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RAPHAEL LEMKIN'S DOSSIER ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

**TURKISH MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS
(Manuscript from Raphael Lemkin's Collection,
American Jewish Historical Society)**

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FOREWORD

Michael J. Bazzyler

The dossier you are about to read contains thoughts from one of the greatest and most influential lawyers and human rights activists in the last century. Yet the man – Raphael Lemkin – remains largely unknown to the general public. In 1944, Lemkin coined a term that is now recognized throughout the world: *genocide*. Lemkin was also the prime mover for the enactment of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (the “Genocide Convention”), the international law document that in 1948 made genocide an international crime and what one international court not long ago characterized as the “crime of crimes.”¹

In coining the term genocide and seeking to eradicate this crime by means of international law, Lemkin was especially mindful of the long-time persecution and eventual genocide of the Armenians at the hands of the Ottoman Turks. The Armenian genocide at the beginning of the 20th century is one of the most documented atrocities committed against a minority group, with numerous first-person accounts, official documents issued by the perpetrators confirming their intent to eradicate the victim group, and trials of some of those responsible. To this day, however, the Republic of Turkey, the successor to the Ottoman Turkish Empire, refuses to recognize that genocide was committed against the Armenians. Lemkin’s repeated references in his writings – set out in these pages – to the plight of the Armenians as an archetype of genocide fly directly in the face of Turkish denial of the Armenian genocide. Of course, one person’s opinion – even the opinion of the man who coined the term – that a certain event constitutes genocide does not conclusively decide the matter. Lemkin’s views,

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¹ *Prosecutor v. Kambanda*, Judgment and Sentence, Case No. ICTR 97-23-S (Trial Chamber 4 Sept. 1998), para. 16 of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda stating: “[G]enocide constitutes the crime of crimes.” See also William A. Schabas, *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2000), p. 9.

however, constitute an important piece of the entire body of evidence validating the point that calling the atrocities committed against the Armenians as genocide is proper.

The instant collection of views by Lemkin on the plight of the Armenians collected in a single volume constitutes an important contribution for scholars, human rights activists and others seeking to know what the originator of the term genocide and the “father” of the Genocide Convention had to say about the murder and mayhem of the Armenians.

In the remainder of my comments, I want to take the opportunity to familiarize students, scholars from other disciplines, and the general public reviewing these pages the life and legacy of this great man and his work.

Because the word “genocide” is so readily known, popular opinion holds that it is a word of ancient origin. Though human history is sadly full with cases of one nation, tribe or group of people being completely wiped out by another nation, tribe or group, the word “genocide” itself did not even exist before World War II. Raphael Lemkin, its creator, was a Jewish lawyer from Poland who had been a long-time student of atrocities committed by one group against another, including those of Turks against the Armenians.

Lemkin was born in 1900 in Poland and died in the United States in 1959. Originally a linguistics student, he switched his university studies to law after developing a keen interest in cases of historical massacres. According to Lemkin’s unpublished autobiography² discovered among his papers after his death, Lemkin was influenced at an early age by reading *Quo Vadis*, where the Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz in his Nobel Prize-winning novel described in detail the massacres of Christian converts during the reign of the Roman Emperor Nero. Lemkin was both absorbed with and aghast at the inhumanity of these acts and the cheering of the Coliseum crowd as the Christians were fed to the lions. He began studying other acts of man’s inhumanity towards his fellow human beings, and as a young university law student was distressed

to learn that even in the 20th century the still-living Turkish perpetrators of what later became known as the Armenian genocide were not punished for their acts.

In 1921, Soghomon Tehlirian, a young Armenian, shot and killed on a Berlin street Mehmed Talaat, the former Ottoman Minister of the Interior who played a major role in the massacres of the Armenians. When Tehlirian was put on trial in Berlin (he was eventually found not guilty by reason of insanity), Lemkin read newspaper accounts of the trial, including the evidence presented at the trial of the massacres. In a discussion with one of his professors about the case, Lemkin asked whether Talaat could have been put on trial for his acts. The professor responded that there was no international rule of law under which Talaat could be arrested and tried. “Consider the case of a farmer who owns a flock of chickens. He kills them, and this is his business. If you interfere, you are trespassing,” explained the professor. Lemkin was shocked: “But the Armenians are not chickens.” To Lemkin, this did not make sense. “It is a crime for Tehlirian to kill a man, but it is not a crime for his oppressor to kill more than a million men. This is most inconsistent.”³ As Lemkin noted in his autobiography, “Sovereignty implies conducting an independent foreign and internal policy, building of schools, construction of roads... all types of activity directed towards the welfare of people. Sovereignty cannot be conceived as the right to kill millions of innocent people.”⁴

After graduating from law school in 1926 at the University of Lvov (then part of Poland and today in the Ukraine), Lemkin taught criminal law at the Free University of Warsaw. In 1928, he went to work as a Warsaw criminal prosecutor. A domestic criminal lawyer by day, Lemkin still dabbled in international law in his off-hours and attended a League of Nations-sponsored international law conference held in Madrid in 1933. There he first publicly introduced his international law crime, which he then called the crime of “barbarity” and was a forerunner of the new word “genocide.” The proposal went nowhere. While the winds of war

2 Raphael Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography of Raphael Lemkin*, unpublished undated manuscript, New York Public Library, Manuscript and Archives Division, The Raphael Lemkin Papers, Box 2: Bio- and Autographical sketches of Lemkin.

3 Samantha Power, “*A Problem from Hell*”: *America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), p. 17.

4 Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial*, *supra*, cited and quoted in Power, *supra*, p. 19.

were already blowing in Europe with Hitler's rise to power earlier that year, the law delegates in Madrid and at subsequent legal conferences where Lemkin continued to present his proposal ignored his pleas.

Lemkin, of course, exhibited prescience. Despite efforts by Great Britain and France to placate Hitler by giving in to his demands for more territory, war could not be avoided. After the German invasion of Poland in 1939, which plunged the European continent into a path of destruction unprecedented in history, Lemkin was drafted into the Polish Army. Following Poland's rapid defeat to Nazi Germany, Lemkin fled Poland and eventually made his way to the United States. Left behind in Poland were his parents, whom he never saw again. Ultimately, about fifty members of his family perished during the war. No longer just a student of mass murder and group violence, he was now experiencing it personally.

An émigré in the United States, Lemkin first taught at Yale and Duke and then joined President Roosevelt's War Department. In 1944, he published his now-classic book, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, where he described the brutalities inflicted by Nazi Germany upon the occupied nations of Europe. Winston Churchill in a speech broadcast in August 1941 over the BBC remarked, "We are in the presence of a crime without a name." In *Axis Rule*, Lemkin gave that crime a name by coining a new word: "genocide."

The crime of genocide described in *Axis Rule* was partially based on Lemkin's presentation in Madrid. Returning to his days as a student of linguistics, and influenced (according to Samantha Power) by the "power of naming" from his childhood Torah studies,⁵ Lemkin now invented a completely new word for the crime. "By 'genocide,'" he wrote in 1944, "we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group. This new word is made from the Greek word *genos* (race, tribe) and the Latin *cide* (killing)."⁶ Genocide, said Lemkin, is "a coordinated plan of different actions

aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves."⁷

Lemkin argued that an international treaty should prohibit genocide, both in times of war and in times of peace. Moreover, as Lemkin explained in a later article in the *American Scholar*, genocide did not only impact the victim group but produced "an immediate and direct detrimental effect upon countries other than those in which it was practiced."⁸

Axis Rule was well received, including a front-page review in the *New York Times Book Review*.⁹ On October 18, 1945, "genocide" entered the English, French, Russian and German languages when the neologism appeared, without attribution to its inventor, in a public document. World War II ended in May, 1945, and Lemkin was by then in London, working with the American team of lawyers drafting the London Charter (officially known as the "Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Trial of the Major War Criminals") for the upcoming trial of the senior Nazi leaders before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. In charging the Nazi leaders with Count 3 – war crimes – the Nuremberg indictment explained that the Nazis, in the course of committing such crimes, "conducted deliberate and systematic genocide – namely, the extermination of racial and national groups..."¹⁰ Since Lemkin was working on the committee charged with drafting the portion of the indictment dealing with war crimes, his presence on the committee undoubtedly led to the appearance of the term genocide in the London Charter. According to James Fussell, a biographer of Lemkin: "After October 1945, it was a word belonging to the world – a way of comprehending the 'Final Solution' as a massive crime paralleling homicide, but on the scale of the destruction of entire groups."¹¹

7 Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation; Analysis of Government; Proposals for Redress* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944), p. 79, reprinted in Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation; Analysis of Government; Proposals for Redress* (Introduction by Samantha Power) (Clark, N.J.: Lawbook Exchange, 2005).

8 Raphael Lemkin, "Genocide," *American Scholar*, v. 15, no. 2 (1946), p. 363

9 Book Review, *New York Times*, Jan. 21, 1945, p. 1, 24

10 *Nuremberg Trial Proceedings Vol. 1 Indictment: Count Three*, available at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon.

11 Email from Jim Fussell to Michael J. Bazylar, Jun. 12, 2005.

5 Power, *supra*, p. 21.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Following the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, Lemkin worked relentlessly to have the international community of that time enact a multinational treaty that would criminalize his new crime.¹² His efforts were a continuation of the proposal he first introduced in Madrid in 1933. Post-1945 Europe, however, was a quite different place than 1933. While in 1933, his proposal was summarily rejected, with one delegate in Madrid dismissing it as occurring “too seldom to legislate,”¹³ the postwar Europe in ruins and the United States were receptive to his ideas.

In 1946, the General Assembly of the newly created United Nations unanimously passed the Declaration on Genocide in the form of a resolution describing genocide as “a denial of the right of existence of entire groups, as homicide is the denial of the right to live of individual human beings.”¹⁴ It noted that such an occurrence “shocks the conscience of mankind” and recognized genocide as a “crime under international law.”¹⁵

Since a General Assembly resolution has no binding effect, Lemkin continued to lobby for his original dream: to outlaw genocide through a binding international treaty to which nations would join apart from their membership in the United Nations. In 1948, two years later, his dream of codifying genocide as an international crime began its process of becoming reality when the UN General Assembly issued the prohibition in the form of a draft treaty, the “United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,” which states now had to ratify by joining it as parties. In 1951, the Convention went into force when the requisite number of states ratified the treaty, making the treaty binding international law. As of this writing, 140 states are parties to the Genocide Convention.

Lemkin’s singular efforts to criminalize genocide took their toll on his health. Falling gravely ill in 1948 following passage by the United Nations of the Genocide Convention, Lemkin’s self-

diagnosis of his illness was “Genociditis, exhaustion from work on the Genocide Convention.”¹⁶ Despite his enormous contribution to international law, Lemkin died impoverished and despondent in a New York hotel room in 1959. His gravestone records his success as the “Father of the Genocide Convention.”

While Lemkin’s legacy has long been known and recognized by Holocaust historians and genocide scholars, his name remained obscure to the general public and to the legal profession for most of the half-century after the end of World War II. In 2002, Lemkin’s contribution became more publicly known with the publication of Samantha Power’s Pulitzer Prize-winning book on genocide, *A Problem From Hell*.¹⁷ Power begins her study with an account of Soghomon Tehlirian’s killing of Mehmed Talaat in Berlin. Although the New York-based Institute for the Study of Genocide and the International Association of Genocide Scholars have jointly issued the annual Raphael Lemkin Prize for the best work on the subject of genocide (which Power also won for her study), the *Journal of Genocide Studies* did not devote a special issue to Lemkin until 2005 in its seventh year of existence.¹⁸ A comprehensive biography of Lemkin has yet to be published. As explained by Tanya Elder: “The general public... is oblivious of him. The public may be able to tell you that acts of genocide had happened throughout history, but none would surmise that no specific word existed for this crime prior to the Jewish Holocaust or possibly for some, that such crimes actually occurred prior to World War II.”¹⁹

Lemkin’s word, genocide, however, has achieved recognition beyond his dreams. Genocide has now become synonymous with extreme evil and, as noted earlier, the “crime of crimes.” A Google search today yields over twenty-six million entries for the term. Nevertheless, Lemkin’s naming “the crime of crimes” and being instrumental in outlawing it under international law could only go so far. As Omer Bartov explains, “Lemkin was an extraordinary

12 This is reflected in Lemkin’s later writings. See Lemkin, “Genocide,” *supra*, p. 227; Raphael Lemkin, “Genocide As A Crime Under International Law,” *The American Journal of International Law*, v. 41 (Jan. 15, 1948), p. 145.

13 Power, *supra*, p. 22.

14 GA Res. 96 (1946).

15 *Ibid.*

16 Quoted in Tanya Elder, “What you see before your eyes: documenting Raphael Lemkin’s life by exploring his archival Papers, 1900-1959,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, v. 7, no. 4, Dec. 2005, p. 484.

17 Samantha Power, *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

18 See “Special Issue: Raphael Lemkin: The ‘Founder of the United Nation’s Genocide Convention’ As A Historian of Mass Violence,” *Journal of Genocide Studies*, v. 7, no. 4, Dec. 2005.

19 Tanya Elder, “What you see before your eyes: documenting Raphael Lemkin’s life by exploring his archival Papers, 1900-1959,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, v. 7, no. 4, Dec. 2005, p. 470.

man...and he did show that if you are committed and as obsessed – and he indeed was a lonely, obsessed, compulsive person – you may, under the right circumstances,... be able to make a huge difference...[but] doing that alone did nothing as such; it was a beginning, not an end.”²⁰

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CHAPTER I. THE ARMENIANS

By Raphael Lemkin

The Armenians have the distinction of being the first race to accept Christianity, King Dertad having received baptism in 276 A.D., thirty seven years before Constantine ventured to issue the Edict of Toleration.

From the earliest days the Armenians have been persecuted. For three thousand years Armenia has been trampled upon by devastating armies and migrating hordes. She has been the prey of Nebuchadnezzar, Xerxes, and Alexander; of the Romans, the Parthians, and Persians; of Byzantine, Saracen, and Crusader; of Seljuk and Ottoman, and Russian and Kurd.

When Tamerlane conquered his Empire from the Great Wall of China to Moscow and the Mediterranean, he subjugated Armenia in the path of his victorious march, and the towns and villages from one end of the country to the other were reduced to ruins. When the city of Van surrendered the youths were carried off as captives and the other inhabitants were massacred; four thousand soldiers were roasted to death, and as many more buried alive. Thousands of the very young and very old were tied together hand and foot and trampled under the hoofs of the horses.

When Armenia was not the scene of continuous wars, its survivors were decimated by disease and famine.

“During the first of the eighteenth century the country was devastated by the contest between Turks and Persians. From 1722 to 1828 the Russians moved south and fought with the Persians over the north-western portion of Armenia. In hopes of liberation from Persia the Armenians assisted the Russians and for six weeks held back an army of eighty thousand Persians, preventing them from crossing the frontier. In payment for this help the Russians seized Archbishop

²⁰ “The Legacy of Raphael Lemkin,” Interview with Omer Bartov, Mar. 8, 2007, available at www.ushmm.org.

Nerses, dragged him to St. Petersburg and afterward banished him to Bessarabia, and sent many Armenian chiefs into exile.”²¹

Through these centuries of persecution the Christian Church, founded by Gregory, “The Illuminator”, has been the heart of the Armenian race, the one thing that has held together a people dispersed over the earth, a subject race for centuries but still a definite unit due to religious faith. Even Armenians who have come under European influence and become skeptical and indifferent to religion, continue to give full support to their church, believing that its preservation is their one hope for national union in the future as it was in the past.

Every conquering race has attempted forcibly to convert the Armenians from Christianity. Zoroastrianism was strongly resisted by them in the fifth century, resisted with their lives. In the seventh century the soldiers of Mohammed massacred thousands of Armenians in cold blood because they refused to become Mohammedans. Their sons were seized by the thousands by Ottoman rulers to be reared in Islamism and become skilled in the art of warfare, and still the Armenians held to the Christian faith.

In 1843, in the southern mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan, 10,000 Nestorian and Armenian Christians were massacred and as many women and children captured and sold into slavery. A.H. Layard, an explorer, describes the fearful carnage as follows:

“When the slaughter of the people of Ashita (9,000) became known in the valley of Liza, the inhabitants of the villages (1,000) took refuge on a lofty platform of rock, where they hoped either to escape notice or to defend themselves against any number of assailants. Bedr Khan Bey (the officer of the Sultan, who had charge of the massacre) surrounded the place and watched until hunger and thirst, in hot sultry weather, had done their work. After three days a regular capitulation was signed and sworn on the Koran; their arms were delivered up; the Kurds were admitted on the

platform. Then did the slaughter begin. To save the trouble of killing them, they were pitched into the Zab (river) below. Out of about one thousand only one escaped from the massacre. The face of the rock below is still covered with scattered bones of the dead, bleached skulls, long locks of women’s hair, and torn portions of garments they had worn.”²²

In 1877 Armenia witnessed new horrors. The Armenians were massacred at Bayazid, as is described by the correspondent of the “*London Times*”:

“The scene that ensued was one of unparalleled horror. The town contained one hundred and sixty-five Christian families, and all the men, women, and children were ruthlessly put to the sword. A Turkish officer, who visited the town a few days subsequently, states that there was not a single inhabitant left... In every house he entered small groups of dead were lying shockingly mutilated, and in the most revolting, indecent positions... Soldiers were employed for six days in burying the dead, the number of whom it was impossible to estimate.”²³

In 1876 the Russo-Turkish war broke out and again Armenia was the battlefield. The battle cry of the Turkish soldiers, Circassians, and Kurds was “*Ghiaurlari kesmeli*” – the infidels must be killed – and the Armenians were infidels. Of this war Norman wrote:

“Turkey bears a striking resemblance to the infernal regions, which good George Herbert said are paved with broken promises; her conduct in this war has been marked by the vilest crimes of which a nation can be guilty. She has not only committed the crime of arming and letting loose bands of undisciplined fanatic robbers, whose passions, fed by the religious exhortations of their bigoted priests, and strengthened by the proclamation of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, have led,

²¹ Ubcini, *Letters on Turkey*, Vol. II, p. 340

²² Layard, *Nineveh*, Vol. I, pp. 165-6

²³ Norman, *Armenia and the Campaign of 1877*, p. 273

to the brutal massacre of the survivors of the Bulgarian rebellion and the cold blooded murders of the inoffensive Christians in Armenia.”²⁴

Turkey suffered a fearful defeat and in March 1878 signed the Peace Treaty of San Stefano. Article 16 of this Treaty was inserted to secure the protection of the Armenians:

“As the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupy in Armenia, and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security from Kurds and Circassians.”

The condition of the Armenians might have been bettered had Russia been left to enforce the promises of Turkey, but on June 4, 1878 Britain concluded the Convention of Cyprus in which she aligned herself on the side of Turkey:

Article 1.

“If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars or any of them shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of further territories of H.I.M. the Sultan in Asia as fixed by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join H.I.M. the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

“In return, H.I.M. the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into the Government and for the protection of the Christians and other subjects of the Porte in those territories. And in order to enable England to make necessary provisions for executing her engagements, H.I.M. the Sultan further consents

to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England.”

This meant the prolongation of Armenian oppressions as Great Britain would not allow Russia to intervene and see that the promised reforms were carried out, and she herself was neither in a position nor inclined to do so.

In July 1878 the Congress of Great Powers met in Berlin. The Patriarch, Bishop Nerses, sent a special deputation to petition Congress for a Christian Governor over Armenia, the European Powers themselves to constitute the guardians of the Christian Armenians. As a result Article 61 was incorporated in the Treaty of Berlin:

“The Sublime Porte engages to realize without delay those ameliorations and reforms which local needs require in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It undertakes to make known from time to time, the measures taken with this object to the Powers who will watch over their application.”

In Article 62 the same religious freedom, the same equality of the adherents of all religions in all political rights, privileges, and prerogatives, was extended to and made the fundamental law of the whole Turkish Empire.

“No person in the Turkish Empire can hereafter be excluded, on the ground of difference of religion, from the exercise of civil or political rights, from the public service, functions, and honors, or from the exercise of any profession or industry.”

This promised well for the peace and security of the Armenians but with criminal stupidity the Congress left the whole matter in the hands of the Turkish Government, which not only failed to introduce the reforms, but determined to exterminate the Armenian population in the Empire.

Only two years after the signing of the Treaty of Berlin the Kurds began attacking the Armenians and on the 20th of September had destroyed thirteen Armenian villages.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 372

The Powers represented at the Berlin Congress

“through Mr. Goschen, presented a collective note, on September 7, 1880. It refuted the statement of Abedden Pasha that the government had already begun the work of reform, and after criticizing the projected reforms, declared that they had been inadequate to the object in view and that a much greater development of the principles of decentralization and religious equality, the organization of a better police force, more energetic protection against the Kurds, a more definite provision concerning the functions of Governor-General, could alone satisfy the fights and expectations created by the sixty-first article of the Treaty of Berlin.”²⁵

The Porte completely ignored the collective note, merely notifying the Powers of what it intended to do. The Powers apparently thought they had done enough, and it is reported that Prince Bismarck expressed the opinion that there would be “serious inconvenience” in bringing up the Armenian question.²⁶ Thus, the Armenians were abandoned to the Turks who proceeded with their plans for extermination.

Armenians were forbidden by law to carry arms and were frequently attacked by the armed Kurds, and complaints of the crimes perpetrated against them went unheeded. Mousa Bey, a Kurdish chief, murdered an Armenian and abducted his daughter, tortured another Armenian to death with a red-hot iron at Bitlis, and destroyed an entire family in Dabovank, ravishing all the women in the town. The Turkish court of Justice acquitted him.

About 1892, Sultan Abdul Hamid called the Kurdish chiefs to Constantinople and conferred upon them military titles, supplied them with uniforms and weapons, and sent them back to organize their tribes into “Hamidieh” cavalry regiments, numbering about 22,500 men. In this way the Sultan “obtained a power eager in time of peace to crush the Armenian growth and spirit.”

²⁵ Appleton, *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1880, p. 689

²⁶ *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 194

The Armenians

“besought the protection of the co-signatory Powers to the Berlin guarantees against the ruthless oppression of the lawless and ruffian Kurds, and with the tacit consent, if not the approbation of the Powers, the Porte now appoints their worst enemies as their guardians.”²⁷

An Armenian missionary wrote in 1892 from Southern Armenia:

“We journeyed east of north over the hills, and dropped into another valley, in the bosom of which nestled the Armenian village of Khundik, of about twenty houses. It was a charming spot, but the oppression of surrounding Kurdish begs (chiefs) was depleting the population. Their church has been reduced to a heap, and they were not allowed to restore it.”²⁸

On the night of Jan. 5, 1893 placards attacking the Turkish Government appeared in several important cities of Asia Minor. The authorities maintained that the placards had been posted by students in the mosques, but later events indicated that this was done by emissaries of the Government, who thereby gained an excuse for accusing the Armenians of sedition. Many arrests were made and riots occurred. A despatch from Constantinople under date March 15, 1893 read as follows:

“Moslem mobs have possession of Caesarea. They have established a reign of terror over the Armenian churches, have robbed hundreds and have killed many. During services in three Armenian churches the other day the mob burst in the doors, stripping the women of their jewelry, and beat and cut the men. After the Armenians fled the Moslems sacked the churches. They afterwards went through the streets attacking all the Armenians they met, bursting into private houses, and sacking shops. All places of business are closed and

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 223

²⁸ *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 224

trade is utterly stagnant. Violence and theft are said to continue day and night. Furthermore, Christian caravans are being robbed and the merchants murdered. The prisons are crowded with Armenian prisoners. Most of the conspicuous Armenians of Caesarea and Marsovan have been imprisoned.”²⁹

The Turks accused the Armenians of plotting to stage a revolution and arrested great numbers of prominent Armenians whom they accused of being the instigators. The following British Consular report was despatched from London, April 10, 1893:

“Advices from Constantinople show that the British consuls at Smyrna, Trebizond, and other places in Anatolia, have sent in official reports of Turkish outrages on native Christians. These reports include the names of eighteen hundred Armenians who are imprisoned on various charges in the several consular jurisdictions.”

Some of these alleged “agitators” were freed after being forced to pay large sums of money, others were kept in prison, and a great many were killed. Only fifty-six were tried at Angora according to a despatch from Constantinople, June 18, 1893:

“The trial of Armenians accused of being concerned in rioting at Caesarea and Marsovan last spring has just been concluded at Angora. Seventeen of the prisoners, including Professors Thoumanian and Kayayan, were condemned to death; six, including the Protestant pastor at Goemerek, were sentenced to fifteen years’ imprisonment; eighteen – one was a woman, thirty-three years old – were sentenced to imprisonment for terms ranging from seven to ten years, and fifteen were acquitted. Three others were tortured to death in prison.”³⁰

The persecution of Armenians culminated in the massacre at Sassoun early in September 1894. The Kurds had been continually

harassing the Armenians, raiding their villages, stealing their cattle, and murdering and raping. The signal for the massacre was given by a raid in which several Kurds were killed by Armenians in attempting to recover some cattle stolen from them. False reports were sent to Constantinople that the Armenians were revolting and the Sultan seized the occasion to send orders to exterminate them. The order as read before the army, collected in haste from all the chief cities of Eastern Turkey, was:

“Whoever spares man, woman, or child, is disloyal.”³¹

The Turks and Kurds fell upon the Armenians, slaughtering between six and ten thousand:

“All these things (following facts) were related here and there by soldiers who took part in the horrible carnage. Some of them, weeping, claim that the Kurds did more, and declare that they only obeyed the orders of others. It is said one hundred fell to each of them to dispose of. No compassion was shown to age or sex, even by the regular soldiery, not even when the victims fell suppliant at their feet. Six to ten thousand persons met such a fate as even the darkest ages of darkened Africa hardly witnessed, for there women and tender babes might at least have had a chance of a life of slavery, while here womanhood and innocence were but a mockery before the cruel lust that ended its debauch by stabbing women to death with the bayonet, while tender babes were impaled with the same weapon on their dead mother’s breast, or perhaps seized by the hair to have their heads lopped off with the sword.

“In one place, three or four hundred women, after being forced to serve vile purposes by the merciless soldiery, were hacked to pieces by sword and bayonet in the valley below. In another place, some two hundred weeping and wailing women begged for compassion, falling at the commander’s feet, but the blood-

²⁹ Ibid, p. 227

³⁰ *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 230

³¹ *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 236

thirsty wretch, after ordering their violation, directed his soldiers to dispatch them in a similar way.

“In another place, some sixty young brides and more attractive girls were crowded into a church, and after violation were slaughtered, and human gore was seen flowing from the church door...

“It seems safe to say that forty villages were totally destroyed, and it is probable that sixteen thousand at least were killed. The lowest estimate is ten thousand, and many put it much higher. This is allowing for more fugitives than it seems possible can have escaped.”³²

Under pressure from Great Britain a Turkish commission of enquiry was sent to Armenia in November 1894, accompanied by delegates from Great Britain, Russia, and France, to discover that no revolution had been attempted. The Sultan asked the President of the United States to appoint a representative but when it was suggested that Mr. Jewett, American consul at Sivas, make an independent investigation and report to the U.S. Government, the Sultan refused his appointment.

It is hardly necessary to say that the general impression was that the Sultan's investigating commission was a farce as the European representatives were not privileged to make an independent investigation. After six months or so the European delegates quitted their Turkish colleagues in disgust, according to the following despatch:

Constantinople, June 10, 1895. –

“The Moosh Commission closed on Friday, so far as the work of the European delegates is concerned. They were compelled to tell the Turkish delegates that they could have nothing more to do with them. From the first attitude of the Turkish delegates has been invariably and increasingly dishonest. According to the statements of those interested in the workings of the

commission, the representatives of the Sultan have not manifested honor, truth, or decency. They have made no efforts to determine the cause of the outrages in Armenia.

“The rupture between the Turkish and European commissioners was caused by the refusal of the Turks, on purely farcical grounds, to hear important witnesses upon matters pertaining to the questions at issue. It was evident that the Turks were afraid that the tissue of falsehoods that they have thrown around the situation in Armenia would be broken down.”³³

The following is the report of the European delegates of the Commission:

“We (Wilbert, Shipley, and Pyevalsky, the French, English, and Russian consuls) have, in our report, given it as our conviction, arrived at from the evidence brought before us, that the Armenians were massacred without distinction of age or sex; and indeed, for a period of some three weeks, viz.: from the 12th of August to the 4th of September (1894 O.S.), it is not too much to say that the Armenians were absolutely hunted like wild beasts, being killed wherever they were met; and if the slaughter was not greater, it was, we believe, solely owing to the vastness of the mountain ranges of that district, which enabled the people to scatter, and so facilitated their escape. In fact, and speaking with a full sense of responsibility, we are compelled to say that the conviction has forced itself upon us that it was not so much the capture of the agitator Mourad, or the suppression of a pseudo-revolt, as the extermination, pure and simple, of the Cheligrizan and Talori districts.”³⁴

Dr. J. Lepsius of Berlin describes the conduct of the investigation of the Sassoun massacre:

³² Greene, *the Armenian Crisis in Turkey*, pp. 17-24

³³ *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 248

³⁴ Book “*Turkey Note*”, 1895.

“Turkish Commission was appointed to inquire into occurrences which took place at Sassoun in the autumn of 1894, when in the massacre in which Turkish soldiers took part, twenty-seven Christian villages were destroyed and thousands of Armenians were murdered. Delegates from the English, French, and Russian consulates were appointed to attend the Commission. At the second sitting held at Moosh, on January 26, 1895, they made what according to European ideas of justice was the natural request that the commissioners, before inquiring into any other matter, should take evidence as to the massacre of Armenians by Turks. The commissioners (Turkish) however alleged that according to their instructions from the Porte they were only to inquire ‘into the criminal proceeding of the Armenian brigands’, they denied that there had been any massacre of Armenians, and rejected the request of the delegates. The commission sat from January 24 to July 21 at Moosh, some fifteen to thirty miles from... officers of the army and navy who, in their turn, won over the men of their regiments. When everything was in readiness, under threat of marching upon Constantinople with 60,000 men, the Young Turks demanded the restoration of the constitution which Abdul Hamid had suppressed in 1877, and other reforms. On the 24th of July, 1908, by the command of the Sultan, telegrams were sent to all divisions of the army and to the governors of the provinces announcing that his Imperial Majesty, Sultan Abdul Hamid, was graciously pleased to proclaim a constitutional form of government. The people were dazed and bewildered, not knowing what to believe, and when reassured, their outbursts of joy defied description. Turks, Christians, and Jews joined indiscriminately in their joyful demonstrations.”

Writers of all nations praised the Young Turks and described in glowing terms the wonderful future of the Ottoman Empire.

The goodwill of Europe and America, and practical help of all kinds was given to the Young Turks. Great Britain and France helped in the establishment of the new regime by lending money and capable advisers for the Treasury and Navy.

The Armenians welcomed the government of the Young Turks and had sublime faith in their assertions of Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité. Their support of the regime was enthusiastic and spontaneous, and the Constitution of 1908 was regarded as a starting point for the creation of equality for peoples of every race and religion. However, the Sultan Hamid rebelled against the power of the Young Turks and on April 23, 1909, the Commander of the Young Turkey army heard a rumor that Sultan Abdul Hamid had planned a general massacre of his opponents for the following day. The supporters of the Sultan were attacked and on April 27th Abdul Hamid was dethroned by a resolution of Parliament.

On the day when the followers of Abdul Hamid had first mutinied, April 13, 1909, the Mohammedans of the city and province of Adana, fell upon the Armenians and killed between 25,000 and 50,000 while more than 150,000 suffered from disease and starvation. Talaat Bey boasted that he had done more in destroying the Armenians in thirty days than had Abdul Hamid in thirty years.

Even the Adana massacres did not succeed in crushing the faith in a better future for the Armenians. After the massacre the Armenians were again left in comparative peace and many political refugees even returned to their homes and recovered their properties. Armenians were drafted into military service in the Army and became deputies in the Chamber, and altogether attained a new status in Turkey but after a short time the treatment of the Armenians became so intolerable again that they appealed to the European Governments for help in 1913. Negotiations were carried on for months and finally the Sublime Porte permitted the appointment of two European Inspectors who were to have supervisory powers in the six Armenian vilayets, and Mr. Hoff, a Swede, and Mr. Westeneng, a Hollander, were appointed. They had barely arrived in Constantinople for instructions when the First World War broke out and their authority was revoked by the Turkish Government and they were told to leave the country.

The war conditions afforded the Turks the opportunity they had long awaited to destroy the Christian Armenians and they believed that once this destruction was an accomplished fact their crime would be condoned, or at least overlooked, as was done in the case of the massacres of 1895-96, when the Great Powers did not even reprimand the Sultan. Allied with Germany, who apparently fully approved of the Turkish plan, the leaders felt they had nothing to fear from Europe at the end of the war, which they were convinced would be won by Germany.

The Turks worked out their plans for a general extermination of the Armenians with extreme care. "After this," said Talaat Bey, when he gave the final signal, "there will be no Armenian question for fifty years."

On a given day the streets of certain towns were occupied by the local gendarmerie with fixed bayonets, and all able-bodied Armenian men who had been exempted from military draft, were ordered to present themselves on pain of death. All Armenian males between the ages of fifteen and seventy were then marched out of town and massacred in the first secluded valley reached.

The women, old men and children, constituting the remainder of the Armenian population were then given a notice of deportation to take place within a week or two.

The following is the text of the Ottoman Government's Proclamation ordering the deportation of the Armenians:

"Our fellow countrymen, the Armenians, who form one of the racial elements of the Ottoman Empire, having taken up, as a result of foreign instigation for many years past, with a lot of false ideas of a nature to disturb the public order; and because of the fact that they brought about bloody happenings and have attempted to destroy the peace and security of the Ottoman State, and the safety and interests of their fellow countrymen, as well as of themselves; and, moreover, as they have now dared to join themselves to the enemy of their existence (Russia) and to the enemies not at war with our state – our Government is compelled to adopt extraordinary measures and sacrifices,

both for the preservation of the order and security of the country and for the welfare and the continuation of the existence of the Armenian community. Therefore, as a measure to be applied until the conclusion of the war, the Armenians have to be sent away to places which have been prepared in the interior vilayets; and a literal obedience to the following orders, in a categorical manner, is accordingly enjoined on all Ottomans:

"First. – All Armenians, with the exception of the sick, are obliged to leave within five days from the date of this proclamation, by villages or quarters, and under the escort of the gendarmerie.

"Second. – Though they are free to carry with them on their journey the articles of their movable property which they desire, they are forbidden to sell their lands and their extra effects, or to leave the latter here and there with other people, because their exile is only temporary and their landed property, and the effects they will be unable to take with them, will be taken care of under the supervision of the Government and stored in closed and protected buildings. Anyone who sells or attempts to take care of his movable effects or landed property in a manner contrary to this order, shall be sent before the Court Martial. They are free to sell to the Government only the articles which may answer the needs of the Army.

"Third. – Contains a promise of safe conduct.

"Fourth. – A threat against anyone attempting to molest them on the way.

"Fifth. – Since the Armenians are obliged to submit to this decision of the Government, if some of them attempt to use arms against the soldiers or gendarmes, arms shall be employed against them and they shall be taken, dead or alive. In like manner those who, in opposition to the Government's decision, refrain from leaving or seek to hide themselves-if they are sheltered

or given food and assistance, the persons who thus shelter or aid them shall be sent before the Court Martial for execution.”³⁵

The deportation and the sufferings of the Armenians on the road are indescribable; hundreds of thousands walked hundreds of miles in the burning sun or crossed icy mountains, without food, water or extra clothing, laden with babies in arms and small children, falling to the ground from hunger and exhaustion and struggling to their feet again under the blows of their guards. Thousands died along the roads from hunger, exhaustion and the brutal mistreatment of the guards.

“At one place the commander of gendarmerie openly told the men to whom he consigned a large company, that they were at liberty to do what they chose with the women and girls.” (American Committee’s Report.)

The same horrors were enacted in hundreds of Anatolian towns and villages and over thousands of miles of mountain trails. Everywhere the miserable prisoners were being driven across mountains and arid plains, falling under the blows of gendarmes. Children were born on the road, women and old men died of exhaustion, and mothers threw their children into the water to drown, or gave them away to some kindly passerby in an attempt to save them from their torture.

When they passed through Christian villages where the deportation order had not yet been received, the travelers were not allowed to receive food or help of any kind. They were driven endless miles until all they longed for was death. If they turned off the road they were shot or speared and Kurds and mounted peasants hunted down the pitiful few who succeeded in escaping. An English woman said:

“The deportation is still going on. From the interior along the Baghdad Railway they are still being sent through Adana on the journey of death. As far as the

railway exists, it is being used to hurry the work of extermination faster than the caravans from the regions where there are no railways.”³⁶

The journey’s end for these miserable survivors of the great deportation was either in the desert or the swamp, where after hundreds of miles of agonized walking they were to meet their death. The swamps near Aleppo were allotted to the first comers, and later arrivals were sent four or five days’ journey further on to the town of Der-el-Zor.

“For these mountaineers the desert climate is terrible. On the next day I reached a large Armenian camp of goat-skin tents, but most of the unfortunate people were sleeping out in the sun on the burning sands... Those who have no experience of the desert cannot picture to themselves the sufferings entailed by such a journey – a hilly desert without shade marching over rough and rugged rocks, unable to satisfy one’s scorching thirst from the muddy waters of the Euphrates, which winds its course along in close proximity.”³⁷

There was nothing but death in the swamps.

“The malaria makes ravages among them, because of the complete lack of food and shelter. How cruelly ironic to think that the Government pretends to be sending them there to found a colony: and they have no ploughs, no seeds to sow, no bread, no abodes; in fact they are sent with empty hands.”³⁸

The Turkish Government refused to allow the Red Cross to give any help whatsoever to the refugees in the beginning. An Armenian paper, the Bahag, recorded on September 9th that:

“A Commission of five members has left America for Constantinople to help the Armenians in distress. The Mission is anxious to travel in the interior of the country to acquaint itself with the situation on the

36 *The Blackest Page of Modern History*, p. 27

37 *Sonnenaufgang*, organ of the Deutscher Hilfsbund für Christliches Liebeswerk im Orient, by Beatrice Rohner, a Swiss missionary from Basle.

38 Armenia, Marseilles, September 1, 1915, Professor Hagopian

35 *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 5, 1916. From an article by Eleanor Franklin Egan. Miss Egan brought this document of Turkey by copying it lightly on the margin of a book.

actual spot and take corresponding action; but the Turkish Government has refused them permission."

Following the important collection of documents made by Viscount Bryce is a careful summary of the facts. In 1912 the total number of Armenians in the Turkish Empire was between 1,600,000 and 2,000,000. 182,000 of these escaped into the Russian Caucasus and 4,200 into Egypt. 150,000 remained in Constantinople. A very few Armenians went into hiding in the hills and managed to escape death. The murdered numbered from 600,000 to 800,000. The Turks were almost successful in solving the "Armenian problem."

Grand Duke Nicholas conquered Armenia early in 1916 and proclaimed the "liberation of Armenia from the Turkish yoke" but tried to prevent the surviving Armenians from returning to their native land as he planned to colonize the fertile acres with Cossacks.

In a Guildhall speech in 1916 the British Premier declared that Great Britain "*was resolved to secure the liberation of this ancient (Armenian) people,*" and many similar promises were made by the French.

When Lenin came into power in Russia he proclaimed the union and independence of Armenian lands but under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of March 1918, Soviet Russia ceded the districts of Batoum and Kars to the Turks who proceeded to seize them.

After the Armistice British and French authorities made some efforts to create a home for Armenians in Cilicia, but this attempt was abandoned by France in 1921.

A Soviet Armenian government was established in Erivan in December 1920 but this is but a small portion of the country which was originally Armenia.

CHAPTER II. TAXATION

In 1894 William Willard Howard visited Armenia, one of a group of fifteen newspaper correspondents, to investigate the massacre of Armenians by Turks. He found deplorable devastation and starvation caused by the depredations of the Kurds and Turks and by the iniquitous system of taxation, which he describes as follows:

"The villagers had been reduced from prosperity to starvation by the illegal exactions of tax-gatherers, the demands of Turkish officials, and the raids of Kurds. In ordinary times the villager might reasonably expect to retain for his own use one-fourth of his crop. He gave one share to his Kurdish neighbors as blackmail under the form of tribal protection; he gave another to the government for taxes, and a third in gifts to the local officials. In addition, he could count upon losing a fourth share at the hands of Kurdish raiders. In times of active persecution, such as last year, the Kurds pastured their cattle in his growing wheat fields, as I myself have seen, and, during the harvest, came down to the threshing floors and stole all the grain that they could carry away, leaving for the Armenians only wheat straw to eat.

"This state of things made no difference to tax-gatherers. To collect the same tax twice in a year was a common occurrence, and if the villagers were unable to pay they were beaten and tortured by the soldiers, and the women and girls were violated.

"After the tax-gatherers had thus slaked their thirst for outrage and cruelty, the portable property, even to the cooking utensils, was sold to Mohammedan bidders in farcical public sale for a twentieth part of the value. The village was thus left stripped of everything, and the people were reduced to eating the grass and herbs of the field." ³⁹

³⁹ *Horrors of Armenia*, pp. 23-24

Summary of tax abuses

1. Unjust and corrupt assessment

“Villagers are compelled to give assessors presents of money to prevent them from overestimating the taxable persons and property. Assessors, to secure additional bribes, signify their willingness to make an underestimation. This, in turn affords opportunity for blackmail, which is used by succeeding officials.

2. Injustice and severity in collecting.

The collectors, like the assessors, have ways of extorting presents and bribes from the people. As a rule they go to the villages on Sunday when all the people are in the village, interrupt the services, and show disrespect to churches. They accompany the collection with abuse and reviling, sometimes wantonly destroying property.

They disregard the impoverished condition of the people and even after severe crop failures, when the people are dying of starvation, the taxes are collected in full and with severity. Food and farming implements are seized in lieu of taxes and many people are compelled to borrow money at enormous interest rates, mortgaging their farms and future crops. In this way unscrupulous officials gain possession of Armenian villages and the inhabitants become practically slaves.

The collectors often make false returns of taxes received and as the people are not given receipts the taxes are often collected again.

3. Farming of taxes.

Powerful Kurdish chiefs often become tax collectors, as this position is often farmed out to the highest bidder. The chief then collects the amount due the government and takes for himself as much as he wishes. Collectors on their visits to villages take with them a

retinue of servants and soldiers who, with their horses, are kept at the expense of the village, thus placing additional burden on the inhabitants. Soldiers and servants sent to villages to make collections, very naturally take something for themselves also.

One village complained to the government of the excess tax demanded by a Kurdish nomad chief, Mustapha Pasha, in 1893, but no redress was given. The chief, when he learned of the complaint, sent droves of sheep to devour the remaining crops.⁴⁰

MASSACRES OF THE 1890s

C.B. Norman, special correspondent of the “*London Times*”, described the outrages in Armenia in 1877:

“In my correspondence to the ‘Times’ I made it a rule to report nothing but what came under my own personal observation, or facts confirmed by European evidence.

“A complete list it is impossible for me to obtain, but from all sides – from Turk and Armenian alike – I hear piteous tales of the desolation that reigns throughout Kurdistan – villages deserted, towns abandoned, trade at a standstill, harvest ready for the sickle, but none to gather it in, husbands mourning their dishonored wives, parents their murdered children; and this is not the work of a power whose policy of selfish aggression no man can defend, but the ghastly acts of Turkey’s irregular soldier on Turkey’s most peaceable inhabitants – acts the perpetrators of which are well known, and yet are allowed to go unpunished...”

“A bare recital of the horrors committed by these demons is sufficient to call for their condign punishment. The subject is too painful to need any coloring, were my feeble pen enabled to give it.”

40 “*The Independent*” of New York, January 17, 1895

The following are a few of the cases reported by Mr. Norman:

“This gang also attacked the village of Kordjotz, violating the women, and sending off all the virgins to their hills; entering the church they burned the Bible and sacred pictures; placing the communion cup on the altar, they in turn defiled it, and divided the church plate among themselves...

“Sheik Obaidulah’s men rallied their comrades under the flag of Jelaludeen; these latter operated between Van and Faik Pasha’s camp. They attacked and robbed the villages of Shakbabgi and Adnagants, carrying off all boys and virgins. At Kushartz they did the same, and killing 500 sheep, left them to rot in the streets, and then fired the place. Khosp, Jarashin, and Asdvadsadsan, Poghatz, and Aregh suffered in like manner; the churches were despoiled and desecrated, graves dug up, young of both sexes carried off, what grain they could not transport was destroyed, and the inhabitants driven naked into the fields, to gaze with horror on their burning homesteads.”⁴¹

In the summer of 1890 the London Daily News sent special correspondents to Armenia, and their reports indicated that the Turkish Government was planning increasing persecutions of the Armenians:

“There is a well-founded suspicion that the Sultan is deluding himself with the idea that, by supplanting the Christian Armenians by Mohammedan Kurds, he can raise up a formidable barrier to the Russian conquest of the province...

“Mampre Benglian, the Armenian Bishop of Alashgerd, had arrived at Constantinople by way of Trebizond, under guard as a criminal. The charge against him is that he advised his flock to leave Armenia and seek refuge in Persia. The Bishop was arrested and subjected to the most outrageous indig-

nities, insulted, spat at, and flogged, thrown into a dungeon and there confined for some time before being sent to Constantinople. Owing to the remonstrances by the British and Russian Ambassadors, he had been given his freedom on parole. A letter from Alashgerd says: ‘We can neither depart nor stay, and no other course is left us but to perish where we are. The Kurds and Turks openly declare that they mean to kill as many Armenians as they can, and that they have full permission.’ The Kurds have set fire to the crops of the Armenians in many places in the vicinity of Bitlis. The situation in Armenia is daily becoming more deplorable. There has been a wholesale massacre of Christians at Moosh.”⁴²

The work of extermination first began on a small scale and was carried on in different ways in different parts of the country. In the interior small groups were killed, while in the cities imprisonments, tortures, exiles, assassinations and compulsive conversions to Islam became the order of the day. A letter published in “L’Observateur” and dated June 26, 1891, written by its Constantinople correspondent shows the treatment accorded Armenians:

“I have already written you, that in consequence of the late disturbances at Constantinople most of the Armenian prisoners have been banished, in small groups, to various distant places, in order not to attract the attention of the public. Is it possible ever to pen the tortures that these unfortunates are suffering in Turkish prisons? The penal system in Turkey is still in its primitive stage, and has undergone no improvement since the time of Sultan Mehmed II (1451-1481). Many prisoners have not been able to stand the tortures inflicted upon them, and the death of one of them (Vartan Calousdian, a young man twenty-six years of age) is a new proof of their atrocities. The parents of this young man, through the liberal distribu-

41 C.B. Norman, *Armenia and the Campaign of 1877*, pp. 293-298, London, 1879

42 *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, pp. 196-197

tion of backshish, obtained his body from the prison. They could not withhold their tears, and they were awe-stricken at the sight of the numerous wounds which marked the body. The poor young man had many of his ribs broken, the palms of his hands and the bottom of his feet were burned and his breast and back stripped with long burns...

“Similar cases occur quite often in Asia Minor, but the local authorities conceal them with the utmost care, and make every effort to keep them from the people. The Armenians have not even the right to emigrate from this barbarous country... the governor of Trebizond prohibited about one hundred Armenian emigrants from leaving the port on the Massangeric steamer ‘Niger’”.⁴³

Many of the Armenians who were arrested in 1893 were privately assassinated.

“The private advices from Constantinople give the Press information of a tragic discovery. The harbor of that city has no wharves. Vessels, after discharging their cargoes at the customhouse, anchor in the harbor and receive their cargoes. On September 30, 1893, a Russian merchantman anchored off Seraglio Point, and, having received her cargo, would raise her anchor to sail for home. The anchor seemed to be caught in something heavy. After long efforts it was raised. It brought up with it fifteen large haircloth sacks, such as are used by Turkish merchants in packing goods for shipment.

“At first the Russian captain thought he had disclosed a smuggling scheme. Upon investigation he discovered that the sacks were filled with human bodies, each sack containing from fifteen to twenty. Further investigation disclosed that they were the bodies of Armenian political prisoners.

“Foreign ambassadors to Turkey had recently complained that the prisons were overcrowded with Armenian prisoners, and the government decided to remove the cause of complaint. Accordingly about three hundred prisoners were taken on board of a Turkish man-of-war, ostensibly for transportation to Africa. In the night, however, the fellows were murdered, their bodies placed in sacks, which were tied one to the other, and thrown into the harbor. This is in keeping with the Grand Vizier’s declaration a short time ago, that he would settle the Armenian question by annihilating the Armenians as a race. A discovery similar to this was made in the harbor of Salonica a year ago.”⁴⁴

The following letter’s authenticity is vouched for by twenty outstanding Americans, but at the time of its publication neither the name of the author nor the place from which it was written could be revealed for fear of Turkish reprisals:

“No. 16, 1894

Last year the Talvoreeg Armenians successfully resisted the attacks of the neighboring Kurds. The country became very unsettled. This year the government interfered and sent detachments of regular soldiers to put down the Armenians. These were assisted by the Kurdish Hamediehs (organized troops). The Armenians were attacked in their mountain fastnesses and were finally reduced by the failure of supplies, both of food and ammunition. About a score of villages were wiped out of existence – people slaughtered and houses burned.

“A number of able-bodied young Armenians were captured, bound, covered with brushwood and burned alive. A number of Armenians, variously estimated, but less than a hundred, surrendered themselves and pled for mercy. Many of them were shot down on the spot and the remainder were dispatched with sword and

43 *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 200

44 *Armenia: A Martyr Nation* – footnote on page 229.

bayonet.

“A lot of women, variously estimated from 60 to 160 in number, were shut up in a church, and the soldiers were ‘let loose’ among them. Many of them were outraged to death and the remainder dispatched with sword and bayonet. A lot of young women were collected as spoils of war. Two stories are told. 1. That they were carried off to the harems of their Moslem captors. 2. That they were offered Islam and the harems of their Moslem captors – refusing, they were slaughtered. Children were placed in a row, one behind another, and a bullet fired down the line, apparently to see how many could be dispatched with one bullet. Infants and small children were piled one on the other and their heads struck off. Houses were surrounded by soldiers, set on fire, and the inmates forced back into the flames at the point of the bayonet as they tried to escape.

“...Estimates vary from 3,000 to 8,000 for the number of persons massacred. These are sober estimates. Wild estimates place the number as high as 20,000 to 25,000... It is to be noted that the massacres were perpetrated by regular soldiers, for the most part under command of officers of high rank...

“A Christian does not enjoy the respect accorded to street dogs. If this massacre passes without notice it will simply become the declaration of the doom of the Christians...”⁴⁵

The massacres at Sassoun were described in a report carefully prepared in common by several persons, “the signature of any one of whom,” according to Mr. Greene, “would be of sufficient guaranty to give great weight.” According to this account the Kurds of several tribes were ordered to attack Sassoun. They made camp around the town and stole several oxen. When the villagers went to ask for the return of their oxen a fight took place and two or three

men on each side were killed. The Government immediately sent in all directions until about twenty thousand Kurds gathered at Sassoun, while about five hundred Hamedieh horsemen were sent to the neighboring Moosh.

“At first the Kurds were set on, and the troops kept out of sight. The villagers, put to the fight, and thinking they had only the Kurds to do with, repulsed them on several occasions. The Kurds were unwilling to do more unless the troops assisted. Some of the troops assumed Kurdish dress, and helped them in the fight with more success. Small companies of troops entered several villages, saying they had come to protect them as loyal subjects, and were quartered among the houses. In the night they arose and slew the sleeping villagers, man, woman, and child.

“By this time those in other villages were beginning to feel that extermination was the object of the government, and desperately determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. And then began a campaign of butchery that lasted some twenty-three days, or, roughly, from the middle of August to the middle of September. The Ferik Pasha (Marshal Zekki Pasha), who came post-haste from Erzigan, read the Sultan’s firman for extermination, and then, hanging the document on his breast, exhorted the soldiers not to be found wanting in their duty. On the last day of August, the anniversary of the Sultan’s accession, the soldiers were especially urged to distinguish themselves, and they made it the day of the greatest slaughter. Another marked day occurred a few days earlier, being marked by the occurrence of a wonderful meteor.

“No distinctions were made between persons or villages, as to whether they were loyal and had paid their taxes or not. The orders were to make a clean sweep. A priest and some leading men from one village went out to meet an officer, taking in their hands their tax receipts, declaring their loyalty, and begging for mercy; but the village was surrounded, and all human beings

⁴⁵ *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey*, pp. 13-15

put to the bayonet. A large and strong man, the chief of one village, was captured by the Kurds, who tied him, threw him on the ground, and, squatting around him, stabbed him to pieces.

“At Galogozan many young men were tied hand and foot, laid in a row, covered with brushwood and burned alive. Others were seized and hacked to death piecemeal... A chain was put around the priest's neck, and pulled from opposite sides till he was several times choked and revived, after which several bayonets were planted upright, and he raised in the air and let fall upon them.

“The men of one village, when fleeing, took the women and children, some five hundred in number, and placed them in a sort of grotto in a ravine. After several days the soldiers found them, and butchered those who had not died of hunger...

“People were crowded into houses which were then set on fire. In one instance a little boy ran out of the flames, but was caught on a bayonet and thrown back.

“Children were frequently held up by the hair and cut in two, or had their jaws torn apart. Women with child were ripped open; older children were pulled apart by their legs.

“Some thousands of persons were massacred on Mount Andoke, where they had taken refuge, and the Turks then turned to the three or four thousand Armenians who had escaped to the plain of Talvoreeg. When they saw themselves thickly surrounded on all sides by Turks and Kurds, they raised their hands to heaven with an agonizing moan for deliverance. They were thinned out by rifle shots, and the remainder were slaughtered with bayonets and swords, till a veritable river of blood flowed from the heaps of the slain.”⁴⁶

After the massacres of 1895 the Kurds and Turks carried on a systematic rape of Armenian women. According to William Willard Howard, not a single Christian woman in the length and breadth of Armenia escaped ravishment. The women were not taken in lust but were violated innumerable times a day by different men until they either died from the effects of their ill-treatment or lost their minds. Not just young women who might have appealed to the lust of the soldiers were debauched in this way but all females from little girls to old women.

In order to increase the degradation of the Armenians the men of the families were tied to posts and forced to witness the dishonoring of their wives, mothers, daughters or sisters. If they protested it meant death by torture, one of the commonest forms of Christian death in the Ottoman Empire. A man who protested against the treatment of his women was usually first beaten until he was almost unrecognizable, and then held with the soles of his feet before an open fire until the flesh dropped off.

“After that his tongue may be pulled out, or red hot irons thrust into his eyes. If he is not dead by this time he is hacked to pieces with knives. Or he may be hung up by the sensitive parts of his body until he dies in unspeakable agony... Sometimes a man who protests against the degradation of his household is taken to a lonely place in the mountains and buried up to his neck in the ground. He is left there until wolves come down and tear his head to pieces.”⁴⁷

“In a village near Lake Van a party of soldiers, after repeatedly violating the women, killed a baby and boiled it in an iron pot, and compelled its mother to eat it until she became a raving maniac through grief and horror.”⁴⁸

In 1896 abduction of girls was not as common as the year before, because it was no longer necessary and the Kurds merely went to any Christian village and selected the girls they wanted.

⁴⁶ *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey*, pp. 21-23

⁴⁷ *Horrors of Armenia*, p. 6

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 11

Formerly brides were dragged off as their wedding processions left the doors of churches, but by 1896 marriages practically ceased, as the preparation for a wedding merely invited additional violation and defilement by the Turks. The brides who were abducted were generally kept in Kurdish villages until they had been violated by every man in the tribe, and were then returned half-insane to their bridegrooms if they had happened to escape being massacred when their brides were abducted.

The Rev. H.M. Allen, an American missionary and Cecil M. Hallward, British vice-Consul at Van, made a tour of Moks and Shadakh. They were guests of an Armenian priest for part of one day. After they left the village the Mohammedans seized the priest, skinned him and stuffed his skin with hay. The stuffed skin was then hung in the village street as a warning to Christians who dared complain of persecutions and oppression.⁴⁹

William Howard recounts that soon after his arrival in Asia Minor 350 villages in the province of Van were destroyed by order of the Sultan. In one village an Armenian priest was burned at the stake. In the village of Kartalon, the entire population, consisting of 200 men, women and children were massacred because they would not become Mohammedans. A refugee from another village recounted that forty young girls and women had been forced to strip naked and join hands in a circle to dance for an hour around a group of blood-smearing soldiers. They were then violated and carried off by Kurds.⁵⁰

The Turkish Government not only gave no protection to Christian women, but its high officials took an active part in their abduction and degradation. Nouri Effendi, Chief of Police of Van, kept four Christian girls from Sassoun in his harem. At that time there were supposedly seventy Christian girls who had been forced to become members of the harems of Turkish officials in Van.

The Armenians were robbed of their possessions during the massacres and those who survived were left starving and naked. Mr. Howard relates that when he opened his first relief station, "...Armenian women came to me barefooted and stockingless through two

49 *Horrors of Armenia*, p. 7
50 *Ibid.*, p. 7-8

feet of snow. I found a fur overcoat none too warm, yet they were protected from the freezing cold by only thin calico wrappers."

MASSACRES OF 1909 – ADANA

On April 13, 1909 the Mohammedans of the city and Province of Adana attacked the Christians and in a few days killed between 25,000 and 50,000. Another 150,000 suffered from starvation and disease. Mrs. Doughty Wylie, the wife of the British Consul at Adana published a description of the horrors she saw in the "*London Daily Mail*":

"We are having a perfectly hideous time here. Thousands have been murdered – 25,000 in this province they say; but the number is probably greater, for every Christian village is wiped out. In Adana about 5,000 have perished. After Turks and Armenians had made peace, the Turks came in the night with hose and kerosene and set fire to what remained of the Armenian quarter. Next day the French and Armenian Schools were fired. Nearly every one of the Armenian Schools perished, anybody trying to escape being shot down by the soldiers.

"The Turkish authorities do nothing except arrest unoffending Armenians, from whom by torture they extort the most fanciful confessions. Even the wounded are not safe from this injustice. For fiends incarnate commend me to the Turks. Nobody is safe from them. They murder babies in front of their mothers, they half murder men, and violate the wives while the husbands are lying there dying in pools of blood. The authorities did nothing, and the soldiers were worse than the crowd, for they were better armed. One house in our quarter was burned with 115 people inside. We counted the bodies. Soldiers set fire to the door and as the windows had iron bars, nobody could get out. Every one in the house was roasted alive. They were all women and children and old people."⁵¹

51 *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 286

Georges Brezol, in his book entitled "Les Turcs ont passé la", has collected eyewitness descriptions of the massacres that occurred in Adana and the surrounding towns and villages in 1909. The butchery lasted for three days in the city of Adana and almost the entire Armenian quarter was destroyed by fire. The Turks seized all the oil supply in the Armenian quarter with which they drenched the houses and then set fire to them. Soon

"the flames licked the walls, threateningly, and frightful panic broke out in the blazing houses: men, women, and children wept, begged, implored, terrified by the atrocious threat of being burned alive. Some fled from the fire but as soon as they escaped from the door fell under gunfire or the yatagan. Others flung themselves from the windows; if they were not killed immediately the murderers finished them off with a thrust of the bayonet.

"Or else they were drenched with oil and, living torches, then clothing afire, their skin charred, horribly burned and asphyxiated by their own smoke, they fell upon other bodies in a dreadful agony of flames...

"What an ignoble butchery. Children were massacred before the eyes of their parents, mutilated, butchered, thrown in the air and caught on the points of bayonets. Then came the turn of the women who suffered the most atrocious, the most indescribable tortures. A hospital full of sick and wounded was burned by the incendiaries who felt pity for no human misery. And after the murder came the pillage, the devastation, until the moment when a trumpet rang forth followed by the cry: "Padichahem tchok yasha!" (Long live the Sultan), which marked the end of hostilities."⁵²

The Rev. Dr. Christie, President of St. Paul's Institute, Tarsus, described the crimes committed against humanity and Christianity in the Adana massacres:

April 24th, 1909 –

"I doubt if ever a massacre equal in atrocities to this has been known in history... Among the wounded there are multitudes of men, women and children; we hear of a pastor and his family, seven people, burned together in their house; hosts of young women have been assaulted and carried away to harems, and their names changed to Moslem ones. Christian villages like Osmanieh, Baghchi, Hamidieh, Kara Tash, Kristian Keoy, Kozolook, have few people in each, only eighty or so are left, nearly all women and children. It is the same in the chiftliks (farms); there are hundreds of these on this wide and fertile plain; in every one that we have heard of in the neighborhood of Tarsus or Adana there has been unsparing slaughter of the Christian workers, even the Greeks and Syrians dying as martyrs with the Armenians.

"The annual (Synodical) meeting was to have been held in Adana. So the pastors and delegates of the churches were on the road to the north and east of that city when the trouble began. We have now the names of twenty-seven killed with the particulars of their deaths. Twenty-two churches are left pastorless. It is a fearful blow. Our two missionaries, (Henry) Maurer and Daniel M. Rogers, bring the number up to twenty-nine."⁵³

Rose Lambert, an American missionary of the United States Orphanage and Mission Society station at Hadjin, describes the slaughter of the ministers, delegates, deacons, merchants, and head teacher in the girls' orphanage, numbering seventy six in all, who had been traveling to the Synodical meeting at Adana:

When they arrived in Sigetchet they were seized by the Turks and crowded into a dingy khan for the night. After they were stripped of all their valuables the door was opened and

⁵² *Les Turcs ont passé la*, pp. 9-10

⁵³ *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 287-288

“there stood the bloodthirsty and fanatical mob armed with swords, knives, clubs, guns, and axes, and the demonized expression of their faces told a more shameful story than their shrieks and yells could express. The martyrs were disrobed, with the exception of one garment. The pastor of the First Church of Hadjin begged for an opportunity to speak to them and appealed to their sense of justice and sympathy... but a Turk stepped forward and taking the pastor by the beard, led him forth and killed him.

“The aged deacon of Hadjin was next led forth. His wife rushed after him trying to protect him but both were shot and her body fell upon his. Some were clubbed to death, some shot, some killed with swords and some with axes; but the women of the party, as it nearly always the case, were reserved until the last and after being humiliated and disgraced in the most unspeakable manner, were afterwards killed.

“One Turk stood at the door and killed sixteen members of this party in succession, when he finally called someone to take his place saying his strength was exhausted.”⁵⁴

The following official despatches were sent from Armenia during the Adana massacres:

Latakia – April 14, 1909

“In the environs of Kessab the Turks have burned and plundered 1,500 houses. About 1,000 families made homeless, half of them taking refuge in the Barish. For three days they have been without food and almost naked. Even though the Government has sent supplies, they are insufficient. We bring this to the attention of the Patriarchate and beg you to send help as soon as possible. Details follow by letter.”

Father Movses Osgueritchian (Priest), Latakia, 1/14 April 1909, to the Armenian Patriarchate:

“The number of persons suffering from the fire reached 3,000. Boats are constantly transporting refugees from the mountains. They are extremely unhappy and are in need of your help and your pity. Father Movses.”

Dr. Chambers, Director of the American Missionaries of Adana, sent the following letter to the Reuter Agency in London from Mersine on May 1st, 1909:

“A frightful massacre began on the 1/14 April, abating somewhat on the sixteenth, but continuing in the environs. The following week plans were organized to take help to 15,000 afflicted persons. In an improvised hospital more than 300 wounded were received. The massacre recommenced with fury on the 25th of April, the soldiers and the bachibozouk (irregulars) began a terrible attack on the Armenian school where a crowd of 2,000 persons had taken refuge. The building caught on fire, and when the refugees attempted to save themselves and ran outside they were shot; a great many perished in the flames. The destroying fire continued until Tuesday morning. Four churches and the schools connected with them were burned, and hundreds of houses in the most crowded quarters of the town; as a result of this fire thousands of persons remain without a roof and in the most dreadful misery. The furniture and personal belongings spared from the flames have been looted.

“On Monday the British Consul, with a band on his arms, worked enormously to convince the local government finally to establish order and to organize a relief service for those near the smoking ruins. The establishments of the American missionaries and their school, the school of the Jesuit sisters, were equally endangered, now they are all right. The fire destroyed the Jesuit church as well as their school for boys. More

⁵⁴ *Hadjin, and the Armenian Massacres*, pp. 90-91

than 20,000 persons found shelter in two large factories. Thursday morning provisions were distributed, that is to say 45 drams (145 gr.) of rice and 35 drams (112 gr.) of bread to this multitude which had not eaten for three days. The government relief is absolutely insufficient and the measures taken to safeguard belongings and persons are completely ridiculous. A party of soldiers is taking care of the plunder. We need 250 pounds sterling per day in order to feed the population of the city which is dying of starvation.”

Adana – Despatch of April 17 to the Armenian Patriarchate.

“On every side there is general massacre, fire and looting, the situation continues the same up to the present. A similar attack on Sis is feared, and the fear is terrible. We beg you to beseech the Government to hasten to establish peace and to guarantee the life of the people.

The Catholicos of Sis, Sahag”

Adana – Despatch of April 17, 1909 to the Patriarchate:

“For three consecutive days the Christian population has been massacred in martyrdom; looting, tremendous fires, many losses of life. The inhabitants of the parish are terrified and hungry. The village connected with our convent farm has been wiped out. Our general condition is desperate, send help immediately. The same terrifying situation at Tarsous, Sis and in the entire Province.

Monseigneur Terzian.”

Kozan – Dispatch of April 20 to the Armenian Patriarchate:

“The town is on fire and filled with blood, it is besieged from every side. The population has taken refuge in the Convent. If the life of the inhabitants is not efficiently protected, we shall soon all be dead.

The Catholicos of Cilicie, Sahag.”

Alexandrette – Dispatch of April 20, 1909 to the Armenian Patriarchate:

“The Mutessarif of Djebel-Bereket, well known for his acts of tyranny, Assaf Bey, has joined 30,000 men of the worst character, furnishing them with rifles and ammunition. They have fallen on the villages and the little town of Ayas, massacred the majority of the inhabitants, seized all property and livestock, and burned our farms and houses; we barely managed to reach Deurt-Yol.

“As soon as we arrived there, that town was also attacked, and we were obliged, for the health of our families and for our honor to remain for thirteen days shut up almost without a drop of water. Part of the population died of thirst and from fear of the bullets and cannon balls which fell like rain... We are 12,000 miserable men, women and children who need a crust of bread and your charity in order to keep from dying.

(List of signatures)”

Aintab – Dispatch of April 20, 1909 to the Armenian Patriarchate:

“According to exact information, insecurity and misery reign in the sections ruined by events; the great number of children of the Nation, whose houses have been burned and crops destroyed, wander naked and famished. Moreover, the virtuous women and the virgins have been imprisoned in the homes of persons entrusted with maintaining peace and order, and they are obliged by force to become converted. The country is falling in ruins; for the love of our Country we pray for an end to this abnormal and desperate state.

The Vicar, Abbe Haroutioun.”

Dispatch received by M. Denys Cochin, deputy in Paris (Published in the “*Journal Officiel*”, May 18, 1909):

"All our information agrees with that of the European press, proving the complicity of the troops in the terrifying massacres of Adana and of the Province. The second massacre of April 25 was carried out by the troops sent from Dedeagatch to put down disorders. Scenes of unspeakable atrocities occurred. All of Cilicia is ruined, a prey to famine and misery.

"The presence of European vessels did not prevent the murders.

"The vigilance of Europe is indispensable to punish the authors of the massacres.

"Everywhere, at Erzeroum, at Van, at Mouche the authorities and the troops are armenophobes and hamidians. Under these conditions a forceful warning, made by the Chambers, alone can avert these immense hecatombs.

"We beseech you in the name of humanity, to do what is necessary in this tragic moment. The most efficacious means would be to engage the responsibility of the governors and the military chiefs of the Armenian provinces."

A dispatch from the Vicar Sahag Der Bedrossian to the Patriarchate, dated April 16, 1909 reads:

"Of the population of 13 burned villages (1,000 houses) barely 400 managed to escape to Fendedjak, near Marache. All the women and children of Hassanbeyli (400 houses) are prisoners of the populace. The misery is frightful, the government does not bother to come to our aid; on stern orders the local authorities have come to collect back taxes.

"Of the thousand inhabitants of the town who sought refuge in the fields, 300 were massacred..."

The following dispatch from Alexandrette in regard to the situation of Tchock-Marzouan, dated May 21 to June 3, 1909 was published by the Djeride-Charkie:

"... Having discovered the complaints formulated in our telegram of May 9th, the Major of the 2nd battalion, as well as the commander of the troops, infuriated, have again incited the troops. At their instigation, the troops began mistreating us, insulting us, beating the poor Armenians, and causing all sorts of depredations, uprooting or cutting down the fruit trees. They consider the Armenians guilty, because they remained alive in defending, with arms, the lives and honor of their families. We are constantly on the 'qui vive' and God alone is a witness of our sufferings... The above mentioned Major and commander have placed our influential men under arrest and have given them twenty four hours to deliver five hundred Mauser and Martiny weapons under the threat of drying up their blood or inflicting even more terrible punishment, in case they do not follow their orders. Knowing very well that we do not possess this kind of weapon, they are just looking for a pretext in order to exterminate us completely."

The Paris "Temps" announced that it had received a dispatch from the Armenian Patriarchate (June 30) announcing that 532 orphans had died as a result of privations and the lack of food and housing in Adana itself.

M.A. Adossides wrote in his book "*Armeniens et Jeunes-Turcs*," that as among the savages and all primitive peoples, it is the tradition of the Turks in their Islamic wars and in the massacres carried out in times of peace, to exterminate the males; as for the women and children they were generally reduced to slavery and converted to the faith of the Prophet. Only the young girls are saved to people the harems. On this point the rules were violated in the massacre of Adana and women, children and young girls were slaughtered with unheard of ferocity, often after being submitted to unspeakable outrages. Mr. Adossides writes that

"In a general manner, what strikes us particularly in the events in Cilicia is the cruelty, the incredible cynicism which were employed in destroying a people."

A report of the Turkish Commission of Inquiry reads:

“The Mussulmen, intoxicated with the smell of powder, have committed atrocities which bring tears even to the eyes of we soldiers...”

Sister Marie-Sophie wrote:

“We hear the rending screams, the shrieks of the unfortunate ones who are disemboweled and tortured.”

Many witnesses relate that the Armenians were hung up by their legs, with their heads down, and sliced to pieces by blows of an axe, like animals in the butcher shop. Others were bound with rope and stretched out on a bed of wood which was set on fire; others still were nailed alive to boards, doors, and tables.

There were also atrocious games, sinister jokes. The Armenians were taken, strongly bound, and on their immobilized legs their children were beheaded with a knife or a saw. Father Benoit, of the French Mission, reports another deed: the hangmen juggled with freshly severed heads, and even before the eyes of the parents, threw little children in the air and caught them on the points of their cutlasses.

The tortures were in turn clumsy and savagely refined. Certain victims were submitted to a series of tortures applied with consummate art, in a manner to prolong life in the flesh of the martyr, so as to make the festival last longer: they were mutilated slowly and methodically, by having their nails pulled out, their fingers crushed, their bodies tattooed with incandescent needles; then their heads were scalped, and finally they were boiled and fed to the dogs. Others had their bones broken one at a time, they were crucified, or burned like torches. All around these victims, groups formed which delighted in the spectacles and applauded every gesture of the torturers.

At times infernal abominations, sadistic orgies took place. The extremities of an Armenian were cut off, then he was obliged to chew the pieces of his own flesh. Mothers were stifled by stuffing their mouths with the flesh of their own children. Other mothers had their stomachs cut open and their little ones, whom but a short

time before they carried in their arms, were quartered and thrust into the gaping wound.

Father Joseph, Prior of the Carmes mission, wrote:

“Women, children, young girls were outraged, dishonored, hung from trees, crushed on rocks... When it was difficult to remove women’s necklaces their heads were cut off with blows from a knife. In order to obtain their earrings, their ears were pulled off, and to obtain their bracelets, young girls’ hands were cut off and they were flung into the arms of their mothers.”

Mr. Lawson Chambers wrote:

“The Armenians were thrown into the rivers, their hands bound, and they (the Turks) amused themselves by shooting at the heads of the unfortunate ones, as at a target, every time they rose to the surface...”

From Father Regal, of the Catholic mission, we hear:

“A Derder (an Armenian priest), in order to force him to apostatize, had his eyes bored out with a double bladed Circassian cutlass, which was revolved in the bleeding orbit as one would bore into a piece of wood with an auger. With this same cutlass his tongue was cut off and his teeth broken.

From an America report:

“The mouth of one man was stuffed with powder which was then lighted with a match.”

A young girl describing to one of her friends the destruction of the village of Kharni, said:

“I looked in vain for the body of my brother Manoug. I could not find anything but his head... All my family has perished, all our possessions are in the hands of the Turks... We fled to the houses of well known Turks, but their wives closed the doors without pity in our faces.”

The missionary who sent this letter added the following note:

“What happened at Kharni was repeated in all the neighboring villages. To the south east one Armenian village contained twenty seven souls. A good Turk – of whom there are many – sheltered them for a day. But a crowd went to demand that they be turned out. They issued from the house, and one by one were slaughtered on a large slab before the house.”

The above mentioned American report continues:

“In the hills there were heart rending scenes. The husbands could not tear themselves away from their wives... But it was still possible that the women and children would be spared, whereas the only hope of the men was in flight. They went in groups through the mountains, towards Marache and Islahié. The women tried to get as far as possible from their villages. For the most part the women were surrounded with children. Women and children wandered for two days and nights, on the hills, fearing most of all for their young girls. They smeared their faces with mud in order to look as repulsive as possible. Finally, on the promise of being protected, they went to Bagtché with their children. There they were shut up in the church where they were so crowded one against the other that, for several days, they had to remain standing. They were starving. From time to time they were given a little bread. Three times attempts were made to set the church on fire, and during the night soldiers circled about outside, trying to capture the young girls.

“As for the men, more than 300 were killed in the hills, the woods, and caves, where the Kurds chased them for fifteen days. There are no more men in Hassan-Beyli.

“At Bagtché, the conditions were the same: 113 killed, 115 houses burned – out of a total of 127. The Turkish primate Eukkech, the son of Hakk-Baba, alone killed, with an axe, 45 Armenians who were brought to him bound by his men. In this village were collected the

homeless of the district. Officials and aghas were delegated to protect them but they concerned themselves only with gaining proselytes. They let them die of hunger and thirst.

“All the wells, except those in the Turkish quarter, were contaminated. Three wells were filled with corpses. For three days the refugees drank water mixed with blood from a little stream, until a good Turk allowed them to draw water from the wells which were not contaminated.

“An Armenian, Artine, was left for dead in a corner among other corpses. A little later the murderers came back and discovered a woman in tears near Artine. They drew near and threw stones at Artine. They then fetched ropes and dragged Artine to the banks of the river, all covered with blood. He cried: ‘I am not dead; for the love of God, finish me off!’ His agony lasted for a long time. Finally, he died and was thrown into the sea.”⁵⁵

Dr. Martin wrote (from Antioch):

“The Bishop, his colleague and 14 other Armenians were beaten to death in the crypt of the church. The ecclesiastics were subjected to ignoble treatments and tortures. A Bible was placed on the throat of the Bishop and was burned with his beard...”

The details of the flight from Kessab were described by Leopold Favre:

“A group of Armenian women and children hid in a cave when one of the babies, ten days old, began to cry. The women all implored the mother to keep it quiet and in a few minutes the crying ceased. The next morning when the Turks had gone away without finding them the Armenian women asked the mother how she had quieted her baby. She pointed to the infant,

⁵⁵ German report in the “*Deutscher Hilfsbund in Orient*” of Frankfurt

which was dead in her lap, strangled by her own hands.”

When the news of the massacres of Adana reached Antioch the Armenians implored the help of the authorities but without avail. The massacre was described by the sole survivor of a family of 45, and was translated into French by Israel Bedrossian, at Laodicee, May 6, 1909. Thousands of Turks, intoxicated with blood “burned the beards of the clergy, gouged out their eyes and later collected the Gospels and the crosses, bound them to the throats of the priests and soaked them in oil, set them on fire and burned these poor beings alive... Ten minutes later all the Armenians were sacrificed; not sound was heard but the groans of agony of men who still breathed in their clots of blood, the metallic clash of bayonets, the yatagans knocking horribly as in a butcher shop or abattoir, the stifled cries of the victims which tore one hear, the cries of rage of these mad savages...

“It was then the turn of the women and children of from 2 to 10 years who awaited half dead and trembling... The poor mothers clasped their children to their breasts... the villains caught the unfortunate creatures, thrust bayonets and knives into their hands and forced them to kill their loved children... They took these freshly killed children and before they were quite inanimate, tore their tender flesh to pieces without pity, and roasted it on the fires; and the mothers, trembling, were forced to eat a piece of their children. But this was not the end; the women and virgins were horribly raped; like dogs they were attacked by 5 or 10 men, and then cut to pieces and thrown in the river. As to the children of 10 years who had fled in the meantime, they were pursued, and caught, and told: ‘Come and kiss the end of the gun so that your lives may be saved.’ These poor innocent children believed them and opening their mouths placed their lips against the guns, as if they were the gospel or the cross, and then ‘Poum!’ – the gun is fired, the child falls on the ground in horrible torture.”⁵⁶

Armenians were arrested and forced with tortures falsely to denounce their countrymen. The following article, which appeared in the “Azatamart” of September 4, 1909 was written by Haroutioun Arslanian on August 2, 1909 and addressed to the Court Martial of Adana:

“... I was driven to the prison, with gun blows, and threatened with death. Rings were put around my neck, I was despoiled of all I possessed, my watch was taken from me, and I was thrown into the criminal cell. As soon as I was inside, the murderous prisoners began to beat me. My compatriots who were also in prison ... came to my rescue. I was fainting with sorrow, blood flowed from my lips, my nails were almost torn off, I was near to dying if they hadn’t saved me from this infernal situation.

“Immediately afterward paper, pen and ink were brought to me and I was ordered to write everything I knew about the Armenian Metropolitan Mouchegh and other of my compatriots. The four other Armenians imprisoned with me were beaten and martyred; skewers were driven into the face and ears of Meguerditch and his blood gushed forth. I began to tremble with fear. The son of Muheddine, an official of Saatkane, was there and I asked him what I could write. I wrote everything false that was suggested to me, everything illogical, being completely prostrated, and adding on my own things which had no sense whatever. The witnesses placed their signatures at the end of my writing.

“This denouncement, which was very important for the officials, was sent to the authorities...”

The writer then proclaimed that everything he said was untrue:

“All that I wrote under threat was contrary to the truth; I declare this to your tribunal to calm the remorse of my conscience here below and in the future life... I would a thousand times prefer to kill

⁵⁶ *Les Turkes ont passé la*, pp. 313-314

myself than to live another moment in Adana. The atrocities and the horrors that have been perpetrated there have poisoned my life forever..."⁵⁷

"As soon as the news of the Adana massacres reached the town of Chadriguine, the Tuks, who comprised about half the population, attacked the houses of the Armenians and dragged the inhabitants into the streets. Siné Hanem, the daughter of Islam, ordered that all the ovens in the town be heated, and a great number of poor Armenians were thrown into them. Siné Hanem with her own hands killed large numbers of children, first choosing the most beautiful girls as gifts for her son. The rest of the Armenians, on her orders, were roped together and dragged to the edge of a precipice overlooking a river, where Siné Hanem stabbed several hundred and had their bodies thrown into the Sihoune River below."⁵⁸

"When the entire town of Missis was burned, and all its inhabitants but one killed, the sole survivor described how one mother tied her eight daughters together by the hair so that they could not escape from the house to be raped and tortured by the Turks, preferring to have them burn to death in the house with her."⁵⁹

At Koz-Oloux the Turks massacred all the inhabitants save for the young women who were distributed among them. The priest, an old man, was seized and his head bound with branches and dry leaves which were set on fire so that the Turks could amuse themselves with his anguish.

"The wounded and dead were piled on top of each other, forming a human funeral pyre red with blood, which was surrounded with kerosene soaked wood and set on fire. Forty persons thus perished in the flames, to the great joy of the assassins. Screams,

⁵⁷ *Les Turcs ont passé la*, pp. 21-23

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 42-44

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 39

groans, convulsions ceased: a thick smoke and a nauseating smell of burned flesh alone indicated the place where this abominable act had been committed by human beasts..."⁶⁰

Copy of a despatch of April 6, three days after the events of Adana, to be presented at the Ottoman Chamber (this despatch was postponed because of the uncertainty of the situation and the political circumstances).

"S.E. Moustafa Nourri Bey, President of the Ottoman Chamber:

"We have just been the object of acts of violence and atrocities which have not taken place since the times of Tamerland and Chenghis Khan. A peaceable and submissive population has been abandoned without measure and justice to indescribable ferocities.

"Pillage, fire and massacre have completed the ruin. The Vilayet of Adana, devastated by the ravages, has become a tomb for the non-Mussulman population. We strongly doubt that a government which permits the Mussulmen pitilessly to attack the Christians, and which even aided them in the accomplishment of their task, is worthy of the name.

"We therefore pray you, in the name of humanity, justice, and equality, immediately to send to Adana, without losing time, a commission entrusted with studying the present situation, to indemnify us for the losses we have suffered and to condemn to death the responsible officials."⁶¹

Copy of a dispatch sent immediately after the first execution, to the later authorities:

"To the Imperial Palace, to the Grand Vizier, to the Senate, to the Ottoman Chamber, to the Ministers of War and of Justice, as well as to the Patriarchates.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 75

⁶¹ *Les Turcs ont passé la*, pp. 138-139

“The Christians of Adana and of its dependencies having been subjected to great losses both in men and in goods, the possibility of their sojourn in these regions and the security of their lives are subordinated to the loyal proceedings and the acts of justice of the Court Martial. But we greatly regret that its first act has deprived us of all hope and has deeply saddened us. Because, instead of seeking the organizers of the massacres and ruination in order to punish them, the Court Martial deals only with the ordinary assassins. Among the Mussulmen a group of ignorant villagers who, without even being au courant of events, obeyed the orders given them, and among the Christians a number of innocent citizens, condemned on false testimony by certain malicious men, or for having had recourse to legitimate defense, have been executed. The Court Martial has a tendency always to find the Christians guilty. Under these conditions to whom can we submit our complaints? How can we console and reassure our pitiful communities? Have pity of us for the love of God.

June 4-17 325 – 1909”⁶²

CHAPTER III. MASSACRES AND DEPORTATIONS OF 1915-1916

Statement by a German eye-witness to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief:

“Towards the end of October (1914), when the Turkish war began, the Turkish officials started to take everything they needed for the war from the Armenians. Their goods, their money, all was confiscated. Later on, every Turk was free to go to an Armenian shop and take out what he needed or thought he would like to have. Only a tenth perhaps was really for the war, the rest was pure robbery. It was necessary to have food, etc., carried to the front, on the Caucasian frontier. For this purpose the Government sent out about 300 old Armenian men, many cripples amongst them, and boys not more than twelve years old, to carry the goods – a three weeks’ journey from Moush to the Russian frontier. As every individual Armenian was robbed of everything he ever had, these poor people soon died of hunger and cold on the way. They had no clothes at all, for even these were stolen on the way. If out of these 300 Armenians thirty or forty returned, it was a marvel; the rest were either beaten to death or died from the causes stated above.

“The winter was most severe in Moush; the gendarmes were sent to levy high taxes, and as the Armenians had already given everything to the Turks, and were therefore powerless to pay these enormous taxes, they were beaten to death.”⁶³

At the beginning of the First World War, the Armenians were loyal supporters of the Ottoman Empire, ready to fight for the defense of their country.

“In the autumn of 1914, the Turks began to mobilize Christians as well as Moslems for the army. For six

⁶² *Les Turcs ont passé la*, p. 145

⁶³ *Germany, Turkey, and Armenia*, pp. 23-24

months, in every part of Turkey they called upon the Armenians for military service. Exemption money was accepted for those who could pay. A few weeks later the exemption certificates were disregarded, and their holders enrolled. The younger classes of Armenians, who did not live too far from Constantinople, were placed, as in the Balkan wars, in the active army. The older ones, and all the Armenians enrolled in the more distant region, were utilized for road, railway, and fortification building. Wherever they were called, and to whatever task they were put, the Armenians did their duty and worked for the defense of Turkey. They proved themselves brave soldiers and intelligent and industrious laborers...

"In order to prevent the possibility of trouble from Armenians mobilized for railway and road construction, they were divided into companies of from three to five hundred, and put to work at intervals of several miles. Regiments of the Turkish regular army were sent 'to put down the Armenian revolution,' and came suddenly upon the little groups of workers plying pickaxe, crowbar, and shovel. The 'rebels' were riddled with bullets before they knew what was happening. The few who managed to flee were followed by mounted men, and shot or sabred.

"Telegrams began to pour in upon Talaat Bey at Constantinople, announcing that here, there, and everywhere Armenian uprisings had been put down, and telegrams were returned, congratulating the local officials upon the success of their prompt measure. To neutral newspaper men at Constantinople, to neutral diplomats, who had heard vaguely of a recurrence of Armenian massacres, this telegraphic correspondence was shown as proof that an imminent danger had been averted. 'We have not been cruel, but we admit having been severe,' declared Talaat Bey. 'This is war time.'" ⁶⁴

In April 1915, the Government sent word from Constantinople to all local authorities that the Armenians were a threat to the security of the State and should be suppressed in order to render them harmless and preserve the safety of the Empire. The local authorities understood what the orders meant and summoned all able bodied Armenian men to some designated place. These Armenians were then taken from town by the police and executed.

"In the town of Agantz a list of those to be executed was sent to the local governor, and 2,500 (men) were summoned to appear at the governor's house and listen to the reading of a proclamation. The natives knew the meaning of the order, and many of them ignored it. They were later dragged to prison by gendarmes and held for execution.

"It is conservatively estimated that 2,500 listed men were held in prison here. They were taken out in groups of fifty, led to a trench and there shot down. The fifty dead were tossed to one side, a fresh group of fifty led to the trench. This tremendous execution was continued until the entire 2,500 men were massacred." ⁶⁵

Another eye-witness account is as follows:

"...One night towards the end of June (1915), suddenly, without any warning, the houses of most of all of the Armenians who still remained in the city were forcibly entered by the police and gendarmes. The men were arrested and held as prisoners in the soldiers' barracks at one side of the city. Their whole number amounted to 1213 (the Armenian population of this city was 12,000 but all the males between 18 and 50 were drafted into the army and taken away before this). Two more of our leading Armenian professors were arrested on this occasion..." These men "were told that they were to be sent away into exile at Mosul, in the deserts of Mesopotamia, six or seven

⁶⁴ *The Blackest Page of Modern History*, pp. 11, 18, 21, 23

⁶⁵ *Armenia, A Martyr Nation*, p. 311

hundred miles away... These 1213 men, after being held for a few days, were bound together in small groups of five or six men each, and sent off at night in companies of from fifty to one hundred fifty under the escort of gendarmes. Some fifteen miles from the city they were set upon by the gendarmes and by bondmen called 'chettes' and cruelly murdered with axes... One of the gendarmes who helped drive away these 1213 men boasted to our French teacher that he had killed fifty Armenians with his own hands, and had obtained from them 150 Turkish Pounds. The chief of police at ----- stated that none of these 1213 men remained alive. Our Consular Agent visited the place of this slaughter early in August, and brought back with him Turkish 'Nufus tezkersses', identification papers, taken from the bodies of the victims. I personally saw these papers. They were all besmeared with blood."⁶⁶

The Turkish Government then proceeded to exterminate the surviving Armenians by starvation, rape, disease, and exhaustion. The plan was conceived of deporting the entire Armenian population to Mesopotamia, a distance of from 300 to 700 miles away from the Armenian communities. The government was determined to get rid of the Armenian question once for all and it was also desirous of obtaining the homes of the Armenians for the Moslem refugees from Macedonia.

On short notice, forbidden to take with them anything but what they wore on their backs, the women, children, old and infirm were started on their long trek to banishment. The following description was published in the "*Allegemeine Missionen Zeitschrift*" in November 1915:

"A gendarme related to us, in such details as to make us shudder, how the Turks had maltreated a group of women and children, who were driven into exile. They slaughtered the Armenians without any hindrance. Each day ten or twelve men are hurled down

into the ravines. They crush the skulls of those children who are too weak to walk.

"One day, early, we heard the procession of those doomed victims. Their misfortune was indescribable. They were in absolute silence – the young and old, even grandfathers advancing under such burdens as even their asses could hardly carry. All were to be chained together and then precipitated from the highest summit of a steep rock into the current of the Euphrates River. This froze our hearts. Our gendarme tells us that he had driven from Mam-Khatoun a similar group of people, composed of 3,000 women and children, who were exterminated.

"On the 30th day of May, 674 Armenians were embarked in 13 sloops on the Tigris. Gendarmes were in each embarkation. These sloops departed toward Mosul. On the way the gendarmes threw all the unfortunates into the river, after having robbed them of their money and clothing. They kept the money and sold the clothing in the markets.

"An employee of the Baghdad railway related that the Armenians were imprisoned wholesale in the dungeons of Biredjik to be thrown into the Euphrates River at night. The corpses washed on to the river banks became a prey for dogs and vultures."⁶⁷

The "*Sonnenaufgang*" of October 1915 reported that the corpses found floating in the Euphrates were hideously mutilated, the males having their sexual organs cut off and the female corpses being ripped open.

An Englishwoman who was in Adana during the deportation, described the exodus to Henry Adams Gibbons:

"The deportation is still going on. From the interior along the Baghdad Railway they are still being sent

⁶⁶ *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 312

⁶⁷ Quoted in an article entitled "The Martyrdom of Armenia" by Paul Perrin, published in the "*New Armenia*", May 15, 1916

through Adana on the journey of death. As far as the railway exists, it is being used to hurry the work of extermination faster than the caravans from the regions where there are no railways. Oh! If they would only massacre them and be done with it, as in the Hamidian days! I stood there at the Adana railway station, and from the carriages the women would hold up their children, and cry for water. They had got beyond a desire for bread. Only water. There was a pump. I went down on my knees to beg the Turkish guard to let me give them a drink. But the train moved on, and the last I heard was the cry of those lost souls. That was not only once. It was almost every day the same thing. Did Lord Bryce say eight hundred thousand? Well, it must be a million now. Could you conceive of human beings allowing wild animals to die a death like that?"⁶⁸

"Thousands of Armenian women and children walked endless miles under the burning sun and through snow-covered mountain passes on journeys lasting as long as eight weeks. When they passed through villages which had not yet been given the deportation order, these starving refugees were not permitted to receive any food or help. Thousands of children, old women, and invalids fell by the wayside, unable to struggle on. The most attractive girls were raped day after day by the guards until released by death. Many committed suicide and mothers threw their children into the rivers to end their sufferings. Any who sought to escape were shot or spread and hunted down by Kurds and mounted peasants.

"Women with little children in their arms, or in the last days of pregnancy, were driven along under the whip like cattle. Three different cases came under my knowledge where the woman was delivered on the

road, and because her brutal driver hurried her along she died of hemorrhage. Some women became so completely worn out and helpless that they left their infants beside the road." (A.C.R.)

Witnesses related that one woman threw her dying child down a well as she could not bear to see its agony, and another woman, crowded into a stifling cattle car, threw her baby onto the tracks.

"Six agonized mothers, passing through Konieh by this railway to an unknown destination, entrusted their little children to the Armenian families in the city in order to save them alive, but the local authorities tore them away from the Armenians and placed them in Moslem hands."⁶⁹

"The women believed that they were going to worse than death and many carried poison in their pockets to use if necessary. Some carried picks and shovels to bury those they knew would die by the wayside." (A.C.R.)

The roads were lined with the bodies of Armenian exiles who had died of exhaustion or been murdered on the way – many of these corpses were mangled by wild beasts. Thousands of murdered Armenians were thrown into the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and barge-loads were drowned wholesale in the Black Sea. Convoys of exiles from the Vilayet of Erzeroum were thrown into the Kara Su and were either shot in the water or left to drown.

The high degree of culture and civilization obtained by the Armenians made the treatment accorded them by the Turks even more horrible in the eyes of the civilized world. Toynbee wrote:

"It is hardly possible to imagine to oneself the implication of such a decree (of deportation). These (Armenians) were not savages, like the Red Indians who retired before the White man across the American continent. They were not nomadic shep-

68 *The Blackest Page of Modern History*, pp. 27-28

69 *Armenian Atrocities*, p. 41

herds like their barbarous neighbors the Kurds. They were people living the same life as ourselves, townspeople established in the town for generations and the chief authors of its local prosperity. They were sedentary people, doctors and lawyers and teachers, business men and artisans and shopkeepers, and they had raised solid monuments to their intelligence and industry: Costly churches and well-appointed schools. Their women were as delicate, as refined, as unused to they were in the closest personal touch with civilization, for many of the Armenian centers upon which the crime was perpetrated had been served by the American missions and colleges for at least fifty years, and were familiar with the fine men and women who directed them.”⁷⁰

Louis Ganima, a Syrian of Ourfa, gave the following eye-witness account:

“In the autumn of 1915 there arrived in the neighborhood of Mahammadi-Khan, an almost desert spot... convoys composed of 10,000 women, girls and children... For the first few days the soldiers were busy plundering their victims of whatever they had left. Without clothes, suffering from cold and hunger, two thousand died from sickness and exposure. Several hundred, rendered mad by thirst, threw themselves into the empty reservoirs, common in this desert country, and there died, while a large number of others were killed by the Kurds and thrown in on top of them. Thirteen reservoirs were filled in this manner. Several thousand Christians who remained were surrounded one day by five hundred armed Kurd horsemen and one hundred and fifty police. Having gathered the unhappy wretches together in a place edged with the long dry grass which grows so abundantly in the semi-arid region, the persecutors set fire to it. Before doing this they plundered their victims of all they had...

those who made their way through the flames were met by an equally deadly rifle fire. Thus were exterminated some thousands of human beings, all indeed that remained of the above-mentioned convoys.

“After this awful holocaust, Kurd women and children arrived with sieves and sifted the ashes of the dead to see if they could find gold, since it was a regular practice of the Christian women to swallow pieces of money for future use.”⁷¹

A letter from a German member of the “Deutsche Orient-Mission” describes the massacre and torment of the Christians in Azerbaijan:

“In Haftewan and Salmast 850 corpses, without heads, have been recovered from the wells and cisterns alone. Why? Because the commanding officer had put a price on every Christian head. In Haftewan alone more than 500 women and girls were delivered to the Kurds at Sandjbulak. One can imagine the fate of these unfortunate creatures. In Diliman crowds of Christians were thrown into prison and compelled to accept Islam. The men were circumcised. Gulpadjin, the richest village in the Ourmia province, has been razed to the ground. The men were slain, the good-looking women jumped into the deep river, when they saw how many of their sisters were violated by the bands of brigands, in broad daylight, in the middle of the road...”⁷²

The Turks completely exterminated the Armenian peasantry in the territory through which they marched.

“The Turkish atrocities in the district of Bitlis are indescribable. After having massacred the whole male population of this district, the Turks collected 9,000 women and children from the surrounding villages, and drove them in upon Bitlis. Two days later they

⁷¹ *Shall this Nation die?*, pp. 171-173

⁷² *De Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, October 18, 1915

⁷⁰ *Armenian Atrocities*, Toynebee, pp. 30-31

marched them out to the bank of the Tigris, shot them all, and threw the 9,000 corpses into the river.”⁷³

“The Turks have massacred the whole male population in the plain of Moush. Only 5,000 people have succeeded in escaping and finding refuge at Sassoun, where the insurgent Armenians are still holding out.”⁷⁴

The Turks wished to eliminate every alien influence from their country, no matter how beneficial and peaceable, and to profit from the possessions of the Armenians. The following three testimonies taken from the American Committee’s Report show how the Turks proceeded in their “Ottomanization” of the country:

“Four districts have been cleared of Armenians; Bosniak mouhadjirs replace the Armenians thus exiled. The Turks are in perfect delirium.”

“More than 20,000 Armenians, that have been forced to emigrate from a certain province, are being thrown into the deserts amid nomadic tribes, leaving their houses, gardens and titled lands to the Turkish mouhadjirs. Deprived of all they possessed, the unfortunate people have not even graves for their dead.”

“As soon as the Armenian refugees left their houses, mouhadjirs from Thrace took possession of them. The former had been forbidden to take anything with them, and they themselves saw all their goods pass into other hands. There must be about 20,000 to 25,000 Turks in this town now, and the name of the town seems to have been changed to a Turkish one.”⁷⁵

The above mentioned “mouhadjirs” were Moslems from Europe, returning to Turkey from provinces which had passed under Christian rule. The fact that these mouhadjirs had been waiting within the western fringe of the diminished Ottoman Empire, ready to move into the homes and possessions of the murdered or deported Armenians, seems to prove that the plan for ridding the

country of the unwanted Armenians and seizing their property had been well and carefully arranged.

Immediately after the Armistice a rescue home was established for Armenian girls who, by order of the British, had been released from imprisonment in Turkish harems. These girls had been saved from death in the Armenian persecutions because of their age and looks and the prices they would bring when sold to wealthy Turks. The following account was given by one of these girls to Dr. Elliott, who had been asked to give them medical treatment:

“I was twelve years old. I was with my mother. They drove us with whips, and we had no water. It was very hot and many of us died because there was no water. They drove us with whips, I do not know how many days and nights and weeks, until we came to the Arabian desert. My sisters and the little baby died on the way. We went through a town, I do not know its name. The streets were full of dead – all cut to pieces. There were heads and arms and legs and blood – oh, blood!

“They drove us over them. I keep dreaming about that. We came to a place on the desert, a hollow place in the sand, with hills all around it. There were thousands of us there, many, many thousands, all women and girl-children. They herded us like sheep into the hollow. Then it was dark, and we heard firing all around us. We said ‘The killing has begun.’ We thought they had got tired of driving us. All night we waited for them – my mother and I – we waited for them to reach us. But they did not come, and in the morning when we looked around, no one was killed. No one was killed at all...

“They had been signaling to the wild tribes that we were there. The Kurds came later in the morning, in the daylight; the Kurds and many other kinds of men from the desert. They came over the hills and rode down and began killing us. All day long they were killing; you see, there were so many of us. All that they

73 *Novoye Vryemya, Petrograd*, July 22, 1915

74 *Horizon, Tiflis*, August 20, 1915

75 Extract from the official report dated June 18, 1915, *Armenian Atrocities*, pp. 78-79

did not think they could sell, they killed. They kept on killing all night, and in the morning – in the morning they killed my mother.”⁷⁶

“These massacres and deportations went on in Turkey all through the First World War. More than a million persons were driven from their homes, their men and boys were killed, and the women and girls driven in caravans all over Turkey, dying from want or massacre, families torn apart, sold to slave dealers, and raped and tortured. There was little organization in the plan for wholesale extermination, no plan by which these people were wrenched from their homes and sent forth to slavery or death. The persecutions were carried out according to the individual impulses of the various leaders and chiefs, and the victims were the targets of the unrestrained cruelty of their savage enemies.

“One girl told that during the deportations she had been sold into a Turkish house, where she had been rebellious and incorrigible. Her resentment against her lot was so great that she upset the whole house and beatings did not serve to subdue her. The Turks finally decided that she had the evil eye and that they would fix it. She was taken to a hospital where a finely trained and skilful Turkish surgeon operated on one eye so that the eyeball swung outward in its socket and her beauty was turned into the horror of a gargoyle.”⁷⁷

Letter dated Aleppo, October 8, 1915, from four members of the German Missions Staff in Turkey to the Imperial German Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Berlin:

“In face of the scenes of horror which are being unfolded daily before our eyes in the neighborhood of our school, our educational activity becomes a mockery of humanity... in the compounds next door to

our school, death is carrying off their starving compatriots – when there are girls and women and children, practically naked, some lying on the ground, others stretched between the dead of the coffins made ready for them beforehand, and breathing their last breath!

“Out of 2,000 to 3,000 peasant women from the Armenian Plateau who were brought here in good health, only forty or fifty skeletons are left. The prettier ones are the victims of their gaolers’ lust, the plain ones succumb to blows, hunger and thirst (they lie by the water’s edge, but are not allowed to quench their thirst). The Europeans are forbidden to distribute bread to the starving. Every day more than a hundred corpses are carried out of Aleppo.

“All this happens under the eyes of high Turkish officials. There are forty or fifty emaciated phantoms crowded into the compound opposite our school. They are women out of their mind; they have forgotten how to eat...

“We may expect further and still more dreadful hecatombs after the order published by Djemal Pasha. (The engineers of the Baghdad Railway are forbidden, by this order, to photograph the Armenian convoys; and plates they have already used for this must be given up within twenty four hours, under penalty of prosecution before the Council of War). It is a proof that the responsible authorities fear the light, but have no intention of putting an end to scenes which are a disgrace to humanity...”

A copy of this letter was communicated to the “*Berner Tagwacht*” by Dr. Forel, and reproduced in the “*Journal de Genève*”. It was signed by four persons – Dr. Grater (Swiss), Dr. Niepage (German) and two others whose names were withheld.⁷⁸

The fate of the hundreds of thousands of Armenians deported from their homes by the Ottoman Government is described in

⁷⁶ *Beginning Again at Ararat*, p. 22-23

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.26

⁷⁸ *Great Britain, Treatment of Armenians, XXXIII*

the following message, dated July 22, 1916, transmitted by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief:

"N desires his correspondents beyond the borders of Turkey to be confidentially informed: -

"That he has word from the German Relief Agents at Aleppo, sent through German Embassy, who report visits of their helpers to wide district, including Der-el-Zor and other places on Euphrates and in desert. They have seen thousands of deported Armenians under tents in the open, in convoys on the march, descending River in boats and in all phases of their miserable life. Only in few places does government issue any rations, and those quite insufficient. People therefore themselves forced to satisfy their hunger with food begged in that scanty land or found in the parched fields. Agents found them eating grass, herbs, and locusts, and in desperate cases dead animals and human bodies are reported to have been eaten. Naturally, death-rate from starvation and sickness very high, and increased by brutal treatment of the authorities, whose bearing toward exiles as they are being driven back and forth over desert is not unlike that of slave-drivers. With few exceptions no shelter of any kind is provided, and the people coming from cold climate are left under scorching desert sun without food or water. Temporary amelioration can only be obtained by the few able to pay officials.

"Misery and hopelessness of the situation is such that many are reported to resort to suicide. Illustrating methods employed, agents report gathering group of one hundred children whom they placed in care of educated young widow from Hadjin. Two weeks later these children were deported, and from two survivors found further down convoy route it was learned that the rest had perished. House mother, crazed by treatment of her charges, was among deported moving on. Boat-loads sent from Zor down the River arrived at Ana, one hundred and thirty miles away, with three-

fifths of passengers missing. There appears, in short, to be steady policy to exterminate these people, but to deny charge of massacre. Their destruction from so-called natural causes seems decided upon."⁷⁹

A German missionary gave an eye-witness account of the torture of Armenians to Ambassador Morgenthau:

"Another terrible thing in Mamuret-ul-Aziz was the tortures to which the people had been subjected for two months; and they had generally treated so harshly the families of the better class. Feet, hands, chests were nailed to a piece of wood; nails of fingers and toes were torn out; beards and eyebrows pulled out; feet were hammered with nails, as they do with horses; others were hung with their feet up and their hands down over closets... In order that people outside might not hear the screams of agony of the poor victims, men stood around the prison wherein these atrocities were committed, with drums and whistles."⁸⁰

The American Committee's Report describes the tortures of medieval cruelty which were commonly practiced on Armenian men before they were butchered. The following statement was made by a foreign resident in a town in Anatolia:

"The prisoner is put in a room. Gendarmes standing in twos at both sides and two at the end of the room administer, each in their turn, bastinadoes as long as they have enough force in them. In the time of the Romans 40 strokes were administered at the very most; in this place, however, 200, 300, 500, and even 800 strokes are administered. The foot swells up, then bursts open, owing to the numerous blows. The prisoner is then carried back into the prison and to bed by the rest of the prisoners. The prisoners who become unconscious after these blows are revived by means of cold water, which is thrown on their heads.

79 *Treatment of Armenians*, p. 684

80 *The Tragedy of Armenia*, p. 11

“On the next day, or, more exactly, during the night, as all ill-treatments are carried out at night, the whole bastinadoing is being carried on again in spite of swollen feet and wounds. I was then in ... but in that prison there were also 30 prisoners in number, and all had their feet in such a state that they began to burn and had to be amputated, or were already taken off. A young man was beaten to death in the space of five minutes. Apart from the bastinadoing, other methods were employed, too – such as putting hot irons on the chest.” Another testimony printed in the same report reports that the fire torture was frequently used and that in some cases eyes were said to have been put out.”⁸¹

Lord Bryce, in his report, quotes Count Ernst von Reventlow:

“To give one instance of the thorough and remorseless way in which the massacres were carried out, it may suffice to refer to the case of Trebizond, a case vouched for by the Italian Consul, who was present when the slaughter was carried out, his country not having then declared war against Turkey. Orders came from Constantinople that all the Armenian Christians in Trebizond were to be killed. Many of the Moslems tried to save their Christian neighbors, and offered them shelter in their houses, but the Turkish authorities were implacable. Obeying the orders which they had received, they hunted out all the Christians, gathered them together, and drove a great crowd of them down the streets of Trebizond, past the fortress, to the edge of the sea. Here they were all put on board sailing boats, carried out some distance on the Black Sea, and there thrown overboard and drowned. Nearly the whole Armenian population of from 8,000 to 10,000 were destroyed – some in this way, some by slaughter, some being sent to death elsewhere.”⁸²

81 *Armenian Atrocities*, Toynbee, pp. 66-67

82 *Armenian Atrocities*, Toynbee, pp. 10-11

The “*Novoye Vryemya*” of Petrograd published the following on July 22, 1915:

“The Turkish atrocities in the district of Bitlis are indescribable. After having massacred the whole male population of this district, the Turks collected 9,000 women and children from the surrounding villages, and drove them in upon Bitlis. Two days later they marched them to the bank of the Tigris, shot them all, and threw the 9,000 corpses into the river.

“On the Euphrates, the Turks have cut down more than 1,000 Armenians, throwing their bodies into the river. At the same time, four battalions were ordered to march upon the valley of Moosh to finish with the 12,000 Armenians inhabiting this valley. According to the latest information, the massacre has already begun... All the Armenians in the Diarbekir region will likewise be massacred.”

The Armenian Journal, “*Gotchnag*”, of New York, published on September 4, 1915:

“Incredible news comes in about the massacres at Bitlis. In one village 1,000 Armenians – men, women, and children – have been crowded into a wooden house, and the house set on fire. In another village of the district, only thirty-six people have escaped the massacre. In another, they roped together men and women by dozens, and threw them into the Lake of Van. A young Armenian of Bitlis, who was in the army, and who, after being disarmed and employed on road making, succeeded in escaping and reaching Van, relates that the ex-vali of Van, Djevdet Bey, has had males between the ages of fifteen and forty massacred at Bitlis. He has had their families deported in the direction of Sert, but has kept with him all the prettiest girls. Bitlis is now occupied by tens of thousands of Turkish and Kurdish mouhadjirs (refugees).”⁸³

83 *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, p. 309

Extracts from the Records of a German who died in Turkey:

“In an Armenian school at Marash I saw over 100 women and children with bullet wounds in their legs and their arms, and with all sorts of mutilations; among them were children of one to two years.

“...On the 15th of August, 24 (Armenians) were shot and 14 were hanged. The 24 who were shot were tied together with a heavy chain that went round their necks, and were made to stand up together in one mass. They were shot in the presence of the Mohammedan population behind the American College. With my own eyes I saw the bodies, while still convulsed by the agonies of death, being abandoned to the license of the rough civilian mob, who pulled the hands and feet of the corpses; and during the next half-hour the policemen and gendarmes shot continuously on these corpses, some of which were terribly disfigured, while the population looked on with amusement. Afterwards the same people marched up and down in front of the German Hospital and shouted “Yashasin Almanya” (Long live Germany). Again and again I have been told by Mohammedans that it was Germany who caused the Armenians to be extirpated in this way.

“On the way from the town to the farm I saw, on the outskirts of the town, a human head lying on a dungheap, which was used as a target by Turkish boys.”⁸⁴

The deplorable condition of the Armenian exiles was horrible beyond belief. A report from a German woman reads:

“On the 20th of April 1916, I arrived at Meskene, and found there 3,500 deported Armenians and more than 100 orphans... In every tent there are sick and dying. Anyone who cannot manage to get a piece of bread by begging eats grass raw and without salt. Many hun-

dreds of the sick are left without any tent or covering, in the open, under the glowing sun. I saw desperate ones throw themselves in grave-trenches and beg the grave-diggers to bury them. The Government does not give the hungry any bread and no tent to those who remain outside. As I was in Meskene, there came a caravan of sick women and children from Bab. They are in an indescribable condition. They were thrown down from the wagons like dogs. They cried for water; they were given each a piece of dry bread, and were left there. No one gave them any water, though they remained a whole day under the hot sun...

“In Meskene I saw more than 600 deported who had lived in Muara till now, and who had spent a pitiful sojourn of nine months there. They were now once more persecuted and sent to different places. Slowly and wearily they came on with their possessions on their backs. As nourishment they cook grass, press the water out, and make balls which they dry in the sun.

“On the first of May I came to Debsy, where I found the above mentioned six hundred deported, all in despair. They had not even been allowed to rest once or even to gather grass; but had been cruelly driven on. On the way I found people dying everywhere, exhausted from hunger and thirst. They had remained behind the caravan and must perish so painfully. Every few minutes came a stench of corpses. The gendarmes beat these stragglers, saying that they pretend to be tired...

“In Hama I found 7,000 deported, 3,000 of them hungry and practically naked. Here there is no grass, the locusts have consumed everything. I saw the people were gathering locusts and eating them raw or cooked. Others were looking for the roots of grasses. They catch street dogs, and like savages pounce upon dead animals, whose flesh they eat eagerly without cooking...

84 *Germany, Turkey and Armenia*, p. 68

“In each deportation from one place to another, at least five or six perish through the brutal ill-treatment of the accompanying gendarmerie. They expect to extract money from the poor, and exact vengeance with heavy blows when they receive nothing... Of every fifty persons who start from Rakka or Sepka on boats, twenty arrive, often even less... The people are driven back and forward with whip blows, and cannot even take their most urgent necessities. On my return I met new caravans everywhere. The people have the appearance of lost men. We often see a whole row of ghastly forms rising suddenly out of grave and asking for bread and water. They have all dug their graves and lie waiting for death. People of better standing, who cannot make up their minds to beg for a piece of bread, lie, when exhausted, on their beds, till death comes to release them. In Sepka a preacher from Aintab told me that parents have often killed their children. At the Government investigation it was shown that some people had eaten their children. It has happened that dying people have been fought over in order to secure their flesh for food.”

A Mohammedan Officer in the Turkish Army reported the following incidents which he had witnessed:

“In August 1915, in the suburbs of Mush I saw a large numbers of dead bodies of Armenians, men, women, and children, lying in the fields. Some had been shot, some stabbed, and most of them had been horribly mutilated. The women were mostly naked.

“In the village around Mush I saw old women and children wandering in the streets, haggard and emaciated.

“In the same month, in a camp outside Bitlis, I saw collected about 500 women, girls, and children, guarded by the gendarmes. I asked the latter what was to become of these people. They said that they were being deported but that they had orders to let the

Bands deal with them on the way. The Bands had been organized by the Turkish Government for the purpose of massacring the Armenians. They were formed by Kurds, Turkish gendarmes and criminals who had been specially set free.

“On the river at Bitlis I saw quite a number of bodies of Armenians floating on the water, and some washed upon the banks. The smell was pestilential and the water undrinkable.

“In the same month of August, in the country at a distance of about two hours from Zaart, I saw the bodies of about 15,000 massacred Armenians. They were piled on top of each other in two ravines. The Armenian Bishop of Zaart was, at his own request, taken to a cave nearby and shot.

“On my return from Zaart to Mush, in a village of the suburbs of Mush over 500 Armenians, mostly women and children, were herded up in a stable and locked in. The gendarmes threw flaming torches through an opening in the ceiling. They were all burnt alive. I did not go near, but I distinctly saw the flames and heard the screams of the poor victims.

“I heard from reliable persons that women in the family way had their bodies cut open and the child snatched out and thrown away.

“At Mush the streets were strewn with bodies of Armenians. Every Armenian who ventured out of doors was instantly killed...

“Between Sherkes-Koi and Hinis I saw two ravines filled with corpses of Armenians, about 400 in each ravine, mostly men. Another ravine was filled with bodies of little children...

“When I went to Erzindjan I was told that wholesale massacres were perpetrated at Erzindjan, Mamakhatoun, and the whole country around. Besides those that the Turks had killed and burnt alive, they threw

thousands of them into the Euphrates. A large number of Armenians, seeing that their death was inevitable, and fearing worse atrocities, preferred to throw themselves into the Euphrates.”⁸⁵

Another Mohammedan officer (reported) that at the beginning of the massacres the American Consul at Trebizond instituted an asylum for Armenian infants and the Government opened a school for the larger children, while their parents were killed or deported. Later the infants were taken away from the Consul, carried to sea, stabbed, put in sacks and thrown into the sea, some of their bodies being washed up on the shore of Trebizond a few days later.⁸⁶

Extracts from the record of a German who died in Turkey:

“The Government does not merely neglect to make any provision for the people, on the contrary, it causes everything to be taken from them. At Ras-el-Ain a convoy of 200 girls and women arrived in a state of complete nudity; their shoes, their chemises, everything, in short, had been taken away from them, and they were made to walk for four days under the hot sun – the temperature was 122 degrees in the shade – in their condition of nakedness, jeered at and derided by the soldiers of their escort. Mr. X. told me that he himself had seen such a convoy, consisting of 400 women and children, in the same state. Whenever the wretched exiles appealed to the humanity of the officials, the reply was: “We have strict orders from the Government to treat you in this way.”⁸⁷

“Nearly all the people suffered from diarrhea. Channels had been dug in the ground within the courtyard, by the side of which the dying were placed, with their backs towards the channel, so that the emptying of their bowels could pass into it at once. Whenever anyone died, he was removed, and his

melancholy place was filled by another... Out of 35 orphans who were kept in one room at Aleppo, 30 died in a week for want of nourishment.”⁸⁸

The Government attempted to keep news of the terrible conditions of the refugees from the outside world and on September 13, 1915, the following telegraphic order from the Commander-in-Chief of the 4th Army, Djemal Pasha, was posted:

“All photographs, which may have been taken by the engineers or other officers of the Baghdad Railway Construction Company relating to the convoys of Armenians, are to be delivered within 48 hours, together with the negatives, to the Military Commissariat of the Baghdad Railway at Aleppo. Any contravention of this order will be punished by court-martial.”⁸⁹

Dr. Martin Niepage, Higher Grade Teacher at the German Technical School at Aleppo, sent a report of the abominable cruelties practiced against the Armenians in their convoys to the German Embassy. The following are extracts from his report:

“Herr Greif, of Aleppo reported that heaps of corpses of violated women were lying naked on the railway embankment near Abiad and Ras-el-Ain. In the case of many, sticks had been driven into the anus... Herr Spieker, of Aleppo, saw Turks tie Armenian men together, fire several volleys of small shot with fowling pieces into the human mass, and go off laughing, while their victims slowly perished in frightful convulsions. Other men were sent rolling down steep slopes with their hands tied behind their backs. Below there were women, who slashed those who had rolled down with knives until they were dead...

“The German Consul at Mosul said in my presence in the German Club at Aleppo that he had seen so many

85 *Germany, Turkey, and Armenia*, pp. 123-128

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125

87 *Germany, Turkey, and Armenia*, p. 79

88 *Op. cit.*, p. 7

89 *Germany, Turkey and Armenia*, pp. 75-76

90 *Op. cit.*, pp. 93-103

children's hands lying hacked off on his way from Mosul to Aleppo, that one could have paved the road with them." 90

CHAPTER IV. INTENT TO KILL – WHO IS GUILTY?

The persecution of the Armenians, a strong Christian element existing in the heart of the Mohammedan religion, was inevitable as the fundamental principles of the Koran were in direct opposition to the teachings of Christ.

Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who reigned from 1876-1919 was a most conscientious Mohammedan, claiming to be the lawful successor of the prophet and Defender of the faith. In order to revive Mohammedanism meant for the Sultan the suppression of all other religions as well as the building up of all Moslem institutions. According to the Koran (Chap. 3:106) "*We are the best nation that has been raised up into mankind,*" and following this belief, all other religions should be exterminated.

The following prayer, translated from the Arabic, was used throughout Turkey and repeated by the ten thousand Mohammedan students in the Cairo Azhar University:

"I seek refuge with Allah from Satan, the regime (the accursed). In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful! O Lord of all Creatures! O Allah! Destroy the infidels and polytheists, thine enemies, the enemies of religion! O Allah! Make their children orphans, defile their abodes, and cause their feet to slip; and give them, and their families, and their households, and their women, and their children, and their relatives by marriage, and their brothers, and their friends, and their possessions, and their race, and their wealth, and their lands, as booty to the Moslems, O Lord of all creatures." 91

Some of the teachings of the Koran reveal the influences at work on the Turks:

The Koran

"O true believers, wage war against such of infidels as are

91 Jesup, "*The Mohammedan Missionary Problem*," p. 31. Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia.

near you, and let them find severity in you.” (Chap. 9)

“Verily the worst cattle in the sight of God are those who are obstinate infidels, and will not believe.” (Chap. 8)

“When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them.” (Chap. 47)

“O prophet, wage war against the unbelievers, and be severe unto them, for their dwelling shall be hell.” (Chap. 9)

“Fight thou against them until they pay tribute by right of subjection, and they be reduced low.” (Chap. 9:29)

“The Lord destroy the Jews and Christians.” Mohammed’s last prayer before he died. (Schaff’s Religious Encyclopaedia, Vol. II, p. 1542)

The Mohammedan religion depended for its extension on the expansion of the Mohammedan reign:

“Under the head of the civil laws (of Mohammedanism) may be comprehended the injunction of warring against the infidel, which is repeated in several passages of the Koran, and declared to be of high merit in the sight of God; those who are slain fighting in defense of the faith being reckoned martyrs, and are promised immediate admission into paradise. Hence this duty is greatly magnified by the Mohammedan divines, who call the sword the key of heaven and hell.”⁹²

No Mohammedan ruler, or follower of Mohammed’s religion, dared do otherwise than what was taught him in the Koran and therefore none of the grants, permits, promises of reform, liberty of religion, protection of persons, honor and property of the Christian subjects of the Empire, made by the sultans under pressure from foreign countries were intended to be kept. The rulers could not

have put such laws into effect and remained conscientious and faithful Mohammedans.

The history of Mohammedanism has been one of constant warfare against Christianity, and the Armenians have been slaughtered and persecuted ever since their conversion to Christianity. The massacres of the 1890s were religious in character although the Sultan was too clever openly to wage war on his Christian subjects without concocting the excuse of a threatened revolution to excuse his tactics to the outside world. It was convenient for the European and British Governments to accept the Sultan’s accusations against the Armenians and pretend to believe in their rebellion rather than admit that they were being persecuted for religious reasons alone.

The Earl of Kimberley, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was the recipient of a memorial from the Society of Friends charging the Turkish Government with persecution of Christians and dictated the following reply:

“Sir: I am directed by the Earl of Kimberley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant (April 1894), and the memorial. In reply I am to state that the information in the possession of Her Majesty’s government does not confirm the widely spread belief that the arrest and imprisonment of the Armenians in Asiatic Turkey are attributable to their religious faith.”⁹³

Abdul Hamid II was convinced that there was no concert among the signatory powers. The Triple Alliance, composed of Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany did not oppose his policy. The German press had created the impression that the Turkish Government was on the verge of being overthrown by the Armenians and that the Sultan was merely trying to save his Empire.

Dr. Lepsius stated that the

“Truth about Armenia must be made known at last. During the past nine months (1896) the German press had been flooded with statements not merely biased,

⁹² Sale’s “Koran”, preliminary discourses, p. 110

⁹³ *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, pp. 233-234

but, as we shall be able to show, false, and deliberately intended to deceive Europe. Care has been taken that the conduct of the so-called 'rebellious' Armenians should be set forth in the strongest light as the cause of all the mischief, and at the same time the story of how a great Christian nation has been subjected to massacre and pillage, and how multitudes have been compelled to abjure their faith, is practically unknown to Germany." 94

The following letter, written from Turkey reveals the need of keeping the issue clear:

"Jan. 7, 1895 – People think that the Sassoun massacre is something exceptional, and that until that is proved there is no evidence of a need of European interference in behalf of Christians in Turkey. What ought to be done is to fix on the mind of the public the fact that Turkey has taken up the policy of crushing the Christians all over the Empire and has been at it for several years... There have been hundreds of Sassouns all over the country for the last ten years... The laxity of Europe has afforded opportunity for the merciless working of this system in all its vigor. It is born of religious and race hatred, and has in mind the crushing of Christianity and Christians." 95

It will probably never be known exactly what orders were given by the Sultan for the extermination of Armenians in 1894 but there is no question but that they were executed under the personal direction of the high Turkish military officers. An official notice from the palace was printed in the Constantinople papers in November stating that Zekki Pasha, Commander of the Fourth Army Corps, who led the troops in the campaign of extermination, was especially honored by a decoration from the Sultan, who also sent silk banners to the four leading Kurdish chiefs.

It is undeniable that the Ottoman Government is a politico-religious system. The Turkish army is exclusively a Mohammedan

army, the national festivals are Mohammedan festivals, the official calendar is a Mohammedan calendar, the laws are based on the Koran and Mohammedan tradition, the judges are Mohammedans, and even testimony is a religious act of which only true believers are, in the nature of the case, capable. Christians are allowed to testify but this does not signify that their testimony is considered valid.

Mr. Wilson, British Consul-General in Anatolia writes:

"In the greater portion of Anatolia, though Christian evidence may be received, no weight is attached to it. When Moslem and Christian evidence are opposed to each other, the later is disregarded. For instance, three Christians are traveling along a road, and one of them is robbed by a man well known to all of them; in the action which ensues, the robber has only to prove an alibi by two Moslem false witnesses to gain his case." 96

From all the above evidence is clearly to be seen that there is no place in the Ottoman Empire for persons of Christian faith. The political policy of the Sultan was to get rid of a non-Moslem element which damaged the homogeneity of the Empire and might not always submit to oppression. His maxim "*The way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians*" was applied with great thoroughness and disastrous results for the Christian race.

Abdul-Hamid held the theory that the best method of keeping the different races in his Empire in hand was by setting them off to massacre one another. Fearing that the intelligent and active Armenians might seek liberty as had the Bulgarians, he devised new ways of oppressing them, enlisting the help of the Kurds, who had always resented the neat villages and well-cultivated fields of the Armenians which interfered with the pasturage of their sheep and goats.

With the encouragement and help of Abdul-Hamid, in the massacres of 1895 and 1896 more than 75,000 Armenians were killed and more than 500,000 roamed starving in the mountains of Asia Minor.

94 J. Lepsius, *Armenia and Europe*

95 *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey*, pp. 33, 35

96 *Blue-Book, Turkey, No. 8 (1881)*, p. 57

The Armenians were left in peace for some years, as it was felt that the time was not ripe for further extermination. When the massacres of Adana occurred in 1909 there was a general impression that "the mutiny and massacre were the last stroke of the dying monster Sultan Abdul Hamid," but others firmly believed that it was the work of the Young Turks, who did not dethrone the Sultan because he persecuted his Christian subjects but rather because they wanted to have the glory of finishing off the extermination of the Armenian nation. The Young Turks chose an opportune moment because they were able to place the responsibility on the deposed Sultan. It is said that Talaat Bey boasted that he had done more in destroying the Armenians in thirty days than Abdul Hamid in thirty years. Moreover, Talaat Bey is said to have stated, when he gave the orders for the massacre and deportation of the Armenians in 1915, "*After this there will be no Armenian question for fifty years.*"

In a report presented to the Congress of the Young Turk party held in 1911 it was urged that

"sooner or later the complete Ottomanization of all Turkish subjects must be carried through, but that it was clear that this object could never be obtained by persuasion, and that the force of arms would have to be resorted to."⁹⁷

The massacres of 1915, according to Lord Bryce, were not inspired by religious fanaticism, and according to reliable authorities the high Moslem religious authorities condemned them. However, although the extermination of the Armenians was decided upon for political reasons, in order to carry out the long standing policy of a unified and Turkish State, the people were incited to commit the atrocities by the instigation of a "holy war", a "jihad". Ever since the reign of Sultan Selim I, the Sultans of Turkey have claimed a lawful successorship to the Caliphs of Baghdad and the Sultans of Egypt. The Turkish (line missing in original)... from Berlin on November 20, 1914:

"From all sections of Egypt come reports of enthusiastic manifestations in favor of a holy war. The Sheikh-ul-Islam has communicated with a majority of the

Mohammedan princes of Asia and Africa, who declare they will assist Turkey in a war against England."⁹⁸

The project for a holy war failed in all countries except Persia, where, in the province of Azerbaijan where lived many Armenians, the Turks and Kurds slaughtered a great number of Christians.

The First World War temporarily freed the Ottoman Government from the control of the concert of European Nations which, through the Treaty of Berlin, had attempted to ameliorate the conditions of the Christian inhabitants of Turkey. The Government felt that with Germany as its ally it need have no fear of future retaliations for its plan of complete extermination, as it was convinced that Germany would win the war and would shield Turkey for the vengeance of the Western Powers and of Russia.

The crime was worked out systematically and there is evidence of identical procedure from over fifty places, including every important town in Armenia proper and Eastern Anatolia, as well as Ismid and Broussa in the west, and a number of places in Thrace.

According to a letter written by an Armenian Protestant to an American citizen:

"I could not bring myself to believe that it was by order of the Central Government that the Armenians were driven from their homes. It was only at Constantinople that I learnt this fact, and I learnt also that the pressure brought to bear by the Embassies had no effect."⁹⁹

Only two cases are known of officials who refused to carry out the Government instructions, and these two officials were immediately replaced by zealous supporters of the Government policy. One Kaimakam is reported to have replied to the protest of a German missionary:

"If the Law and the Sultan were to forbid it, I would carry out the plan in spite of all, and do as I please."¹⁰⁰

97 *Germany, Turkey, and Armenia*, p. 71

98 See the "North American" (Phila.), March 8, 1915

99 Published in the Armenian paper "*Gotchnag*", New York, September 4, 1915

100 American Committee's Report, *Armenian Atrocities*, Toynebee, p. 29

A strong parallel may be drawn between the extermination of the Armenians by the Turks and the extermination of the Jews by the Germans. The position of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire closely approximated that of the Jews in Germany. The Armenians were the industrious citizens of the Empire, with a talent for handicraft and intellectual pursuits. They had the same gift for commerce as the Jews, and in Asiatic Turkey it was the Armenian who was the skilled workman and the man of business. Every town in Anatolia had its prosperous Armenian quarter, the centre of local skill, intellectual life and trade, as well as of the town's commercial relations with Constantinople and Europe.

The Armenians were treated as a subject race and were forbidden to bear arms until Abdul-Hamid was deposed in 1909. At that time the Young Turks encouraged the Armenians to organize societies and possess firearms, an early conceived plan which came to fruition in 1915 when the Armenian societies were accused of having a revolutionary character, and the Armenian's possession of firearms was taken as a proof of the same. The following statement was made by the Turkish Consul General in New York:

“However much to be deplored may be these harrowing events, in the last analysis we can but say the Armenians have only themselves to blame,” and went on to explain that the Armenians had been planning a revolution, and were killed by Turkish soldiers only after they had been caught “red handed with arms in their hands, resisting lawful authority.”

In negation of this accusation a letter dated February 26, 1915 written by Enver Pasha to the Armenian Bishop of Konia, the former says:

“I avail myself of this opportunity to tell you that the Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman Army conscientiously perform their duties in the theatre of war, as I can testify from personal observation. I beg of you to communicate to the Armenian people, whose perfect devotion to the Ottoman Government is well known, the expression of my satisfaction and gratitude.” (Germany, Turkey, and Armenia.)

The Armenians had had to depend on their wits and their skill to survive in a country which accorded them so few rights, and among the Turks they held almost a monopoly of trade which earned them a correspondingly large share of the wealth of Turkey.

According to the “*Frankfurter Zeitung*” of October 9, 1915:

“The Armenian enjoys, through his higher intellect and superior commercial ability, a constant business advantage in trade, tax-framing, banking and commission-agency over the heavy-footed Turk, and so accumulates money in his pocket, while the Turk grows poor. That is why the Armenian is best-hated man in the East – in many cases not unjustly, though a generalization would be unfair. It is easily – (last part missing).- shoemaker, jeweler, pharmacist, doctor, lawyer or any of the professional men or tradesmen, with very few exceptions, and the country will be left in a practically helpless state.”¹⁰¹

There is every evidence that the persecution of the Armenians met with full favor in Germany. According to Herbert Adams Gibbons:

“The Armenians are the essential factor, the guarantee indeed, of Turkish economic and political independence in Asia Minor. By the same token, they appear to be a stumbling-block to German domination. The Armenians, largely educated in French and American schools, speak French and English. Through their commercial relations with Western Europe and America, with England most of all, they have naturally been ‘in the way’ of the German commercial traveler. As the one commercial and agricultural element in the interior of Asia Minor, capable of holding its own against a penetration of European colonists, the Armenians are ‘in the way’ of the schemes for the Germanization of Anatolia. It was not for the Baghdad Railway alone, but also for all that the Baghdad Railway implied, that Kaiser Wilhelm II fraternized

101 *Armenian Atrocities*, p. 115

with Abdul Hamid, after the massacres of Armenians in 1895 and 1896.”¹⁰²

Four months after the beginning of the atrocities of 1915, the German Imperial Chancellor addressed the Reichstag and took the occasion to congratulate his countrymen on “*their marvelous regeneration of Turkey.*”¹⁰³ When Turkey entered the war she placed herself in Germany’s power, and was dependent on her ally for war munitions and military leadership. Had Germany wished she could have stopped the atrocities merely by withdrawing her support.

The New York “Herald” on October 6, 1915 published an article stating:

“Last July the United States Government invited the cooperation of the German Government in an effort to end the outrages which have resulted in wholesale and systematic murder of fully one half of the million and a quarter Armenians living under Turkish control... No reply was received from Germany to the invitation to cooperate in this work.”

A cable from Cairo, published in the Paris press toward the end of September, read:

“According to the testimony of the refugees from Syria, several German consuls have directed or encouraged the massacres of the Armenians. Special mention is made of Herr Rossler, Consul at Aleppo, who has gone to Aintab to direct the massacres in person, and the notorious Baron Oppenheim, who initiated the idea of deporting to Ourfa the women and children belonging by nationality to the Allies, though he knew well enough that these unfortunates would be unable to avoid witnessing there the barbarous acts committed by the troops in the very streets of the town, which are literally drenched in blood.”¹⁰⁴

This is not conclusive evidence, nor is the following article, which appeared in the “*Gotchnag*” of New York on September 4, but it supports the suspicion of Germany’s complicity:

“A foreign correspondent reports that provincial governors who show lack of vigour in executing the order to deport the Armenians, are taken to task by the German officials. The latter participate in the execution of the deportation scheme, and redouble its rigours. The correspondent declares, on the basis of such evidence as this, that this plan of exterminating the Armenians has been conceived by the Germans, and that it has been put into execution on their advice.”

The complicity of the Germans is indicated in a letter from Moorfield Storey, ex-President of the American Bar Association, to Voscount Bryce, August 7, 1916:

“It is confirmed by evidence from German sources which has with difficulty escaped the rigid censorship maintained by the German authorities – a censorship which is in itself a confession, since there is no reason why the Germans should not give full currency to such evidence unless the authorities felt themselves in some way responsible for what it discloses.

“In my opinion, the evidence which you print is as reliable as that upon which rests our belief in many of the universally admitted facts of history, and I think it establishes beyond any reasonable doubt, the deliberate purpose of the Turkish authorities practically to exterminate the Armenians, and the responsibility for the hideous atrocities which have been perpetrated upon that unhappy people.”¹⁰⁵

In order to carry out the work of extermination as rapidly as possible the Turkish Government refused outside offers of help. According to “*New York Times*” of October 19, 1915, the Turkish Government informed the State Department at Washington that

102 *The Blackest Page of Modern History*, pp. 62-63

103 *Armenian Atrocities*, p. 112

104 *Armenian Atrocities*, p. 106-107

105 *Treatment of Armenians*, p. xxxii

the American Red Cross would not be permitted to send surgeons and nurses to the aid of the Armenians in the Turkish Empire. The Turks barred not only American Red Cross surgeons, nurses and relief agents, but also all other neutral foreigners.

From the above evidence there can be little doubt that the plan of extermination was well conceived and put into execution by the Turkish Government with the full recognition and support of Germany.

It is unlikely that the German authorities initiated the crime, but it is clear that the Germans made no move to halt it.

Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to Washington, at first denied the atrocities altogether: "*The alleged atrocities committed in the Ottoman Empire appear to be pure inventions,*" he declared. But after conferring with the German Government he

"submitted to the United States Government a report of the German Consul General at Trebizond admitting and defending a massacre of Armenians on the ground that the Armenians were disloyal to the Turkish Government and secretly were aiding and abetting Russia."¹⁰⁶

Mr. H.A.L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, wrote to Viscount Bryce, August 2, 1916:

"It is found that the original responsibility rests with the Ottoman Government in Constantinople, whose policy was actively seconded by the members of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Provinces. And in view of the fact that the representations of the Austrian Ambassador with the Porte were effectual in procuring a partial measure of exemption for the Armenian Catholics, we are led to surmise that the unspeakable horrors which this volume records might have been mitigated, if not wholly checked, had active and energetic remonstrances been from the first moment addressed to the Ottoman Government by

the two Powers who had acquired a predominant influence in Constantinople. The evidence, on the contrary, tends to suggest that these two Powers were, in a general way, favorable to the policy of deportation."¹⁰⁷

A German in Turkey made an application in favor of four Armenian children. The Chairman of the Deportation Commission replied:

"You do not grasp our intentions; we want to destroy the Armenian name. Just as Germany will only let Germans exist, so we, Turks, will only let Turks."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ *Armenian Atrocities*, p. 111, published in "*New York Herald*".

¹⁰⁷ *Treatment of Armenians*, p. xxi

¹⁰⁸ *Germany, Turkey, and Armenia*, p. 79

CHAPTER V. REACTIONS ABROAD

The Duke of Argyle blamed the British Government for the situation of the Armenians:

“That the Powers should have consented even to allow their representatives to spend time in such attempts as those (a commission to investigate the massacre and a scheme of reform for the Armenian provinces), after the experience of half a century of the hopeless bad faith and of the cunning procrastination of the Porte, is indeed astonishing. As usual, we seem to have been the leaders in this farce. Our Foreign Office boasted from time to time that we had got all the Powers to act ‘in line’; which was, indeed, true. But what was the line doing? It was what is called in the language of military drill ‘practicing the Goose Step’ – going through the form of taking steps, but not advancing one inch towards any practical result. The whole time occupied by Lord Rosebery’s Government, after they first heard of the impending dangers – which was at least eleven months from the beginning of August 1894, to the middle of July 1895 – was wasted in this idle and grotesque procedure. And yet there really had been some encouraging symptoms of the disposition of Russia, if we had taken earnest and immediate advantage of them. And not less really had we very early noticed of what was coming from the Turks. As early as September 10, we knew that they were actually engaging a Kurdish chief of notoriously bad character to command three regiments of Kurdish irregular cavalry, as part of the forces destined for putting down what they were pleased to call the insurrection.”¹⁰⁹

109 “Our Responsibility for Turkey”, the Duke of Argyle

Lord Bryce also condemns England:

“In the field of Eastern politics generally the conspicuous result has been the failure – the complete, humiliating, and irretrievable failure – of the traditional policy pursued by England of supporting the Turk against Russia. That policy, first attempted by Mr. Pitt in 1791, against the vehement protests of Mr. Burke, but presently abandoned, was warmly espoused by Lord Palmerston. It prompted the Crimean war of 1853, and was embodied in the Treaty of Paris of 1856. It had the lifelong support of Lord Beaconsfield, who by refusing to join Russia, Austria, and Prussia in 1876 in applying pressure to the Sultan, brought on the war of 1877. Public opinion in Great Britain, outraged by the Bulgarian massacre, prevented him from giving the armed support of Great Britain to the Turks in that year. But he was able to revert to and enforce that policy in the negotiations of 1878, which substituted the Treaty of Berlin for the Treaty of San Stefano. And it dictated the provisions of the Anglo-Turkish convention.”¹¹⁰

The United States was horrified about the Sassoun massacres, but felt unable to intervene except in regard to the safety of American citizens in Armenia. A petition was presented to the Senate and House of Representatives for the establishment of U.S. Consulates at Erserum and Harpoot:

Washington, D.C., January 3, 1895

“Apropos to the recent massacre of five thousand Armenians in Turkey, it is clearly inexpedient for the United States to mix up in the Eastern Question. But it is equally clear that the duty of protecting a large body of native born American citizens constantly subjected to danger, injury and insult in that land is not complicated by any Monroe Doctrine...”¹¹¹

110 Bryce, “*Transcaucasia and Ararat*”, p. 519, 4th edition.

111 *Crisis in Turkey*, Appendix B., p. 163

On his eighty fifth birthday, December 29, 1894, Mr. W.E. Gladstone made a long and eloquent speech to a deputation of members of the National Church of Armenia, in which he said:

“... Do not let me be told that one nation has no authority over another. Every nation, and if need be every human being, has authority on behalf of humanity and of justice. These are principles common to mankind, and the violation of which may justly, at the proper time, open the mouths of the very humblest among us... The intelligence which has reached me tends to conclusion which I still hope may not be verified but tends strongly to a conclusion to the general effect that the outrages and scenes and abominations of 1876 in Bulgaria have been repeated in 1894 in Armenia. As I have said, I hope it is not so, and I will hope to the last, but if it is so it is time that one general shout of execration, not of men, but of deeds, one general shout of execration direction deeds of wickedness, should rise from outraged humanity, and should force itself into the ears of the Sultan of Turkey, and make him sensible, if anything can make him sensible, of the madness of such a course...

“If these tales of murder, violation, and outrage be true, then it will follow that they cannot be overlooked, and they cannot be made light of... If allegations such as these are established, it will stand as if it were written with letters of iron on the records of the world, that such a government as that which can countenance and cover the perpetration of such outrages is a disgrace to civilization at large, and that it is a curse to mankind. Now that is strong language.

“Strong language ought to be used when facts are strong, and ought not to be used without strength of facts. I have counseled you to retain and to keep your judgment in suspense, but as the evidence grows and the case darkens, my hopes dwindle and decline; and as long as I have voice I hope that voice, upon occasions,

will be uttered on behalf of humanity and truth.”¹¹²

“*The Independent*” of January 17th asked:

“Will history repeat itself in 1895? Will the remaining Armenians of Sassoun be so terrorized as to refuse to testify before a Commission? Undoubtedly.

“If the facts already known do not force Europe to place Eastern Asia Minor under a Christian Viceroy there is little hope that any new facts will influence them. The dead tell no tales. The living fear to speak, lest they fall victims to the humane theories of Beder Khan and Nejib Pasha.

“Will England now insist upon the protection of the Christian? She is morally bound to. Four times she has saved the Ottoman Empire from destruction, and the civilized world look to her for a fulfillment of her high mission in the East.

“May British public opinion compel British public men to action!”

“*The Independent*” of January 31st, 1895 explains the Armenian situation:

“The reason of the recurrence of massacres in Turkey is the fanatical intolerance of the Moslem populace and their hatred to Christianity, unrestrained and often fomented by Turkish officials.

“Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the ablest and best friend Turkey ever had, who believed that ‘England should befriend Turkey in order to reform her,’ says:

“Turkey is weak, fanatical and misgoverned. The Eastern question is a fact, a reality of indefinite duration. Like a volcano it has intervals of rest; but its outbreaks are frequent, their occasions uncertain, and their effects destructive.”¹¹³

112 *The London Times*, Weekly edition, January 14, 1895

113 *The Eastern Question*, p. 6

“The position of the Ottoman Empire is one of natural determination toward a state of exhaustive weakness.”¹¹⁴

“A joint Commission is now en route to investigate the Sassoun massacres. Will any good come from it? Doubtful. Lord Stratford says:

‘We know not how soon or where the kites may be gain collected by a massacre or insurrection... Such occasional meetings (of Commission’s) have their portion of inconvenience and risk. Their failure is discreditable; the effect of their success, at best, transient and partial. The evils they are meant to correct are themselves the off-spring of one pervading evil, the source of which is in Constantinople.’”¹¹⁵

The “*Westminster Gazette*” of December 12, 1894, wrote:

“England at the Berlin Congress and England alone – for none of the other powers took any interest in the matter – destroyed the security which Russia had extorted from the Turkish government at San Stefano, and substituted for the sterling guarantee of Russia, the worthless paper money of Ottoman promises.”

Mr. Norman wrote:

“Arriving in the country a strong philo-Turk, deeply impressed with the necessity of preserving the ‘integrity of the Empire’ in order to uphold ‘British interest’, I now fain would cry with Mr. Freeman, ‘Perish British interests, perish our dominion in India, rather than that we should strike a blow on behalf of the wrong against the right.’”¹¹⁶

The following despatch shows the impression received by the British Foreign Office by the trials and executions of Armenians accused of being agitators:

114 *The Eastern Question*, p. 97

115 *The Eastern Question*, p. 117

116 Norman, “*Armenia and the Campaign of 1877*”, pp. 158-159

London, August 2, 1893:

“The question of Turkish outrages upon the Armenian Christians was brought up in the House of Commons today. Several members asked for information as to the charges made that the Turkish officials had tortured the prisoners who were some time ago arrested for complicity in the seditious rioting in Caesarea and Marsovan in their efforts to get the accused to implicate themselves and others. In response to the questions Sir Edward Grey, Parliamentary Secretary of the Foreign Office, said that what little information the Foreign Office had on the subject was very painful. Fifty-six persons had been (tried) arrested and of this number seventeen had been condemned to death, and many of the others sentenced to long terms of imprisonment... The British representative in Constantinople had used his influence to convince the Ottoman authorities that the trials were unfair, but his efforts to have the wrong righted were in vain.”¹¹⁷

By a most influential paper of Great Britain the crime at Sassoun was laid at the door of England:

“The crime at Sassoun lies primarily at the door of England. It is one of the many disastrous results of that ‘peace with honor’ which the English government, represented by Lord Beaconsfield, claimed to have brought back from Berlin in 1878. Why was it that the Armenians at Sassoun were left as sheep before the butcher? Why was it that the Sultan and his pashas felt themselves perfectly free to issue what order they pleased for the massacre of the poor Armenians? The answer is, unfortunately, only too simple. It is because England, at the Berlin Congress, and England alone – for none of the other powers took any interest in the matter – destroyed the security which Russia had extorted from the Turkish government at San Stefano,

117 *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*, pp. 230-231

and substituted for the sterling guarantee of Russia, the worthless paper money of Ottoman promises.”¹¹⁸

In 1894, the Representative Committee of the Society of Friends addressed a memorial to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Earl of Kimberley, protesting against the Armenian persecutions and urging the intervention of Great Britain:

“The Representative Committee of the Society of Friends in Great Britain have had their attention recently directed to the suffering and persecuted condition of the Armenian Christian subjects of the Porte, and have been at some pains to investigate the facts of the case. They are compelled to conclude that persecution of a cruel character has been and is being carried on by Turkish officials, which is a disgrace to any government, and to the age in which we live.

“They desire to point that Article I, of the Cyprus convention of June 3, 1878, and Articles LXI and LXII of the Treaty of Berlin, July 1878, give this country a position of responsibility and authority upon this subject which it ought not to ignore.

“The Committee believes that, though these engagements were made nearly fourteen years ago, it is not alleged that their performance has been even entered upon. On the contrary, great numbers of the Christian Armenians have been from time to time arbitrarily arrested, and are now in prison on charges strongly suspected of being false, whilst many of the proceedings in the courts of law are clearly a mere travesty of justice.”¹¹⁹

The following is the reply to the memorial in part:

“...the information in the possession of Her Majesty’s Government does not confirm the widely spread belief that the arrest and imprisonment of the

Armenians in Asiatic Turkey are attributable to their religious faith.”

The absurdity of the Turkish assertion that the massacres of 1893 were occasioned by the plots of Armenians to stage a revolution is revealed in a letter by Cyrus Hamlin, published in the “*New York Herald*” on December 20, 1894:

“To the Editor of the Herald:

...The Armenians are a noble race, but few in number, scattered and unarmed. The Turkish Government has never had the least fear of any such movement (revolution). It knows well that there is no place in the Empire where one thousand or even one hundred Armenians could assemble with hostile intent. And besides they have no arms, and they are not accustomed to their use. They would be lambs in the midst of wolves...

“It is to be greatly regretted that the Ottoman Ambassador should attempt to cover up the path of these horrid atrocities which have agitated the whole Christian world and for which Turkey must give account. It were far better to deplore the fact and work for justice and judgment. It may be the time has passed when such deeds of blood and torture, committed upon unarmed men, women and children, can be condoned by the civilized world...”

The British were not unaware of their responsibility for the Armenian situation at the end of the nineteenth century. England’s share in the crime is admitted in the following article in the “*Westminster Gazette*”, December 12, 1894:

“The only effect of the Anglo-Turkish convention has been to increase the confidence of the Sultan that he can do as he pleases in Armenia notwithstanding Article LXI of the Berlin Treaty.

“England, therefore, is responsible in three ways. She destroyed the Russian guarantee exacted by the Treaty of San Stefano. She framed the ‘watching’ clause of the

¹¹⁸ *The Westminster Gazette*, December 12, 1894 (reprinted in the Armenian, London, January 1895)

¹¹⁹ “Minutes”, *Society of Friends*, London, 1894

Berlin Treaty, and then, to preclude all possibility of effective pressure upon the Turk, she concludes the Cyprus convention which established all illegal British protectorates over the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan."

Mr. Burke, in an impassioned address stated:

"I have never before heard that the Turkish Empire has been considered any part of the balance of Powers in Europe. They despise and condemn all Christian princes as infidels, and only wish to subdue and exterminate them and their people. What have these worse than savages to do with the Powers of Europe but to spread war, destruction, and pestilence among them? The ministers and the policy which shall give these people any weight in Europe will deserve all the bans and curses of posterity." ¹²⁰

The "*Petit Parisien*" on August 27, 1909 published the following article concerning the Adana massacres:

"One cannot read without immense disgust the tortures suffered by the partisans of (blank space) who were taken prisoners at Fez.

"These atrocious mutilations, these feet and hands cut off, these cheeks cut open to pull the teeth from the jaw, this salt sprinkled on the wounds – all these barbarities have shocked and revolted the public conscience. Is it possible that these monstrous things occur in our times? One cannot disbelieve it, and the testimony of the European consuls is exact. Let us trust that the protests formulated by Europe will not be in vain.

"Alas, what a foundation of cruelty remains in man when he is abandoned to his instincts! What frightful joy he experiences in making others suffer! Perhaps it is in evil, in the variety of tortures, that he expressed the most imagination..."

¹²⁰ Lord Bryce, *Transcaucasia and Ararat*, 4th edition, p. 519

"The mass assassinations of Asia Minor are not of twenty years ago: they are of yesterday, these ignoble scenes are still present in every memory. In a real intoxication of blood, unleashed bands killed for the joy of killing, with a thousand refinements, with a sort of horrible fantasy. It seems as if there had been a return of the times of the bloody debauches of that Ahmed the Butcher, whose figure seemed set apart from humanity, and evoked by Mr. Edward Lockroy.

"It is almost constant that in some corner of the world ferocity is perpetuated, and not only among savage peoples, but in semi-civilization! And it is something like shame that one thinks that, in our epoch, in politically organized nations are to be found torturers capable, in order to wring confessions from political prisoners, of renewing ancient tortures or inventing new ones..." ¹²¹

The massacres initiated in Armenia with the outbreak of the World War aroused the horror and indignation of the civilized world. Documents concerning "The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916" were collected, with a preface by Viscount Bryce, and presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, October 1916. The volume of documents was published by the British Government (Miscellaneous, No. 31, 1916) and edited by Arnold J. Toynbee. The volume contains despatches from officials, newspapermen, diplomats, and private individuals who witnessed the scenes of outrage, torture, massacre, and deportation, and consists of some 684 pages which leave in the mind of the reader no doubt as to the magnitude of the crime perpetrated against a peaceable, loyal race whose only offense against the Government which destroyed it was the mere fact of existing.

The following extracts are from a despatch by Mr. Henry Wood, correspondent of the American "*United Press*" at

¹²¹ *Les Turcs ont passé la*, pp. 319-320

Constantinople, and published in the American press, August 14, 1915:

“So critical is the situation that Ambassador Morgenthau, who alone is fighting to prevent wholesale slaughter, has felt obliged to ask the cooperation of the Ambassadors of Turkey’s two allies... Although the present renewal of the Armenian atrocities has been under way for three months, it is only just now that reports creeping into Constantinople from the remotest points of the interior show that absolutely no portion of the Armenian population has been spared... The decision has gone out from the Young Turk party that the Armenian population of Turkey must be set back fifty years. This has been decided upon as necessary in order to ensure the supremacy of the Turkish race in the Ottoman Empire, which is one of the basic principles of the Young Turk party. The situation, I am told, is absolutely analogous to that which preceded the Armenian massacres under Abdul-Hamid...”¹²²

Extracts from an interview with Comm. G. Gorrini, late Italian Consul-General at Trebizond, published in “*Il Messagero*” of Rome, 25th August, 1915:

“In my district, from the 24th June onwards, the Armenians were all ‘interned’ – that is, ejected by force from their various residences and despatched under the guard of the gendarmerie to distant, unknown destinations, which for a few will mean the interior of Mesopotamia, but for four fifths of them has meant already a death accompanied by unheard-of cruelties.

“The official proclamation of internment came from Constantinople. It is the work of the Central Government and ‘The Committee of Union and Progress’!... The Consular Body intervened, and attempted to save at least the women and children. We did, in fact, secure numerous exemptions, but these

¹²² *Treatment of Armenians*, pp. 2-3

were not subsequently respected, owing to the interference of the local branch of the ‘Union and Progress Committee’ and to fresh orders from Constantinople.

“It was a real extermination and slaughter of the innocents, an unheard-of thing, a black page stained with the flagrant violation of the most sacred rights of humanity, of Christianity, of nationality. The Armenian Catholics, too, who in the past had always been respected and excepted from the massacres and persecutions, were this time treated worse than any – again by the orders of the Central Government. There were about 14,000 Armenians at Trebizond – Gregorians, Catholics, and Protestants. They had never caused disorders or given occasion for collective measures of police. When I left Trebizond, not a hundred of them remained.

“From the 24th June, the date of the publication of the infamous decree, until the 23rd July, the date of my own departure from Trebizond, I no longer slept or ate; I was given over to nerves and nausea, so terrible was the torment of having to look on at the wholesale execution of these defenseless, innocent creatures.

“The passing of the gangs of Armenian exiles beneath the windows and before the door of the Consulate; their prayers for help, when neither I nor any other could do anything to answer them; the city in a state of siege, guarded at every point by 15,000 troops in complete war equipment, by thousands of police agents, by bands of volunteers and by the members of the ‘Committee of Union and Progress’; the lamentations, the tears, the abandonments, the imprecations, the many suicides, the instantaneous deaths from sheer terror, the sudden unhinging of men’s reason, the conflagrations, the shooting of victims in the city, the ruthless searches through the houses and in the country-side; the hundreds of corpses found every day along the exile road; the young women converted by

force to Islam or exiled like the rest; the children torn away from their families or from the Christian schools, and handed over by force to Moslem families, or else placed by hundreds on board ships in nothing but their shirts, and then capsized and drowned in the Black Sea and the River Deyirmen Dere – these are my last ineffaceable memories of Trebizond... I should prefer to close our interview at this point, with the solemn asseveration that this black page in Turkey's history calls for the most uncompromising reproach and for the vengeance of all Christendom. If they knew all the things that I know, all that I have had to see with my eyes and hear with my ears, all Christian powers that are still neutral would be impelled to rise up against Turkey and cry anathema against her inhuman Government and her ferocious 'Committee of Union and Progress', and they would extend the responsibility to Turkey's Allies, who tolerate or even shield with their strong arm these execrable crimes, which have not their equal in history, either modern or ancient. Shame, horror and disgrace!"¹²³

Germany alone of the European nations supported the Turkish policy as has been demonstrated elsewhere in this report. An editorial in the Turkish journal "*Hilal*", 4th April, 1916, communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, clearly reveals the reactions of German officials:

"The telegraphic agencies gave us the day before yesterday a summary of a lecture given in Vienna by the German deputy Traub, on his return from a journey to Turkey. After having paid tribute to the military qualities of the Turkish soldiers... the eminent lecturer expressed the following opinion: 'Turkey must not be considered by Europeans as a country to be exploited.' Mr. Traub added that he was opposed to all missionary activities in the Turkish Empire... The German deputy was one of the first to proclaim that henceforth

¹²³ *Treatment of Armenians*, pp. 290-292

the Turkish people will be only masters in their own house and that nobody may any longer think of exploiting it or in any way tread their rights under foot. We are particularly pleased that an eminent representative of the noble nation which is our friend and ally speaks in this manner."¹²⁴

Since the German Government was whole-heartedly supporting the Armenian extermination policy in Turkey, the strictest censorship was placed on the German press, and very little news of actual conditions was allowed to be published. The "*Sonnenaufgang*" (Organ of the "German League for the Promotion of Christian Charitable Work in the East") published in October 1915 a report describing conditions. The same issue contained the following editorial note:

"In our preceding issue we published an account by one of our sisters (Schwester Mohring) of her experiences on a journey, but we have to abstain from giving the public the new details that are reaching us in abundance. It costs us much to do so, as our friends will understand; but the political situation of our country demands it."

The "*Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*" also published some material in November 1915. The censor was not content with putting pressure on the editor but on November 10th forbade the reproduction of the article in the German press, and did his utmost to confiscate the entire issue.¹²⁵

According to Ambassador Morgenthau:

"The facts contained in the reports received at the Embassy from absolutely trustworthy eye-witnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolical cruelties ever before perpetrated or imagined in the history of the world."¹²⁶

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 656-656

¹²⁵ *Germany, Turkey, and Armenia*, p. 61

¹²⁶ *The Tragedy of Armenia*, p. 7

The testimonies of German missionaries and nurses who witnessed the atrocities of 1915-1916 reveal that they were no less horrified than the rest of the world. The officials and publicists, however, were in many cases, supporters of the extinction policy. Count Ernst von Reventlow wrote in the "*Deutscher Tageszeitung*":

"If the Porte considers it necessary that Armenian insurrections and other goings on should be crushed by every means available, so as to exclude all possibility of their repetition, then that is no 'murder' and no 'atrocious', but simply measures of a justifiable and necessary kind."

The German Ambassador at Constantinople remarked "*Germany cannot intervene in the internal affairs of her ally.*" If Germany's attitude were simply one of non-intervention it still would not absolve her of guilt. She stands accused in the following article in the "*New York Tribune*":

"This shameful and terrible page of modern history which is unfolding in distant Armenia is nothing but an echo and an extension of the main story, the central narrative, which must describe the German incursion into Belgium fourteen months ago. That was the determining act, that was the signal to Turk and Kurd..."

"Today the world looks neither with surprise nor with incredulity at the terrible history that comes to us from the remoter regions of Asia Minor..."

"This thing that Germany has done in the world is not a mere injury to written law. That is but a minor detail. What she had done is to bring us all back in the Twentieth Century to the condition of the dark ages."¹²⁷

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CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS

1914

February

Agreement between Russia and Turkey on reforms in Western Armenia; implementation cancelled when World War I begins

July-August

Beginning of First World War; Austria invades Serbia; Germany declares war on Russia; secret military agreement signed between Turkey and Germany

August 2/August 14

Eighth Congress of the Dashnaksutjun convenes in Erzerum; in meeting with Dr. Bahaeddin Shakir and other Turkish representatives, Dashnak leaders Vramian, Rostom, and Aknouni opt for neutrality in the war but pledge Armenian loyalty if war cannot be avoided

August

Creation of "Special Organization," under the direction of Dr. Bahaeddin Shakir in Erzerum, to oversee the extermination of Armenians

September

Decision to organize Armenian volunteer units to assist Russian Army; four units of 1,000 troops each are formed and placed under the command of Antranig, Dro, Hamazasb, and Keri

October

Turkey enters First World War

November

Armenian volunteers help Russian army on Ottoman-Russian front

December

Start of Turkish plan of genocide against Armenians in Turkey;

beginning of arrival of survivors of genocide to Caucasus and Russia; by autumn of 1916 number reaches about 350,000

1915

January 5

Defeat of Enver's Third Army in Sarighamish; of 90,000 soldiers in Turkish army only 20,000 survive (30,000 died of exposure); end of Turkish plan to conquer the Caucasus

February/March

Self-defense of Armenians in Taron

March-April

Beginning of the deportation of Armenians of Zeytun and Dortyol

April 20

Beginning of defense of Van

April 24

Arrest and exile of 800 Western Armenian intellectuals in Ottoman Empire, including hundreds in Constantinople

April 28

Secret orders by Talaat, Enver, and Jemal on deportations and massacres of Armenians in Turkey

April and May

Beginning of massacres throughout the vilayets of Kharpert, Sivas, and Erzerum; arrested leaders and young men organized into work battalions are killed

May

Turkish army leaves Van in defeat; Aram Manukian becomes governor; Armenian volunteers with Russian army enter Van; Russian army occupies Manizkert, Arjesh, Van, and Paskhale; Turkish army prevents Russians from reaching Bitlis

April-June

Beginning of the deportation of the Armenians in Erzerum, Hajin, and Trebizond

May 26

Allied governments accuse Turkish government of perpetrating a crime against humanity and inform Turkish officials that they will be held personally responsible for the deportations and massacres of the Armenian population

June 25/July 16

Self-defense by Armenians of Shabin-Garahisar in which Armenians hold out for three weeks before succumbing to the siege of the Ottoman army; some Armenians escape to the mountains

June

Public hanging of 21 Hunchakians in Istanbul; arrest of Ottoman parliament deputy and writer Krikor Zohrab; subsequently murdered en route to Diyarbekir

July

Self-defense by Armenians of Musa Dag; after 53 days the Armenians are rescued by the French navy

July-October

Beginning of deportation and massacres of Armenians in Angora, Cesarea, Kastamuni, Bursa, Aintab, Mersina, European Turkey, Samsun, Tarsus, and Adana

August/September

Armenians of Urfa resist deportation orders; hanging in Cesarea of Hunchakian leader Murat; over 60,000 survivors massacred in Deir-ez-Zor

September

Talaat's orders not to spare children and women and determining death penalty for those Turks who help Armenians; founding of volunteer relief organization in New York which would later be incorporated by the United States government as Near East Relief

1916

February

Jevdet, then governor of Adana and former governor of Van, orders and directs the slaughter of deportees surviving in the desert

May

Dissolution by Viceroy's orders of Armenian volunteer corps

August

Turkish government orders the extermination of Armenian deportees who had survived in the desert of Deir-ez-Zor; Turkish government repeals the Armenian constitution of 1863

November

Decision of French government to organize Armenian Legion to fight Turkish armies in Middle East (dissolved in September 1920)

1917

March

Russian Revolution and end of tsarist regime; organization of democratic republic under the leadership of Kerensky

April

United States declares war on Germany; Turkey breaks ties with United States

November 5/November 7

Bolshevik revolution, Kerensky's government replaced

1918

January 8

President Wilson declares his "14 Points" for a durable peace, including the principle that nationalities under Turkish rule be given the opportunity for autonomous development

April

Turks capture Batum and massacre Armenians

May 28

Armenians declare independence in Erevan and form Republic of Armenia

June 3

Armenians defeat Turks at Sardarabad

November 11

Allies sign armistice with Germany

1919

Spring

Ninth World Congress of Dashnaksutiun: decision to bring Ittihadist leaders responsible for the annihilation of Armenians to justice

May 28

Republic of Armenia declares Western Armenian territories are part of integral and independent Armenia

1920

May

Assassination of Khan Khoyski by Aram Yerganian and Misak Garabedian

August 20

Treaty of Sèvres recognizing independent Armenia and expansion of territories

Autumn

Armenia attacked by Turkish nationalist armies

December 2

Sovietization of Armenia

1921

March 15

Assassination of Talaat Pasha by Soghomon Tehlirian in Berlin

July 19

Assassination of Jivanshir by Misak Torlakian in Constantinople

December 6

Assassination of Said Halim Pasha by Arshavir Shirakian in Rome

1922

April 17

Assassination of Behaeddin Shakir and Jemal Azmi in Berlin by Aram Yerganian and Arshavir Shiragian

May

Assassination of Enver Pasha by an Armenian soldier in the Soviet Union

July

Assassination of Jemal Pasha in Tiflis by Stepan Dsaghigian and compatriots

APPENDIX I

**CONVENTION (I) FOR THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF
INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES (HAGUE I) (29 July 1899)**

Entry into Force: 4 September 1900

His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia; [etc.]:

Animated by a strong desire to concert for the maintenance of the general peace;

Resolved to second by their best efforts the friendly settlement of international disputes;

Recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations;

Desirous of extending the empire of law, and of strengthening the appreciation of international justice;

Convinced that the permanent institution of a Court of Arbitration, accessible to all, in the midst of the independent Powers, will contribute effectively to this result;

Having regard to the advantages attending the general and regular organization of arbitral procedure;

Sharing the opinion of the august Initiator of the International Peace Conference that it is expedient to record in an international Agreement the principles of equity and right on which are based the security of States and the welfare of peoples;

Being desirous of concluding a Convention to this effect, have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, to wit:

[List of plenipotentiaries.]

Who, after communication of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

TITLE I. ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE GENERAL PEACE

Article 1

With a view to obviating, as far as possible, recourse to force in the relations between States, the Signatory Powers agree to use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences.

TITLE II. ON GOOD OFFICES AND MEDIATION

Article 2

In case of serious disagreement or conflict, before an appeal to arms, the Signatory Powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

Article 3

Independently of this recourse, the Signatory Powers recommend that one or more Powers, strangers to the dispute, should, on their own initiative, and as far as circumstances may allow, offer their good offices or mediation to the States at variance.

Powers, strangers to the dispute, have the right to offer good offices or mediation, even during the course of hostilities.

The exercise of this right can never be regarded by one or the other of the parties in conflict as an unfriendly act.

Article 4

The part of the mediator consists in reconciling the opposing claims and appeasing the feelings of resentment which may have arisen between the States at variance.

Article 5

The functions of the mediator are at an end when once it is declared, either by one of the parties to the dispute, or by the mediator himself, that the means of reconciliation proposed by him are not accepted.

Article 6

Good offices and mediation, either at the request of the par-

ties at variance, or on the initiative of Powers strangers to the dispute, have exclusively the character of advice and never have binding force.

Article 7

The acceptance of mediation can not, unless there be an agreement to the contrary, have the effect of interrupting, delaying, or hindering mobilization or other measures of preparation for war.

If mediation, occurs after the commencement of hostilities it causes no interruption to the military operations in progress, unless there be an agreement to the contrary.

Article 8

The Signatory Powers are agreed in recommending the application, when circumstances allow, of special mediation in the following form:

In case of a serious difference endangering the peace, the States at variance choose respectively a Power, to whom they intrust the mission of entering into direct communication with the Power chosen on the other side, with the object of preventing the rupture of pacific relations.

For the period of this mandate, the term of which, unless otherwise stipulated, cannot exceed thirty days, the States in conflict cease from all direct communication on the subject of the dispute, which is regarded as referred exclusively to the mediating Powers, who must use their best efforts to settle it.

In case of a definite rupture of pacific relations, these Powers are charged with the joint task of taking advantage of any opportunity to restore peace.

TITLE III. ON INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY

Article 9

In differences of an international nature involving neither honor nor vital interests, and arising from a difference of opinion on points of fact, the Signatory Powers recommend that the parties, who have not been able to come to an agreement by means of diplomacy, should as far as circumstances allow, institute an International Commission of Inquiry, to facilitate a solution of

these differences by elucidating the facts by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation.

Article 10

The International Commissions of Inquiry are constituted by special agreement between the parties in conflict.

The Convention for an inquiry defines the facts to be examined and the extent of the Commissioners' powers.

It settles the procedure.

On the inquiry both sides must be heard.

The form and the periods to be observed, if not stated in the inquiry Convention, are decided by the Commission itself.

Article 11

The International Commissions of Inquiry are formed, unless otherwise stipulated, in the manner fixed by Article 32 of the present convention.

Article 12

The powers in dispute engage to supply the International Commission of Inquiry, as fully as they may think possible, with all means and facilities necessary to enable it to be completely acquainted with and to accurately understand the facts in question.

Article 13

The International Commission of Inquiry communicates its Report to the conflicting Powers, signed by all the members of the Commission.

Article 14

The report of the International Commission of Inquiry is limited to a statement of facts, and has in no way the character of an Arbitral Award. It leaves the conflicting Powers entire freedom as to the effect to be given to this statement.

TITLE IV. ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

CHAPTER I. On the System of Arbitration

Article 15

International arbitration has for its object the settlement of differences between States by judges of their own choice, and on the basis of respect for law.

Article 16

In questions of a legal nature, and especially in the interpretation or application of International Conventions, arbitration is recognized by the Signatory Powers as the most effective, and at the same time the most equitable, means of settling disputes which diplomacy has failed to settle.

Article 17

The Arbitration Convention is concluded for questions already existing or for questions which may arise eventually.

It may embrace any dispute or only disputes of a certain category.

Article 18

The Arbitration Convention implies the engagement to submit loyally to the Award.

Article 19

Independently of general or private Treaties expressly stipulating recourse to arbitration as obligatory on the Signatory Powers, these Powers reserve to themselves the right of concluding, either before the ratification of the present Act or later, new Agreements, general or private, with a view to extending obligatory arbitration to all cases which they may consider it possible to submit to it.

CHAPTER II. On the Permanent Court of Arbitration

Article 20

With the object of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences, which it has not been possible

to settle by diplomacy, the Signatory Powers undertake to organize a permanent Court of Arbitration, accessible at all times and operating, unless otherwise stipulated by the parties, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure inserted in the present Convention.

Article 21

The Permanent Court shall be competent for all arbitration cases, unless the parties agree to institute a special Tribunal.

Article 22

An International Bureau, established at The Hague, serves as record office for the Court.

This Bureau is the channel for communications relative to the meetings of the Court.

It has the custody of the archives and conducts all the administrative business.

The Signatory Powers undertake to communicate to the International Bureau at The Hague a duly certified copy of any conditions of arbitration arrived at between them, and of any award concerning them delivered by special Tribunals.

They undertake also to communicate to the Bureau the Laws, Regulations, and documents eventually showing the execution of the awards given by the Court.

Article 23

Within the three months following its ratification of the present Act, each Signatory Power shall select four persons at the most, of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of Arbitrators. The persons thus selected shall be inscribed, as members of the Court, in a list which shall be notified by the Bureau to all the Signatory Powers.

Any alteration in the list of Arbitrators is brought by the Bureau to the knowledge of the Signatory Powers.

Two or more Powers may agree on the selection in common of one or more Members.

The same person can be selected by different Powers.

The Members of the Court are appointed for a term of six years. Their appointments can be renewed.

In case of the death or retirement of a member of the Court, his place shall be filled in accordance with the method of his appointment.

Article 24

When the Signatory Powers desire to have recourse to the Permanent Court for the settlement of a difference that has arisen between them, the Arbitrators called upon to form the competent Tribunal to decide this difference, must be chosen from the general list of members of the Court.

Failing the direct agreement of the parties on the composition of the Arbitration Tribunal, the following course shall be pursued:

Each party appoints two Arbitrators, and these together choose an Umpire.

If the votes are equal, the choice of the Umpire is intrusted to a third Power, selected by the parties by common accord.

If an agreement is not arrived at on this subject, each party selects a different Power, and the choice of the Umpire is made in concert by the Powers thus selected.

The Tribunal being thus composed, the parties notify to the Bureau their determination to have recourse to the Court and the names of the Arbitrators.

The Tribunal of Arbitration assembles on the date fixed by the parties.

The Members of the Court, in the discharge of their duties and out of their own country, enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Article 25

The Tribunal of Arbitration has its ordinary seat at The Hague.

Except in cases of necessity, the place of session can only be altered by the Tribunal with the assent of the parties.

Article 26

The International Bureau at The Hague is authorized to place its premises and its staff at the disposal of the Signatory Powers for the operations of any special Board of Arbitration.

The jurisdiction of the Permanent Court, may, within the conditions laid down in the Regulations, be extended to disputes

between non-Signatory Powers, or between Signatory Powers and non-Signatory Powers, if the parties are agreed on recourse to this Tribunal.

Article 27

The Signatory Powers consider it their duty, if a serious dispute threatens to break out between two or more of them, to remind these latter that the Permanent Court is open to them.

Consequently, they declare that the fact of reminding the conflicting parties of the provisions of the present Convention, and the advice given to them, in the highest interests of peace, to have recourse to the Permanent Court, can only be regarded as friendly actions.

Article 28

A Permanent Administrative Council, composed of the Diplomatic Representatives of the Signatory Powers accredited to The Hague and of the Netherland Minister for Foreign Affairs, who will act as President, shall be instituted in this town as soon as possible after the ratification of the present Act by at least nine Powers.

This Council will be charged with the establishment and organization of the International Bureau, which will be under its direction and control.

It will notify to the Powers the constitution of the Court and will provide for its installation.

It will settle its Rules of Procedure and all other necessary Regulations.

It will decide all questions of administration which may arise with regard to the operations of the Court.

It will have entire control over the appointment, suspension or dismissal of the officials and employ s of the Bureau.

It will fix the payments and salaries, and control the general expenditure.

At meetings duly summoned the presence of five members is sufficient to render valid the discussions of the Council. The decisions are taken by a majority of votes.

The Council communicates to the Signatory Powers without delay the Regulations adopted by it. It furnishes them with an

annual Report on the labours of the Court, the working of the administration, and the expenses.

Article 29

The expenses of the Bureau shall be borne by the Signatory Powers in the proportion fixed for the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

CHAPTER III. On Arbitral Procedure

Article 30

With a view to encourage the development of arbitration, the Signatory Powers have agreed on the following Rules which shall be applicable to arbitral procedure, unless other rules have been agreed on by the parties.

Article 31

The Powers who have recourse to arbitration sign a special Act (compromis), in which the subject of the difference is clearly defined, as well as the extent of the Arbitrators' powers. This Act implies the undertaking of the parties to submit loyally to the award.

Article 32

The duties of Arbitrator may be conferred on one Arbitrator alone or on several Arbitrators selected by the parties as they please, or chosen by them from the members of the permanent Court of Arbitration established by the present Act.

Failing the constitution of the Tribunal by direct agreement between the parties, the following course shall be pursued:

Each party appoints two arbitrators, and these latter together choose an Umpire.

In case of equal voting, the choice of the Umpire is instructed to a third Power, selected by the parties by common accord.

If no agreement is arrived at on this subject, each party selects a different Power, and the choice of the Umpire is made in concert by the Powers thus selected.

Article 33

When a Sovereign or the Chief of a State is chosen as Arbitrator, the arbitral procedure is settled by him.

Article 34

The Umpire is by right President of the Tribunal.

When the Tribunal does not include an Umpire it appoints its own President.

Article 35

In case of the death, retirement, or disability from any cause of one of the Arbitrators, his place shall be filled in accordance with the method of his appointment.

Article 36

The Tribunal's place of session is selected by the parties. Failing this selection the Tribunal sits at The Hague. The place thus fixed cannot, except in case of necessity, be changed by the Tribunal without the assent of the parties.

Article 37

The parties have the right to appoint delegates or special agents to attend the Tribunal, for the purpose of serving as intermediaries between them and the Tribunal.

They are further authorized to retain, for the defense of their rights and interests before the Tribunal, counsel or advocates appointed by them for this purpose.

Article 38

The Tribunal decides on the choice of languages to be used by itself, and to be authorized for use before it.

Article 39

As a general rule the arbitral procedure comprises two distinct phases: preliminary examination and discussion.

Preliminary examination consists in the communication by the respective agents to the members of the Tribunal and to the opposite party of all printed or written Acts and of all documents containing the arguments invoked in the case. This communication

shall be made in the form and within the periods fixed by the Tribunal in accordance with Article 49.

Discussion consists in the oral development before the Tribunal of the arguments of the parties.

Article 40

Every document produced by one party must be communicated to the other party.

Article 41

The discussions are under the direction of the President.

They are only public if it be so decided by the Tribunal, with the assent of the parties.

They are recorded in the proces-verbaux drawn up by the Secretaries appointed by the President. These proces-verbaux alone have an authentic character.

Article 42

When the preliminary examination is concluded, the Tribunal has the right to refuse discussion of all fresh Acts or documents which one party may desire to submit to it without the consent of the other party.

Article 43

The Tribunal is free to take into consideration fresh Acts or documents to which its attention may be drawn by the agents or counsel of the parties.

In this case, the Tribunal has the right to require the production of these Acts or documents, but is obliged to make them known to the opposite party.

Article 44

The Tribunal can, besides, require from the agents of the parties the production of all Acts, and can demand all necessary explanations. In case of refusal, the Tribunal takes note of it.

Article 45

The agents and counsel of the parties are authorized to present orally to the Tribunal all the arguments they may think expedient in defence of their case.

Article 46

They have the right to raise objections and points. The decisions of the Tribunal on those points are final, and can not form the subject of any subsequent discussion.

Article 47

The members of the Tribunal have the right to put questions to the agents and counsel of the parties, and to demand explanations from them on doubtful points.

Neither the questions put nor the remarks made by members of the Tribunal during the discussions can be regarded as an expression of opinion by the Tribunal in general, or by its members in particular.

Article 48

The Tribunal is authorized to declare its competence in interpreting the compromis as well as the other Treaties which may be invoked in the case, and in applying the principles of international law.

Article 49

The Tribunal has the right to issue Rules of Procedure for the conduct of the case, to decide the forms and periods within which each party must conclude its arguments, and to arrange all the formalities required for dealing with the evidence.

Article 50

When the agents and counsel of the parties have submitted all explanations and evidence in support of their case, the President pronounces the discussion closed.

Article 51

The deliberations of the Tribunal take place in private. Every decision is taken by a majority of members of the Tribunal.

The refusal of a member to vote must be recorded in the procès-verbal.

Article 52

The award, given by a majority of votes, is accompanied by a statement of reasons. It is drawn up in writing and signed by each member of the Tribunal.

Those members who are in the minority may record their dissent when signing.

Article 53

The award is read out at a public meeting of the Tribunal, the agents and counsel of the parties being present, or duly summoned to attend.

Article 54

The award, duly pronounced and notified to the agents of the parties at variance, puts an end to the dispute definitively and without appeal.

Article 55

The parties can reserve in the compromis the right to demand the revision of the award.

In this case, and unless there be an agreement to the contrary, the demand must be addressed to the Tribunal which pronounced the award. It can only be made on the ground of the discovery of some new fact calculated to exercise a decisive influence on the award, and which, at the time the discussion was closed, was unknown to the Tribunal and to the party demanding the revision.

Proceedings for revision can only be instituted by a decision of the Tribunal expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing in it the character described in the foregoing paragraph, and declaring the demand admissible on this ground.

The compromis fixes the period within which the demand for revision must be made.

Article 56

The award is only binding on the parties who concluded the compromis.

When there is a question of interpreting a Convention to which Powers other than those concerned in the dispute are par-

ties, the latter notify to the former the compromises they have concluded. Each of these Powers has the right to intervene in the case. If one or more of them avail themselves of this right, the interpretation contained in the award is equally binding on them.

Article 57

Each party pays its own expenses and an equal share of those of the Tribunal.

General provisions

Article 58

The present Convention shall be ratified as speedily as possible.

The ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague.

A procès-verbal shall be drawn up recording the receipt of each ratification, and a copy duly certified shall be sent, through the diplomatic channel, to all the Powers who were represented at the International Peace Conference at The Hague.

Article 59

The non-Signatory Powers who were represented at the International Peace Conference can adhere to the present Convention. For this purpose they must make known their adhesion to the Contracting Powers by a written notification addressed to the Netherlands Government, and communicated by it to all the other Contracting Powers.

Article 60

The conditions on which the Powers who were not represented at the International Peace Conference can adhere to the present Convention shall form the subject of a subsequent Agreement among the Contracting Powers.

Article 61

In the event of one of the High Contracting Parties denouncing the present Convention, this denunciation would not take effect until a year after its notification made in writing to the

Netherlands Government, and by it communicated at once to all the other Contracting Powers.

This denunciation shall only affect the notifying Power.

In faith of which the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and affixed their seals to it.

Done at The Hague, the 29th July, 1899, in a single copy, which shall remain in the archives of the Netherlands Government, and copies of it, duly certified, be sent through the diplomatic channel to the Contracting Powers.

Reservations

United States

Under reservation of the declaration made at the plenary sitting of the Conference on the 25th of July, 1899.

Extract from the procès-verbal:

Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

Roumania

Under the reservations formulated with respect to Articles 16, 17 and 19 of the present Convention (15, 16 and 18 of the project presented by the committee on examination) and recorded in the procès-verbal of the sitting of the Third Commission of July 20, 1899.

Extract from the procès-verbal:

The Royal Government of Roumania, being completely in favor of the principle of facultative arbitration, of which it appreciates the great importance in international relations, nevertheless

does not intend to undertake, by Article 15, an engagement to accept arbitration in every case there provided for, and it believes it ought to form express reservations in that respect.

It can not therefore vote for this article, except under that reservation.

The Royal Government of Roumania declares that it can not adhere to Article 16 except with the express reservation, entered in the procès-verbal, that it has decided not to accept, in any case, an international arbitration for disagreements or disputes previous to the conclusion of the present Convention.

The Royal Government of Roumania declares that in adhering to Article 18 of the Convention, it makes no engagement in regard to obligatory arbitration.

Serbia

Under the reservation recorded in the procès-verbal of the Third Commission of July 20, 1899.

Extract from the procès-verbal

In the name of the Royal Government of Servia (Serbia), we have the honor to declare that our adoption of the principle of good offices and mediation does not imply a recognition of the right of third States to use these means except with the extreme reserve which proceedings of this delicate nature require.

We do not admit good offices and mediation except on condition that their character of purely friendly counsel is maintained fully and completely, and we never could accept them in forms and circumstances such as to impress upon them the character of intervention.

Turkey

Under reservation of the declaration made in the plenary sitting of the Conference of July 25, 1899.

Extract from the procès-verbal:

The Turkish delegation, considering that the work of this Conference has been a work of high loyalty and humanity, destined

solely to assure general peace by safeguarding the interests and the rights of each one, declares, in the name of its Government, that it adheres to the project just adopted, on the following conditions:

It is formally understood that recourse to good offices and mediation, to commissions of inquiry and arbitration is purely facultative and could not in any case assume an obligatory character or degenerate into intervention; The Imperial Government itself will be the judge of the cases where its interests would permit it to admit these methods without its abstention or refusal to have recourse to them being considered by the signatory States as an unfriendly act.

It goes without saying that in no case could the means in question be applied to questions concerning interior regulation.

APPENDIX II

Text of the secret military alliance arrived at between Turkey and Germany on 2 August 1914.

SECRET AGREEMENT BETWEEN GERMANY AND TURKEY

Constantinople, August 2, 1914

1. The two contracting parties agree to observe strict neutrality in regard to the present conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia.
2. In case Russia should intervene with active military measures, and should thus bring about a casus foederis for Germany with relation to Austria-Hungary, this casus foederis would also come into existence for Turkey.
3. In case of war, Germany will leave her military mission at the disposal of Turkey. The latter, for her part, assures the said military mission an effective influence on the general conduct of the army, in accordance with the understanding arrived at directly between His Excellency the Minister of War and His Excellency the Chief of the Military Mission.
4. Germany obligates herself, if necessary by force of arms Ottoman territory in case it should be threatened.
5. This agreement which has been concluded for the purpose of protecting both Empires from international complications which may result from the present conflict goes into force as soon as it is signed by the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries, and shall remain valid, together with any similar mutual agreements, until December 31, 1918.
6. In case it shall not be denounced by one of the high contracting parties six months before the expiration of the term named above, this treaty shall remain in force for a further period of five years.
7. This present document shall be ratified by His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia, and by His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, and the ratifications shall be

exchanged within a period of one month from the date of its signing.

8. The present treaty shall remain secret and can only be made public as a result of an agreement arrived at between the two high contracting parties.

In testimony whereof, etc.

Baron von Wangenheim (for Germany)

Said Halim (for Turkey)

APPENDIX III

THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION

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 I

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 II

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 III

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 IV

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

Article V

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 III.

Article VI

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III 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 VII

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in article III 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 VIII

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 III.

Article IX

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 for any of the other acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article X

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 XI

The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any nonmember 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 XII

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 XIII

On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a process-verbal and transmit a copy thereof to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article XI.

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 XIV

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 XV

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 XVI

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 XVII

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

- a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with article XI;
- b) Notifications received in accordance with article XII;
- c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with article XIII;
- d) Denunciations received in accordance with article XIV;
- e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with article XV;
- f) Notifications received in accordance with article XVI.

Article XVIII

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 each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article XI.

Article XIX

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

General Assembly Resolution 3074

Principles of international co-operation in the detection, arrest, extradition and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity Adopted by General Assembly resolution 3074 (XXVIII) of 3 December 1973.

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 2583 (XXIV) of 15 December 1969, 2712 (XXV) of 15 December 1970, 2840 (XXVI) of 18 December 1971 and 3020 (XXVII) of 18 December 1972,

Taking into account the special need for international action in order to ensure the prosecution and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity,

Having considered the draft principles of international co-operation in the detection, arrest, extradition and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity,

Declares that the United Nations, in pursuance of the principles and purposes set forth in the Charter concerning the promotion of co-operation between peoples and the maintenance of international peace and security, proclaims the following principles of international co-operation in the detection, arrest, extradition and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity:

1. War crimes and crimes against humanity, wherever they are committed, shall be subject to investigation and the persons

against whom there is evidence that they have committed such crimes shall be subject to tracing, arrest, trial and, if found guilty, to punishment.

2. Every State has the right to try its own nationals for war crimes against humanity.
3. States shall co-operate with each other on a bilateral and multilateral basis with a view to halting and preventing war crimes and crimes against humanity, and shall take the domestic and international measures necessary for that purpose.
4. States shall assist each other in detecting, arresting and bringing to trial persons suspected of having committed such crimes and, if they are found guilty, in punishing them.
5. Persons against whom there is evidence that they have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity shall be subject to trial and, if found guilty, to punishment, as a general rule in the countries in which they committed those crimes. In that connection, States shall co-operate on questions of extraditing such persons.
6. States shall co-operate with each other in the collection of information and evidence which would help to bring to trial the persons indicated in paragraph 5 above and shall exchange such information.
7. In accordance with article 1 of the Declaration on Territorial Asylum of 14 December 1967, States shall not grant asylum to any person with respect to whom there are serious reasons for considering that he has committed a crime against peace, a war crime or a crime against humanity.
8. States shall not take any legislative or other measures which may be prejudicial to the international obligations they have assumed in regard to the detection, arrest, extradition and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity.
9. In co-operating with a view to the detection, arrest and extradition of persons against whom there is evidence that they have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity and, if found guilty, their punishment, States shall act in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United

Nations and of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

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/անգլերեն/

*Գիրքը հրատարակության է դասրասել
ամերիկահայ անվանի փաստաբան
ՎԱՐԳԵՍ ԵՂԻԱՅԱՆԸ*

Առաջաբանը՝
ՊՐՈՖԵՍՈՐ ՄԻԽԱՅԻԼ ԲԱԶԼԵՐԻ

*Առաջին հրատարակությունը՝
Հայկական հիշատակության կենտրոնի,
2008 թ., Գլենդեյլ, Կալիֆորնիա*

Վերահրատարակված է լեռնական դասվերով



«ԳՐԱԲԵՐ»
ԵՐԵՎԱՆ 2010

Չափսը՝ 70x100, 1/16: Ծավալը՝ 10.75 տպ. մամուլ:
Թուղթը՝ օֆսեթ: Տպաքանակը՝ 500 օրինակ:

Տպագրվել է «ՎՄՎ-ՊՐԻՆՏ» ՍՊԸ հրատարակչության տպարանում
Հասցեն՝ Ազատության 24, հեռ. 28 54 28
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