'.

Page 7: ...the statement of Governor Resat Pasa and the appended copies of the telegram explaining the deportations in Kastamanou, [showing] his being ignored despite his having written to the Ministry about the crimes and misdeeds of the local Responsible Secretary Hasan Fehmi...

Page 8: ...and [the involvement of the region's] Mr. Responsible Secretary serve as an instrument of evidence adequate to document [the changes].

Page 8: ...the statement of Trabzon Responsible Secretary Mr. Nail about the atrocities and perpetrators of Trabzon...

### III. The Factors of Decision Making

#### 1) *The Supreme Instance of the Central Committee in Premeditation*

*Page 7:* The massacre and destruction of the Armenians were the result of the decision-making by the Central Committee of Ittihad ve Terakki.

*Page 8:* This [Armenian] question has been determined upon following extensive and profound deliberations...

#### 2) *On Deflection and Cover-up*

*Page 6:* At the start of the mobilization the idea was broadcast that these brigands were to get involved in war duties. An effort was made in this sense to persuade the well-intentioned and gullible people concerned.

*Page 6:* The pertinent proofs, documents and other [pieces of] evidence in their configuration clearly demonstrate that [these brigands] subsequently were employed for the massacre and destruction of the convoys subjected to deportation.

*Page 6:* [The following ciphers attest to the fact that] the massacres took place under the orders and with the knowledge of Messrs. Talat, Cemal, and Enver. The one addressed to the governors of Diyarbekir and Mamuretulaziz and the district commissioners of Urfa and Zor [involves] Mr. Talat's July 21, 1915 cipher [ordering] the burying of the dead lying along the roads, prohibiting their being cast into valleys, rivers, and lakes, and [insisting on] the burning of the effects abandoned [by the dead]. [The other concerns] Fourth Army Commander Mr. Cemal's July 1, 1915 telegram sent to the governor of Diyarbekir, marked 'urgent' and 'eyes only'. In it, it is declared that it is necessary to bury on the spot the corpses dragged southwards by the Euphrates, at the same time maintaining that they probably are the corpses of Armenians killed as a result of their rebellious acts and that no corpse should be left lying around. In response, [the following was communicated to] the aforementioned Mr. Cemal in a July 3, 1915 cipher telegram bearing the sign 'eyes only': 'Euphrates is very tenuously related to our province. It is likely that the corpses dragged [by the river] originate from the areas of Erzurum, Mamuretulaziz. The dead resulting from acts of rebellion are either thrown into abandoned and deep caverns or are, in accordance with the prevailing method of treatment, incinerated; they are very seldom buried'.

*Page 7:* ...the presence by the roads of too many corpses, despite recent notification, is denounced in the order issued through a cipher, [with the observation that] the damage [to us implicit in such a condition] does not need an explanation and, as communicated by the illustrious Interior Ministry, the sluggish individuals will be severely punished. The burial in a careful fashion of all the corpses [found] within the boundaries [is to be carried out].

*Page 7:* ...the extensive and especially very significant statement of Colonel Halil Recayi [covers] the actions and conduct during the Ankara deportations of former police chief Mr. Behaeddin from Manastir...When Mr. Behaeddin was turned over to the court martial and recourse to legal action against him was being taken, he was recalled to Istanbul and as a result of the Interior Ministry's request the investigative papers, which were being held back, were procured and recovered by the War Ministry; the aforementioned [Behaeddin] was [thus] spared prosecution.

#### 3) *The Sweeping Nature of the Anti-Armenian Scheme*

*Page 5:* [The calamity befalling the Armenians] was not due to a particular incident; nor was it limited to a particular locality. [Rather] it was organized by a unanimously acting central body comprising the above mentioned persons.

*Page 6:* [In consideration of the fact] that a location such as Bolu [Kastamonu province, 72 miles inland on the Istanbul-Izmit-Adapazar-Ankara main road] did not count as a war zone explains the deportations as having resulted from the goals and wishes of the Cemiyet; they were neither a measure [borne out by a] military necessity, nor a punitive, disciplinary measure.

*Page 7:* ...the method of massacre is but part of the actions and activities on the part of the representatives of Cemiyet involving what appears to be acts subsidiary to a centrally directed system [of operations].

#### 4) *The Penchant for a Final Solution*

*Page 4:* [They] fancied that [they] could solve once and for all unresolved problems and troublesome conflicts through a display of severity towards everyone and through the recourse to terror in every direction.

*Page 8:* [The claim that] this undertaking will be solving the Eastern question...

### IV. The Instruments of Extermination

#### 1) *The Command and Control of the Special Organization*

*Page 4:* [Among] the officials of the Special Organization were Central Committee members Messrs. Dr. Behaeddin Sakir, Dr. Nazim, Atif and Riza; Messrs. Aziz, former Director of Public Security, and Military Governor [of Istanbul] Cevat were part of the executive directorate [of that Special Organization].

*Page 5:* Messrs. Aziz, former Public Security Chief, Atif, Central Committee member, and Dr. Nazim [functioned] in fact like a General Staff within a committee which they created under the name of Special Organization.

Page 5: ...Mr. Behaeddin Sakir, headquartered at Erzurum, took charge of the command of the forces operating in the eastern provinces...

Page 5: The executive direction [of the Special Organization] was in the hands of Central Committee members Messrs. Dr. Nazim, Behaeddin Sakir, Atif, Riza and former Director of Public Security Aziz.

Page 7: ...the çete formations organized by Mr. Behaeddin Sakir...

## 2) *The Çetes and the Gendarmes Comprising the Special Organization*

Page 6: The July 15, 1915 cipher telegram of Governor Mr. Tahsin attesting to the criminal attacks and atrocities against the Armenians in the localities of Erzurum province by the Special Organization and by some gendarmes attached to it.

Page 6: The brigands which sprang up suddenly under the label 'Special Organization'...

Page 6: ...confirms [the fact that] in its involvement with the task of destruction the Special Organization [maintained] ties with the Cemiyet.

Page 7: ...[as to how] they were being subjected to massacre and plunder by the members of the çete units organized by Mr. Behaeddin Sakir.

## 3) *The Engagement and Employment of Convicts for Massacre Duty*

Page 5: ...for this purpose [Messrs. Halil, Nazim, Atif, Aziz] assembled and provided brigand chiefs and emptied the prisons...

Page 5: [The powerful leaders of the Cemiyet] released from the prisons gangs of criminals. In order to frame the guidelines for the latters' criminal actions and provide them with the [necessary] orders and instructions [and ensure the secrecy of the mission, Ittihad] created and set up in Istanbul a Committee called Special Organization.

Page 6: ...criminals, outlaws associated with the Special Organization...

Page 7: ...the initiation of an investigation against Director General of Prisons Mr. Ibrahim [relative to the calamity and atrocities inflicted upon the Armenians].

Page 7: ...the procurement, direction and employment in the Third Army zone

of butchers of humans...consorting gallows birds...gendarmes with bloodstained eyes and with hands soiled in blood...

## 4) *The References to Artvin*

Page 5: ...the single leaf document attached to this indictment demonstrates that a cipher telegram, bearing the signature of A. Cevat, lets it be known that the matter 'will personally be taken care of by Mr. Behaeddin Sakir in Artvin'.

Page 8: In the No. 69 secret response recorded on the same page of the single leaf document found in the file of the Special Organization it says: 'Since there is nothing left for you to do, proceed to Trabzon to assume a duty which is more important than the Artvin affair'.

## V. *Methods of Extermination*

### 1) *Types of Crimes and Misdeeds*

#### a) *Profiteering and self-enrichment*

Page 4: ...with an iron hand and by way of abuse of authority the powerful leaders of the Cemiyet endeavored to accumulate [personal] wealth and fortunes...

Page 6: A lieutenant named Faik took possession of Arabian's four daughters and Lieutenant Mr. Kâmil stole 1863 T Pounds, 35 loads of furniture, and lots of jewelry. These scandals involving women and money are most shameful and indecent.

Page 7: ...how Central Committee member Mr. Memduh Sevket and his brother Mr. Refet at that time went to Ankara and enriched themselves...

#### b) *Mass drownings at the Black Sea*

Page 7: ...[How] the Armenians were being put on board of caiques and drowned on the shores of the Black Sea.

#### c) *Murder, plunder and assorted crimes*

Page 6: ...the massacre and destruction of the convoys subjected to deportation...

Page 6: ...the massacres...

Page 7: The massacre and destruction of the Armenians and the looting and plunder of their properties...

Page 8: ...massacre and profiteering...



Page 5: ...murder of people, plunder of goods and money, gutting houses and corpses, rape, and the indulging in all sorts of tortures and shameful acts.

## 2) *Explicit Order for and Execution of Massacres*

Page 6: ...the contents of the cipher telegram: 'Are the Armenians, who are being dispatched from there, being liquidated? Are those harmful persons, whom you inform us you are exiling and banishing, being exterminated, or are they being merely dispatched and exiled? Answer explicitly...'

Page 6: ...upon his telling Zor district commissioner Mr. Zeki, 'There is talk that you annihilated 10,000 Armenians,' [he received from] Mr. Zeki the [following] reply: 'You are impugning my honor. I disdain the 10,000 figure; come on, raise it.'

## 3) *The Betrayal of Islam*

Page 6: ...with revulsion did the Muslims of Kastamonu mention and view the events that took place outside their region. So much so that one day the legal interpreter of Islam, the sheiks and notables, collectively pleaded with Governor Resit Pasa [with the words]: 'We heard that the Armenians of the neighboring provinces, comprising entire families, including children, are, as if being sent on to the slaughterhouse, driven to the mountaintops and massacred. We do not like anything like that to happen in our region, as we are afraid of divine wrath. Infidelity is no threat to government but no government can maintain itself through oppression and cruelty. Help, please. Let there be no such mistreatment in our province...' [Upon receiving assurances,] they left with joyful tears.

Page 7: ...despite the Islamic injunction to refrain from doing, under threat and intimidation, things that are forbidden...

Page 7: [One has to recognize] under what [conditions of] terror and threat the Muslims of these places failed [to render help]. A sense of justice and sound reasoning should be enough [for anyone] to be persuaded that the local Muslim people and the petty officials cannot be chided for the tragedy [befalling the Armenians].

# VI. The Complicity of Civilian and Military Authorities

## 1) *The Involvement of the Interior Ministry*

Page 5: ...Mr. ... who was sent to Aleppo brought to the Court's attention that the intent of the deportations was destruction [as admitted to him by A. Nuri with the words], 'I contacted Mr. Talat and personally received the orders of extermination.'

Page 6: ...indicates that the Interior Ministry and the Cemiyet were involved

in the handling of these brigands.

Page 7: ...with the notation 'keep it', Mr. Talat shelved the report [on the atrocities].

Page 7: ...In consequence of Interior Ministry's request...the above mentioned [author of atrocities] was spared prosecution.

Page 8: The deciphered contents of a wire sent by Mr. Behaeddin Sakir is marked: 'To the Central Committee through the intermediary of Interior Minister Talat Bey'...

Page 8: [There is the statement about] former Ankara governor Mr. Mazhar being dismissed for having refused to carry out the proposal relative to the deportation and destruction [of the Armenians], and [about] two country executives who were annihilated for objecting to the atrocities and executions perpetrated against the Arabs and to the deportations initiated by the governor of the Diyarbekir.

## 2) *The links between the Ottoman military and the special Organization*

Page 5: The No. 59 memo is proof that Halil Pasa, fugitive Mr. Enver's uncle, was involved in the special Organization while serving as military governor [of Istanbul]. This is evidenced by No. 67 telegram which the above mentioned Mr. Halil sent to the district governorship of Izmit.

Page 5: Aforementioned Mr. Halil's November 16, 1914 dated memo No. 68 to the directorate of the War Office shows that explosives were supplied to the Special Organization.

Page 5: From among the executive committee of secret network...of the Special organization... Messrs. Aziz, Atif, Nazim were operationally active in Istanbul and the decisions they adopted were approved and implemented by Military Governor Cevat.

Page 5: ...underneath decision No. 150 is the approval and signature of Cevat with the notations 'O.K!'; this decision was relayed as an order through the cipher telegram bearing the name 'A. Cevat'.

Page 5: Even Military Governor Mr. Cevat having approved and fulfilled the implementation of the decisions adopted by them [the members of the special Organization Directorate], provided large sums of money to the people engaged by [these members], dispatching and sending them to various regions. To such leaders as Dr. Behaeddine Sakir, he gave code keys putting at their disposal automobiles and supplying them with ample cash, and equipping them with explosives.

Page 7: The telegram bearing the signature of Third Army Commander

Mahmut Kamil [proclaims]: 'any Muslim who protects an Armenian will be hanged in front of his house which will also be burned down. If the culprit is an official he will be dismissed and court-martialed. If those who deem it worthwhile to provide protection are military officials they will be severed from the military and will be handed over to the above mentioned Court Martial to be tried before it'.

### 3) *The Application of Sanctions to Ensure Compliance With Orders*

*Page 5:* ...some docile and submissive officials [were involved in the atrocities].

*Page 7:* High-ranking government officials submitted to the orders and directives of Dr. Behaeddin Sakir.

*Page 7:* According to the results of the investigation [by this court], those who vehemently repudiated the above-cited tragedy and assumed the posture of non-participants were regarded as traitors of the fatherland whereas actively [involved] elements such as Behaeddin enjoyed much protection and assistance.

*Page 7:* ...being informed [that] officials acting in a sluggish manner in this matter would be severely punished.

*Page 8:* In response to Army Commander Mr. Cemal's inquiry, directed to Mr. Talat, as [to the reasons for] the removal of former Konya Governor Celal [from his post of Aleppo governor], it was communicated that it [the removal] resulted from a divergence in viewpoints on the Armenian question between [Celal on the one hand] and the central government [on the other].

*Page 8:* ...the statement about former Ankara Governor Mr. Mazhar being dismissed for having refused to carry out the proposal and... about two country executives who were annihilated [for a similar reason].

## VII. The Ploy of "Relocation" as Evidenced in the Destruction of Survivors in the Desert

*Page 5:* Mr. Abdulahad Nuri who was sent to Aleppo [stated that] the deportations meant annihilation, [adding] 'I have contacted Mr. Talat and received personally the orders of annihilation'.

*Page 6:* Upon being told that 'There is talk that you annihilated 10,000 Armenians', Zeki replied: 'You are impugning my honor. I disdain the 10,000 figure, come on, raise it'.

*Page 8:* It was reported that the removal [from his post as governor of] Aleppo [province] of Mr. Celal was due to an incompatibility between his viewpoint and that of the central government.

## VIII. Two Statistical Figures on Deported Armenians

### 1) *From Ankara Province*

*Page 6:* ...the total of the Armenians deported from Ankara province amounted to sixty-one thousand...

### 2) *From Diyarbekir Province*

*Page 7:* the number of Armenians sent off from Diyarbekir amounted to hundred twenty thousand.



# TURKISH MILITARY TRIBUNAL'S VERDICT

July 5, 1919

During the course of this trial, having heard the petitions and statements of both sides; having studied and examined in detail documents relating to this case; and after holding many consultations in the interest of the proper disposition of the matters under dispute, the following verdict is handed down:

Although the accused and their attorneys entered a motion that the accused be set free, in accordance with the decrees (*Idianname*) of the Attorney General dated May 3, 20 and 22, June 9, 16 and 25, all 1919, (saying) that the accused were in fact moral representatives of the now defunct Ittihad and Terakki Party, which had committed countless crimes, as were the members of the Ittihad General Council (*Medjlisi Oumumi*), who were the authors of the abovementioned crimes (*jerayim fayilleri*), (it was ruled) that all the accused were then competent to stand trial and face punitive judgment.

It was first deemed necessary to study the acts and deeds of the abovementioned Party (Djemiet) since its establishment. Before the Turkish Revolution (of 1908), there were individuals and organizations, which remain secret today, which expressed patriotic sentiments and aims. The record compiled since the Revolution by these people, parties and movements may be summarized as follows:

(Certain) Ottoman subjects who thirsted for justice and freedom withdrew on July 9, 1324 (1908) to the mountains of Resneh to fight for freedom.

To all Ottomans who thirsted for justice and freedom, July 9, 1324 (1908), the withdrawal to Resneh represented the bursting forth of a torrent of pure water bursting on them from heaven. The conviction was born that this was the only remedy for the oppression and injustices which we suffered; and the people in nowise obstructed the spread of the movement, supporting the revolutionaries with sincerity and loyalty until normal conditions were restored in all the provinces of the vast Ottoman Empire, which rang with the hope that justice and freedom would in fact be established. These sweet cries often reached the ears of the revolutionaries and their movement became stronger.

But with the passing of time, as a result of political errors, many portions of Ottoman territories were lost, one after the other, to the Empire. Efforts were made to rectify

these failures by pointing up the errors of the old regime. The errors followed on one another. Even the (dreadful) consequences of the Italian and Balkan wars did not lead to the initiation of programs of administrative reform. Those who had hoped were disillusioned; those who thirsted for freedom were seized with anguish and concern; and a segment of those who were thought to be working for the national weal surrendered themselves to their own personal aspirations, and they followed an entirely wrong path; and some of those who had cried out 'We are thirsty for freedom' committed such strange acts that they laid the country open to ruin - they dried up the land and subjected it to a painful situation. They practiced selfishness and thoughtlessly misled the government, outwardly pretending to be abiding by the law, but actually, through deception, creating a system of bodies in the Provinces which took over their local provincial administration and finally subordinated the Ministers' Council. They accomplished this by taking over their general assemblies. Thus did they achieve their goals.

It is apparent from the statements of Minister of Finance Djavid Bey, and the written records of the Fifth Committee of Parliament, especially those of October 24-26, 1334 (1918) that the Executive of the Ittihad and Terakki Party had taken decisive and audacious steps involving the fate of the nation and the country, that it declared war on its own without even consulting the Council of Ministers and obtaining that body's consent, something which it found to be unnecessary - although even the kings cannot arbitrarily declare war.

No good could come out of such behavior. Everyone understood this.

The opponents of the Ittihad Party who, however, had practiced a certain degree of respect toward that Party, now began openly to criticize it.

After the revolution it had been deemed necessary to declare martial law, which the Party did - but without cessation, indefinitely. They enlisted the mob, the rabble, collectively to assail the Sublime Porte. They assassinated Nazim, the Minister of War, and his chief Aide, and they proceeded to overthrow the Cabinet of Kiamil Pasha, establishing a Cabinet of the Ittihad and Terakki. They summarily dismissed the experienced and honorable members of the Cabinet and replaced them with persons who belonged to the Party. There arrived a moment when people sought again the days of the tyrant. Everyone began to protest the rampant arbitrariness and tyranny.

There was even more to it. They created an even greater atmosphere of harassment of the non-Islamic elements of the land, the **Armenians** in particular, who had hoped, from our precious Constitution, for justice and peace. These people now understood that they had been victimised by hypocrisy, and they assumed the posture of awaiting

that opportune moment when they would be able to realize their former national aspirations. And the cause of all this were the Ittihadists themselves. They even raised national and racial issues among the Moslems of the land; they promoted divisiveness and conflict and jeopardized Ottoman unity. All this has been established by the intensive studies and examinations done of the matter as they appear in the charge of the Attorney General.

The Court Martial has confirmed the following five points which are irrefutable, which substantiate the Attorney General's demand that a verdict of guilty be arrived at.

These facts relate to the active body of the Ittihad and Terakki, the Party's moral representative. The personal crimes attributed to this representation have tainted the name of the Party. Of these crimes, all of us (i.e., members of the Court) have in all good conscience formed our own convictions.

Consequently, the adjudged abovementioned crimes cannot be ascribed to all members (i.e., the accused). Special legal disposition must be made to judge the degree of guilt or innocence of all participants in these crimes in accordance with the degree of their guilt.

Counsel for the accused in the course of his defense declared that under the constitutional regime the presence of political parties has been deemed to be necessary, that even today in our land other political parties in fact exist, in particular the 'Hurriet and Ittilaf' party, which has a Central headquarters, a General Assembly and branches, just as the Ittihad and Terakki party; and (defense counsel said), the 'Hurriet and Ittilaf' has even called those of its members who are Ministers to a meeting of their own.

It is the contention of this court, after many consultations, that although the presence of parties and coalitions is necessary in countries governed by a Constitution, these parties and movements must never interfere in the affairs of the Government and its Executive Branch. After defining their aims and goals through majority actions taken at their national conventions, they leave the Ministers who enjoy their confidence alone to express their own views and cast their votes in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience.

Parties and movements then aspire simply to influence Governmental actions to be in accordance with their own plans. They work solely to that end. They do not meddle on other business and they try to influence those Ministers whose actions they do not approve to resign, not by threats but by votes of 'no confidence.' This is the natural way of doing things.

As to the parties which exist in Turkey, up to the convening of the National Assembly, the majority party cannot exert any influence on, or intervene in, the operations of the Executive of the Government which it has not chosen; on the other hand, if such a Party tries to alter the Government's legal and constitutional form, the end result will be just as bad. Thus, in examining the diverse offices of this Government, one must conclude that the views of defense counsel have no validity.

The five points projected by the Court are then the following:

(1) On the evidence of the trial which has taken place before this Military Court, it is obvious that the massacres which took place in the Kaza of Boghazlayan (Ankara), the Sanjak of Yozgat, and the Vilayet of Trebizond, were organized and perpetrated by the leaders of the Ittihad and Terakki Party.

(2) The Defense argued that the news of these massacres was communicated (to the Party) only after they had been committed. But even if this hypothesis were true, it is plain that even after the news was received of the atrocities, no steps were taken to prevent their repetition; nor were arrangements made for the punishment of the original criminals.

We note that the President of the Ittihad (*Sadrizam*), Prime Minister Said Halim Pasha, upon the proclamation of general mobilization, invited to his seacoast residence the members of the Central Committee of the Ittihad (*Merkezi Oumoumi*), advising them that it would be extremely perilous for Turkey to take part in the war, that they adopt a policy of neutrality. He backed up his views with explanations and factual data, but failed to convince them. So, they took part in the war; and based on the minutes of the Parliament, as confirmed by Riza Bey, it is obvious that the responsible representatives of the Ittihad and Terakki had, even before the declaration of war, organized bandit bands in Trebizond which entered Russian territory and committed acts of aggression. Riza Bey confessed this to be a fact. The war itself was not declared with the full assent of the Council of Ministers; and it was after the step to war had been taken that Minister of Finance, Djavid Bey, Churouk Sulu Mahmoud of Postal Services, and Suleyman el Boustani Effendi, Minister of Commerce, resigned their posts. This confirms further the fact that war was not declared on the DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, that such a step was decided upon by the Ittihad and Terakki Party, that that Party alone declared war.

(3) From the testimony of former Prime Minister Ahmed Izzet Pasha it is clear that his resignation as Minister of War was brought about by the intervention of the Ittihad Party - was the direct result of that Party's hostility to him.

(4) The world congress of the Ittihad and Terakki Party, having come to an understanding on the subject of the logistical support of the army, the Party's Istanbul headquarters handed over the direction of that task to its representative, Kemal Bey. First, they created a businessmen's body which took over the operations and rights of a number of firms and factions and seized private property. Public institutions were forced to transfer their assets to a limited number of individuals, including members of bodies mentioned above. As a result, countless numbers of Ottoman subjects have perished from lack of nourishment; many have suffered paralysis, and many have died. The result was that to a considerable degree the government's potential defense force was diminished. That the Ittihad and Terakki Center interfered in Governmental operations was confirmed by the records of the Ittihad Congress of 1332 (1916) which show that a report to this effect delivered there was warmly received.

This Court demanded and received from the Municipality (of Istanbul) an explanation of this event.

(5) Musa Kiazim Effendi, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, while consulting with the Senate on the matter of transfer of the religious court (Sheriye) to the Ministry of Justice, in replying to a question put to him, said: 'Do not ask for my vote. The Party (Firka) wants it that way and that way it shall be.' These circumstances were fully explained and understood during this trial.

They simply mean that the Ittihad in fact interfered (in the operations of the Government).

These five points were familiar to all of them; as were other matters, the consequences of which we have all seen. With reference to important matters of State, no opportunity was given the Council of Ministers to determine issues by their own vote and on their own counsel. There were instances of intervention to render the Government subservient to their own interests and their purposes. All this has been proved.

The legal form of the Ottoman Government called for authority to be divided into three agencies: Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. The Ittihad rendered itself superior to the three branches of Government, brought itself to the fore as a fourth power, prevailed through the force of threat, and disfigured our form of Government.

The authors of the above-mentioned crimes, representing the moral person of the Ittihad and Terakki Party, are the members of its General Assembly, the fugitives -

Prime Minister Talaat Pasha and Minister of War Enver Effendi, now expelled from his military career; Djemal Effendi, Minister of the Navy, likewise expelled from the service; Dr. Nazim, Minister of Education - these were the principal criminals (*fayili asli*) and their guilt has been determined by a unanimous vote. As for the case of another member of the Ittihad General Assembly, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Musa Kiazim Effendi, who was present throughout the trial, and on whose behalf both defense counsel and the Attorney General pleaded as if he were a man of virtue, a person of character and great learning, a man whom they could not possibly envision as having participated in the crimes: Musa Kiazim Effendi, however, has been one of the important members of the Party since the Revolution but has obviously convinced such people of high education as defense counsel and the Attorney General of his innocence.

The truth is that he is a person of inadequate education, who represented to ignorant people the deeds of the Party as logical and legal. He exerted no effort (to discourage the crimes committed) and even obstructed attempts to rectify erroneous opinions. In this trial it came to light that he directed the scientific and religious affairs of the Ittihad and Terakki Party, acting contrary to the Sheri Sherif (the law of the noble religion of Islam), and gave advice contrary (to the spirit of Islam). He has told this Court that the advice which he rendered was not proper and admitted that he made no attempt to forestall (the events); he also said that to resign from the Ittihad and Terraki is to resign from Islam - and these and similar concepts are in ill-keeping with the virtues and perfection ascribed to him. They simply exacerbate his guilt. During the examination and interrogation of this individual it was made clear that, being very busy with his work in the scientific branch of his Party, although not included among the principal authors of the crimes, he nevertheless became a participant and for this his guilt has been confirmed by a unanimous vote and his case has been decided on a two-thirds majority vote.

It has not been confirmed that Rifaat Bey, the former President of the Senate, participated in the Ittihad and Terakki Party; neither was he a participant in the crimes committed. The court decided unanimously to grant him freedom provided that he is not jailed for another cause. "Former Minister of the Postal Service, Hashim Bey, was in Berlin. Without receiving his consent, he was elected a Minister and, despite his refusal, he was appointed a Minister upon his return to Istanbul. His period as Minister coincided with the last years of the Ittihad Ministerial Council and he attended only three general meetings of the Ittihad in which he busied himself with issues outside of the Constitution. He was never personally present at any of their consultations; he was a mere listener. This was confirmed in the ensuing examinations. He too therefore has been set free by a majority vote provided that he will not [have] been arrested for any other cause.

As to the sentences: punishment is to be meted to the abovementioned persons: Talaat, Enver, Djemal and Dr. Nazim, whose crimes were the greatest according to the first paragraph of the 45th Article of the Imperial Municipal Punitive Lawbook; also to be punished are Djavid, Mustafa Sheref and Musa Kiazim, by virtue of the second paragraph of the same Article and in accordance with the last paragraph of the 55th Article of the same Lawbook. The Articles in question are:

"When a number of persons commit together a crime, or commit a crime which itself comprehends a number of criminal acts, when each of these persons has been responsible for the commission of one or a few facets of that crime, such people will be termed as co-participants and will be punished individually as principal criminals.

"When it is a question of altering the form of the constitutional government or plotting against the Sultanate, or committing a violent murder - when such acts are confirmed, the accused shall be sentenced to death.

"Accomplices in a felonious crime who are not subject to a legal exception shall be punished in the following manner: If the principal has been sentenced to death or to permanent forced labor, accomplices shall be sentenced to a term of hard labor of not less than ten years."

In accordance therefore with the abovementioned paragraphs in the law code, Talaat, Enver, Djemal and Dr. Nazim are sentenced to death and Djavid, Mustafa Sheref and Musa Kiazim are sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor; and

Although the abovementioned Rifaat and Hashim Beys are to be set free, this will pose no obstacle to issuance of Supreme Court summons to them to appear before that Court on matters relating to their offices; and

Former Minister of Postal Services, Vosgan Effendi, and Minister of Commerce Suleyman-el Boustani Effendi, having departed for Europe quite a while ago, and it having been confirmed that even now they are unaware of invitations issued them (by this Court) to appear before it, and it being known that even if they were aware of this Court's invitation their return would have been improbable, their cases are therefore tabled.

These verdicts have been rendered unanimously in absentia in the cases of Talaat, Enver, Djemal and Dr. Nazim; Djavid, Mustafa Sheref, Vosgan and Suleyman-el Boustani Effendis; they have been likewise rendered in the presence of Rifaat, Hashim Beys, and Musa Kiazim.

July 5, 1919 (1335), 6 Shevval 1337: signatures: The President of the Military Court, Ferik (General) of Staff; Mustafa Nazim Binni Ahmed; Member of the Military Court; Mirliva (General) of Staff, Ali Nazim; Member of the Military Court, Colonel of Infantry, Rejeb Ferdi Binni Mehmed Ali.

(PERSONAL EXCEPTION):

Having considered the confessions of Mustafa Kiazim Effendi and the circumstances revealed by his statements, the undersigned is in full agreement (with the Court sentence) that he was not an accomplice to the crimes of the Merkezi Oumoumiya; but (it is the view of the undersigned) that he used his religious and scientific responsibilities in such a way as to hide the crimes of the Central body, that he made no effort to prevent or forestall the commission of those crimes, that he did not resign from office (because of those crimes), and that therefore he was one of the principal criminals. Hashim Bey, too, according to the evidence of his own confessions, adhered with all his heart to the Central Body and has been loyal to it both during his tenure of office and before he assumed the responsibilities of his position. He posed not a single objection to the crimes committed up to the day of his trial, and is convinced of the Central Body's innocence (of those crimes). The undersigned is inclined to consider him an accomplice-criminal. - (Signed) Member of the Military Court and Mirliva (General of Staff) Mustafa Binni Aziz, Suleymaniye.

It is confirmed that the signatures affixed to this sentence are the authentic signatures of the Members of the Military Court:

July 5, 1919 (1335)

Military Court: NAZIM.

Head of the Secretariat empowered to Record the Minutes of this Military Tribunal: Abidin Daver.

Official organ: No. 3604."

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