

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF ARMENIA

**THE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE:
A POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS ADOPTED ABROAD**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Acknowledgements	3
2. Abstract	6
3. Introduction	7
4. Literature Review and Methodology	12
5. Chapter I: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in Official Documents Adopted Abroad	21
6. Chapter II: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents Adopted Abroad	29
7. Chapter III: The Perpetrator of and Accountability for the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents Adopted Abroad	34
8. Chapter IV: The International Recognition of the Armenian Genocide: the Role of Armenian Diplomacy and the Motivation of International Community	40
9. Conclusion	49
10. Appendix 1: Chronology of the Armenian Genocide	54
11. Appendix 2: Resolution Adopted by Belgian Senate	60
12. Appendix 3: Resolution Adopted by the House of Commons of Canada	62
13. Appendix 4: Resolution Adopted by the House of Commons of Cyprus	63
14. Appendix 5: Law Signed by the President of France	64
15. Appendix 6: Resolution Adopted by the Parliament of Greece	65
16. Appendix 7: Resolution Adopted by the Chamber of Deputies of Italy	66
17. Appendix 8: Resolution Adopted by the Chamber of Deputies of Lebanon	67
18. Appendix 9: Resolution Adopted by the State Duma of Federal Assembly of Russian Federation	68
19. Appendix 10: Resolution Adopted by the Parliament of Sweden	69
20. Appendix 11: Resolutions Adopted by the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States	70
21. Appendix 12: Resolutions Adopted by Senate and House of Representatives of Uruguay	72
22. Appendix 13: Joint Declaration Adopted by Vatican	74
23. Appendix 14: Resolution Adopted by the Sejm of Poland	75
24. Appendix 15: Resolution Adopted by German Bundestag	76
25. Appendix 16: Resolution Adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe	80
26. Appendix 17: Resolution Adopted by the European Parliament	81
27. Appendix 18: Joint Declaration by France, Great Britain, Russia	84
28. Appendix 19: United Nations War Crimes Commission Report	85
29. Appendix 20: United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities	87
30. Reference List	89

TABLES, CHARTS AND MAPS

1. Table 1: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)	25
2. Table 2: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (International Organizations)	28
3. Table 3: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)	30
4. Table 4: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (International Organizations)	32
5. Table 5: The Perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)	36
6. Table 6: The Perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (International Organizations)	38
1. Chart 1: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)	26
2. Chart 2: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (International Organizations)	28
3. Chart 3: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)	31
4. Chart 4: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (International Organizations)	33
5. Chart 5: The Perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)	37
Map of Western Armenia	41

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this Master's Essay is to examine several important aspects of the recognition process of the Armenian Genocide unveiled on international scene in the recent decade.

The Armenian Genocide has been recognized and affirmed by various governments, international organizations, political and state leaders, and prominent people. The main objective of this paper is to analyze these official documents along the following several key issues: the territory (in what terms and whether the exact territory where the Genocide had been committed was defined), the time frame of the Genocide (what dates have been specifically mentioned), the issue of the responsibility of the perpetrators (whether or not today's Turkey is acknowledged as the legal successor of the Ottoman Empire and, therefore, responsible for the crime against humanity carried out by its predecessor). The paper would discuss other issues as well, including whether or not these documents have been adopted under the pressure of Armenian diplomacy, as well as whether the resolutions, laws and declarations of various international organizations and national legislatures recognizing the Armenian Genocide emanate primarily from the self-interests of the states or good will of their governments and people.

INTRODUCTION

The slaughter committed against the Armenian people of the Ottoman Empire during World War One is called the Armenian Genocide. Genocide is the organized killing of a people for the purpose of putting an end to their collective existence. Because of its scale, Genocide requires central planning and a mechanism to implement it which makes it a typical state crime, as only a government has the resources to carry out such a scheme of destruction.

The Armenian Genocide was centrally planned and administered by the Turkish government against the entire Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire. It occurred in a systematic fashion, which proves that it was directed by the Young Turk government. First, the Armenians in the army were disarmed, placed into labor battalions, and then killed. Then, the Armenian political and intellectual leaders were rounded up on April 24, 1915, and then killed. Finally, the remaining Armenians were called from their homes, told they would be relocated, and then marched off to concentration camps in the desert between Jerablus and Deir ez-Zor where they would starve and thirst to death in the burning sun. On the march, often they would be denied food and water, and many were brutalized and killed by their "guards".

The Armenian nation was subjected to deportation, abduction, torture, massacre, and starvation. The great part of the Armenian population was forcibly removed from Armenia and Anatolia; many others were methodically massacred throughout the Ottoman Empire, women and children were abducted and horribly abused. The entire wealth of Armenian people was seized.

In 1948, thirty three years before the United Nations Genocide Convention was adopted, the Armenian Genocide was condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity. It is estimated that one and a half million Armenians perished between 1915 and 1923. Hundreds of thousands were butchered outright. Many others died of

starvation, exhaustion, and epidemics which ravaged the concentration camps. Many Armenians at first fled to the central provinces of Turkey, others fled to the Russian border to lead an insecure existence as refugees. The majority of the Armenians in Constantinople, the capital city, were spared deportation. By 1923 the entire landmass of Anatolia and historic West Armenia had been wiped out of its Armenian population. The destruction of the Armenian communities in this part of the world was total.

The decision to carry out Genocide against the Armenian people was made by the political party in power in the Ottoman Empire. This was the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), known as the Young Turks. Three figures from the CUP controlled the government; Mehmet Talaat, Minister of the Interior in 1915 and Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) in 1917; Ismail Enver, Minister of War; Ahmed Jemal, Minister of the Marine and Military Governor of Syria. In addition to the Ministry of War and the Ministry of the Interior, the Young Turks also relied on a newly-created secret group which they manned with criminals and irregular troops, called the Special Organization. Its primary function was the carrying out of the mass killings of the deported Armenians. Moreover, ideologists propagandized through the media on behalf of the CUP by promoting Pan-Turanism, the creation of a new empire stretching from Anatolia into Central Asia whose population would be exclusively Turkic. These concepts justified and popularized the secret CUP plans to liquidate the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. This Genocide was preceded by a series of massacres in 1894-1896 and in 1909, and was followed by another series of massacres beginning in 1920. By 1922 Armenians had been eradicated from their historic homeland.

From 1894 to 1896, Sultan Abdul-Hamid II carried out a series of massacres of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire. The series of Abdul Hamid era massacres began with the 1894 Sassoun massacre. The very outcome of that massacre proved important for developments through which new and different forms of opposition to the Ottoman regime

emerged, eventually precipitating massacres of much greater magnitude. Actually the Sassoun massacre was the first mass murder that was carried out by the Ottoman Empire in peace time and there were no wars. James Bryce (2004) in his article Armenian Question mentions that Sassoun massacre was absolutely unprovoked and had all the appearance of having been deliberately planned in order to exterminate the Christian population of a district almost entirely inhabited by Armenians.

“Taken by surprise, and surrounded by vastly superior forces, the unhappy people fought as well as they could for their wives and their children, whose lot, if captured alive, was far worse than death.” (Bryce 2004, 86)

The massacres were meant to undermine the growth of Armenian nationalism by frightening the Armenians with the terrible consequences of dissent. The furor of the state was directed at the behavior and the aspirations of the Armenians. The sultan was alarmed by the increasing activity of Armenian political groups and wanted to restrain their growth before they gained any more influence by spreading ideas about civil rights and autonomy. He hoped to wipe away the Armenians' increasing sense of national awareness. He also continued to exclude the Armenians from having a role in their own government.

“The reports by contemporary European diplomats uniformly attest to the complicity of the central authorities, more specifically, of the Palace and Sultan Abdul Hamid, in the launching of the massacres ‘without distinction of age or sex.... of old people, the sick and the children who were unable to flee.’ (Dadrian 1995, 115)

Very often the discussion of Genocide centers on the numbers killed and fails to consider the wider implications of uprooting entire populations. Genocides are devastating for those who survive because they carry the memory of suffering and the realization of the absolute disaster of Genocide. Genocides often produce results and create conditions that make it impossible to recover anything tangible from the society that was destroyed, let alone

permit the subsequent repair of that society. Hence, it can be argued that Genocide is a permanent alteration of the course of a people's history.

In a very short period of time the Armenians were robbed of their ancient heritage: the churches were vandalized, the libraries were burnt, the towns and villages were ruined. All this was aimed at erasing an ancient civilization. With the disappearance of the Armenians from their homeland, most of the symbols of their culture: schools, monasteries, monuments, historical sites, were destroyed by the Ottoman government. The Armenians saved only that which formed part of their collective memory: their language, their songs, their poetry, and now their tragic destiny.

The secure resumption of Turkish sovereignty over Anatolia and Western Armenia precluded any responsibility toward the Armenians in the form of reparations. All the preconditions were created for the disguise of the Armenian Genocide. As a consequence of all this, the matter of the Armenian Genocide became an object of historical revisionism and later on complete denial. For almost fifty years, the Armenians virtually vanished from the consciousness of the world. Russian Armenia was Sovietized and made inaccessible. Diaspora Armenians were resigned to their fate. The silence of the world and the denials of the Turkish government only added to their sufferings.

Not only had the insecurities of life in Diaspora but also the constant neglect of their memory by the denial of the Genocide undermined the confidence of Armenians in their abilities for some form of national existence. During those years the rage had been boiling in Armenian communities which served as a reason for them to strive for international understanding. Armenians have been seeking congressional resolutions and other commemorative acts, which is part of the on-going struggle to regain dignity. The reluctance of governments to recognize past crimes points to the lack of motivation in the international community to confront the consequences of Genocide.

The Armenian Genocide has been recognized and affirmed by various governments, international organizations, political and state leaders, and prominent people. The main objective of the paper is to analyze the official documents along several key issues, which will form the research questions of the paper:

1. How (in what terms) and whether the exact territory where the Genocide had been committed was defined?
2. What time-frames for the Armenian Genocide (what specific dates) have been mentioned in the documents of recognition?
3. How and whether the responsibility of the perpetrator is addressed in the documents in question? In other words, whether or not today's Turkey is acknowledged as the legal successor of the Ottoman Empire and, therefore, responsible for the crime against humanity carried out by its predecessor? Does the acknowledgement of Turkey's responsibility for the Genocide committed by the Ottoman Empire serve as an obstacle for the recognition?
4. How much was the real pressure and influence of Armenian diplomacy in the adoption process?
5. Do the resolutions, laws and declarations of various international organizations and national legislatures recognizing the Genocide emanate primarily from the self-interests of the states or good will of their governments and people?

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

The Essay utilizes historical/comparative analysis. The main resources for observation and analysis are books, articles in specialized journals, newspaper archives, official documents, Internet information, as well as some historical records. The research analyzes several important aspects of the recognition process of the Armenian Genocide unveiled on international scene in the recent decade. At a preliminary stage, the relevant literature about the topic in general has been collected. During the second stage of the research the sources with direct relation to the topic have been selected and analyzed. For the sake of brief introduction some of the sources are referred below.

According to Article 2 of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Genocide means:

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

(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.” (Miller 1999, 45)

A closer look into the history of the Armenian Genocide reveals examples of almost all the points of the Genocide Convention. Based on this definition the events of 1894-1923 constitute Genocide of the Armenian people.

Killing Members of the Group – according to Ayvazyan (2004), the number of deaths in Armenia in the period from 1894 to 1922 is more than 2 million, more precisely, 1894-96 – 300.000 people; 1909 – 30.000 people; 1915-1916 – 1.500.000 people and 1918-1922 – almost 300.000 Armenians.

Causing Serious Bodily or Mental Harm to Members of the Group – not only those who died were the victims of the massacres and the Genocide. Another category of victims were the crippled, wounded and those exposed to privation and trauma.

“The contingent of soldiers from Bitlis alone took eighty tins of petroleum which was utilized for burning the houses, together with the inhabitants inside them. A number of young men were bound hand and foot, laid out in a row, and brushwood piled on them, and were burnt alive. In another place, some sixty young women and girls were driven into a church, where the soldiers were ordered to do as they liked with them and afterwards kill them, which order was carried out.” (Dadrian 1995, 117)

Deliberately Inflicting on the Group Conditions of Life Calculated to Bring about its Physical Destruction in Whole or in Part – this was implemented by the method of deportation, the goal of which was to create conditions that would cause extremely high death rates.

Imposing Measures Intended to Prevent Births Within the Group – Dadrian (1995) brings forth such disgusting barbarities as ripping open pregnant women and tearing children to pieces by main force. Besides, male population was greatly reduced in size, thus making breeding difficult.

Forcibly Transferring Children of the Group to Another Group – significant number of children were kidnapped from the Armenians; there were also cases when children were being abandoned by their mothers, or sold, sometimes even given to passing Turks or Kurd hoping that in that case their children would have more chances to survive.

Besides the main 5 points mentioned in the Convention, there are other aspects that are characteristic of Genocides. Miller (1999) in his book Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide, introduces five issues that relate to Genocides. First, there is a premeditated identification of a particular group for annihilation. Victims may belong to a

specific ethnic, racial or religious group; they are people who are in some ways different from the majority population.

Second, there should be a legitimating principle or ideology to substantiate the mass human destruction no matter how extreme it may be.

Third, there should be unstable political conditions that can threaten the social order.

Fourth, in order to implement Genocide effectively there should be war or revolution when the victim group becomes very vulnerable.

Finally, the last stage of Genocide is usually its denial. The perpetrator minimizes the number of actual victims, blames victims for their own deaths, even questions the reality of the fact and falsifies history to hide the overwhelming evidence of guilt.

All of the elements mentioned above were embodied in the case of the Armenian Genocide. The Armenian Genocide was not the result of any single factor; rather it was simultaneous occurrence of a number of different factors that, stimulated by the conditions of wartime, resulted in the attempted extermination of the Armenian population.

During World War One (WWI) the authorities of the Ottoman Empire carried out one of the largest Genocides in the history destroying huge part of the Armenian population. Dadrian (1995) in The History of the Armenian Genocide argues that the Genocide was preceded by decades of persecution, marked by two similar but smaller rounds of massacres in 1894-1896 and 1909 period that caused two hundred thousand Armenian deaths. In all, over one million Armenians were put to death during WWI. Over the past decades, the Armenian nation has struggled to have the history of the Armenian Genocide brought to light and examined.

The massacres of the 1894-1896 are described as a test for the political possibility of the enactment by central authorities of the organized mass murder of a nationality. Within this perspective, the WWI Armenian Genocide is considered to be the proof of the persistence of

that relationship. As the Turkic-Armenian conflict continued to escalate in the decades preceding WWI the massacres grew in intensity and scale, eventually culminating in the Genocide; this series of killings involved hundreds of small and large massacres throughout the length and breadth of the Ottoman Empire (1995).

Massacre after massacre continued in quick succession in 1894 in Sassoun, 1895-96 in Zeitun, 1895-96 in Constantinople, 1896 in Van and Egin (Dadrian 1995), 1895 in Akhissar, Trebizond, Erzingan, Baiburt, Bitlis, Erzeroum, Arabkir, Diarbekir, Malatia, Kharput, Siva, Amasia, Marsivan, Aintab, Marash, Caesarea, Urfa (Vertanes 1947, 16), Tomarza, Khnus, Mush, Kayseri, Birecik and in 1896 in Niksar (Dadrian 1995, 153). These are cities belonging to six Armenian inhabited provinces, namely; Sivas, Harputk, Diyarbekir, Erzerum Bitlis and Van, in the provinces of Ankara, Aleppo, Tranbzon and the independent district Izmit. (Dadrian 1995, 152)

From Sassoun to Constantinople and then from Constantinople to the provinces there is observable a steady increase in the scope of destruction in terms of both human and material damages. This point must be emphasized for the later WWI Genocide of the Armenians only proved to be the peak of a process of incremental massacres, ‘a process the central mechanism of which was and remained the appreciation by the perpetrators of a measure of post-massacre impunity accruing to them’ (1995).

The Armenian people lived through other losses: thousands of towns and villages were deserted; many churches and monasteries were destroyed. Unfortunately, there were also cases when a lot of people were forcibly converted to Islam under the threat of death; a large number of churches were changed into mosques.

According to an 1896 report by British Ambassador Curries to Salisbury (Dadrian 2005), there were absolutely no Christians in Birecik after the forced conversions. Charles S. Hampson, British Vice Consul at Mush, reported that no Christians remained in the district of

Siart. 15000 Armenians had been killed, 19000 converted to Mahommedanism, 2500 women carried off (1995). Another report estimates almost 7000 Armenians were forcibly converted to Islam whereas Consul Hallward mentioned that almost 25000 Armenians turned Muslim in the province of Diyarbekir (1995).

The mass murders of the Armenian people had also moral damages and consequences which has had its influence on the activities of the Armenian people in various spheres. According to Poghosyan (2001), Armenians were embraced with the fear of being eradicated. On the other hand revenge was boiling in their hearts. A new layer of memory was created in their minds totally comprised of the scenes and knowledge on Genocide. Armenians have to be freed from this feeling which is a long and hard work the first step on the way of which is the international recognition of the Armenian slaughter.

Over the past decades the Armenian nation has struggled to have the history of the Armenian Genocide brought to light and examined and only recently has the international community recognized it officially despite its scope. One of the main reasons why the WWI Armenian Genocide has been called the forgotten Genocide had less to do with the incidence of poor memory but more with the distribution of power relations in national and international arenas, such distribution generally helps determine the selection of topics on which the public may be sensitized and from the discussion of which public policies may emerge (Dadrian 1998).

Armenians all over the world commemorate this great tragedy on April 24, because it was on that day in 1915 when many Armenian leaders, writers, thinkers and professionals in Constantinople (present day Istanbul) were rounded up, deported and killed. Also on that day in Constantinople, many of the poorest Armenians were butchered in the streets and in their homes.

According to a well established tradition, the heads of governments, institutions, and international organizations that come to Armenia with an official visit, attend the Memorial to the victims of the Armenian Genocide carried out by the Ottoman Empire in 1915 which is situated on Tzitzernakaberd in Yerevan.

In his article No Normal Relationships with Turkey Until It Recognizes Genocide Chakrian (2003) brings an example of a conducted survey done in 1999 by the Yerevan-based Institute and Museum of Genocide in cooperation with the Institute of Philosophy of the National Academy of Sciences among 3,000 respondents of whom 64.4% turned out to be the descendants or relatives of Armenians who were killed or escaped the Genocide. About 85% of respondents said they felt they were members of a nation that survived the Genocide, 33.4% believed that normal relations with Turkey were not possible as long as it refused to acknowledge the Genocide and compensate the damages and only 36.4% said Armenia could have normal trade and economic relations with Turkey, but they added that the issue of the Genocide must not be ignored. The Genocide has left its impact on Armenians and that is why one of the most important demands of Armenians since 1915 has been the international recognition.

Despite the vast amount of evidence that points to the historical reality of the Armenian Genocide its denial by successive regimes in Turkey has gone on from 1915 to the present. Roger Smith (1995) in Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide introduces the main arguments of the denial – ‘it never happened, Turkey is not responsible, the term Genocide does not apply’. The arguments are the same but the tactics have been observed to be changing. First of all, scapegoats to blame were found, particularly in the face of Kurds and common criminals. Later, this tactic was changed by the attempts to avoid the issue with silence, diplomatic efforts and political pressure. Today’s strategy is to present the public the Turkish side of the story.

Roger Smith (1995) presents two aspects of Turkey's denial tactics, the aim of which is to prevent the recognition of what the Ottoman Empire did to the Armenians as Genocide. First, there have been numerous attempts of removing the label 'Genocide' from what the Armenians experienced, by not differentiating between the victims of the massacre and of warfare, by blaming the victims as the initiators of violence and describing the Genocide as a civil war within a global war. By this they have been trying to present the Genocide of over a million Armenians as a vague human tragedy.

The second tactics the Turkish government has been employing is the acknowledgment of the Holocaust and expressing sympathy for its victims.

In this respect, the article of Neils Sorrells (2000), Recognition of Armenian Genocide Provokes Fight Turkey, which emerged as a result of the collapse of Ottoman Empire in 1923, argues that Armenians had died during the mass fighting of World War One. The Turkish government today denies that there was an Armenian Genocide and claims that Armenians were only removed from the eastern war zone.

But the reality is that the Armenian Genocide occurred all over the Western Armenia and Anatolia, and not only in the war zone. Deportations and killings occurred in the west, in and around Izmit, Bursa; in the center, in and around Ankara; in the south-west, in and around Konya and Adana; in the central part, in and around Diyarbakir, Harput, Marash, Sepastia, Shabin Kara-Hissar, and Urfa; and on the Black Sea coast, in and around Trebizond, all of which are not part of a war zone. Only Erzeroum, Bitlis, and Van in the east were in the war zone.

Although most historians consider Armenian Genocide to be the first Genocide of the 20th century, official Turkish history attests that all the killings of Armenians were just the outcomes of World War One just as many Turks were.

Meline Toumani (2004) in the article The Burden of Memory puts an emphasis on Turkey's attempts to falsify history. To propagate this version Turkey has hidden documents, blackmailed universities, and filled libraries with fraudulent history books.

Unfortunately, Genocide carries political and economical implications. A very good example of this, which is brought out by Huseyin Fatih Lokumcu in the article The Armenian Genocide: The Story Till Now, is the statement made by the French president to Turkey's 9th president Suleyman Demirel.

"I have done my best for the rejection of the Genocide and yet you didn't accept to buy the French Helicopters for the latest purchase."

Hakob Chakrian in the Armenian daily newspaper Azg (2005) informed that Byulent Arenc, chairman of Turkish Parliament applied with a letter to the presidents of 16 countries, namely Switzerland, Poland, Slovakia, Lebanon, Canada, Argentina, Germany, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Greece, Uruguay, Sweden, Russia and Venezuela, condemning them for their decisions to recognize the Armenian Genocide. He emphasized the disappointment the Turkish people experienced after such decisions and reminded that Turkish Prime Minister suggested to create a committee consisting of Armenian and Turkish historians in order to investigate the events of 1915. Arenc did not want the issue of the Armenian Genocide to be used by the European countries as a pre-condition against Turkey in their further relations.

Whatever the form and shape of denial, it would be a mistake to underestimate the serious harm it can cause to the people who have suffered the Genocide. Denial prevents healing of the wounds inflicted by Genocide as well as it constitutes an attack on the collective identity and national cultural continuity of the victim people.

"Denials of Genocide make no sense unless one sees in them renewed opportunities for the same passions, meanings, and pleasures that were at work in the Genocide itself, now

revived in symbolic processes of murdering the dignity of the survivors, rationality, dignity and even history itself.” (Smith 1995, 14)

It is possible to consider denial as the second stage of the Genocide – the first stage being the physical deed. According to Smith (1995), denial contributes to Genocide in two ways. First of all, Genocide does not end with its last human victim; denial continues the process. But if such denial points to the past and the present, it also has implications for the future. By absolving the perpetrators of past Genocides from responsibility for their actions and by obscuring the reality of Genocide as a widely practiced form of state policy in the modern world, denial may increase the risk of future outbreaks of Genocidal killings.

The endurance of Armenian communities and Armenians, in general, is a response to the Turkish government’s persistent refusal and denial of the Genocide. For Armenians and the Diaspora abroad the call for Turkey to recognize the Genocide has become the most important and unifying issue.

The Armenian Genocide inflicted losses of various natures to the Armenian people. According to Armen Ayvazyan (2004), the Genocide deprived Armenians of provincial territories which comprised their homeland. Besides the territorial losses Armenians also faced cultural, psychological, material losses and human losses. Therefore, the recognition of the Armenian Genocide carries not only legal, moral but also strategic significance.

Due to the efforts of Armenians in Armenia and abroad after ninety years the Armenian Genocide is not a forgotten past any more. In this respect, Harut Sassounian in his book The Armenian Genocide: The World Speaks Out – 1915-2005 (2005) has assembled a series of official documents and declarations that attest to the fact that the Armenian Genocide has been recognized by a number of governments, international organizations and prominent leaders and individuals. This brief collection shows that the act of Genocide is inscribed in the consciousness of the international community as well as of Turkish government.

CHAPTER I

The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in Official Documents

Adopted Abroad

The process of international recognition of Armenian Genocide consists of 3 stages: 1915-1923, 1923-1965, and 1965-present. It is impossible to point a single government that has rejected the fact of Armenian Genocide in the period of 1915-1923. Poghosyan (2001) mentions that even Germany, which was the initiator of Armenian Genocide claimed to the whole world that the massive annihilation of Armenians was a fact, although at the same time rejects the fact that Germany had anything to do with it.

Harut Sassounian (2005) has assembled all the official documents by governments and international organizations as well as speeches by famous politicians concerning the Armenian Genocide in a single book. Most of them were adopted and made during the period of 1915-1923: namely, the speeches of Al-Husayn Ibn Ali – the Sharif of Meccan (1917), Pope Benedict XV (1915), Henry Morgenthau – U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1913-1916), Theodore Roosevelt – U.S. President (1918), the Senate of the United States (1920), the joint declaration by France, Great Britain, Russia (1915).

The second stage involves the period between 1923 and 1965, otherwise called the period of silence and ignorance. This was the period when Ataturk did his best to convince that Turks were the inhabitants of Anatolia, that there was no such country as Armenia in Anatolia, that the issue of the Armenian questions was just a matter of taking away lands from Turkey and that the Armenian Genocide was just a slander. These ideas soon spread all over the world and became a formal approach, political strategy and those that were against it were persecuted and arrested.

The third stage of the recognition process (1965-present) is marked with the 50th anniversary of the Genocide. Sassounian (2005) brings as evidence the many speeches and

resolutions adopted in this period: namely, the speeches of Yossi Beilin – Minister of Justice of Israel (1999-2001), George H. W. Bush – U.S. President (1990), George W. Bush – President of the U. S. (2001), Jimmy Carter – U. S. President (1978), Bill Clinton – U.S. President (1996), Francois Mitterand – President of France (1984), Abd Alqader Qaddura – Speaker of the Syrian Parliament (1988-2002), Ronal Reagan – President of the U.S. (1981), Yossi Sarid – Minister of Education of Israel (2000), Konstantinos Stefanopoulos – President of Greece (1996).

Besides the speeches by the above-mentioned famous politicians, this period is marked by the adopted resolutions of many governments: namely, the National Chamber of Argentina (1985), the National Senate of Argentina (1985), the Senate of Belgium (1998), the Parliament of Bulgaria (1995), the House of Commons of Canada (2004), the Senate of Canada (2002), the House of Representatives of Cyprus (1982), the National Assembly of France (1998), the Senate of France (2000), the Parliament of Greece (1996), the House of Representatives of Holland (2004), the Chamber of Deputies of Italy (2000), the Chamber of Deputies of Lebanon (2000), the State Duma of Federal Assembly of Russian Federation (1995), the Parliament of Slovakia (2004), the Parliament of Sweden (2000), the National Council of Switzerland (2003), the House of Representatives of the U.S. (1984), the Senate and House of Representatives of Uruguay (1965), and Vatican (2001).

Despite the constant denial of Turkey, there is no doubt about Armenian Genocide; it is a well-established fact and many famous people have referred to it on various occasions in their speeches.

George H. W. Bush on the Armenian Remembrance Day in his presidential message said:

“... Those tragedies include the Earthquake of 1988 and, most prominently, the terrible massacres suffered in 1915-1923 at the hands of the rulers of the Ottoman Empire.”
(Sassounian 2005, 16)

Henry Morgenthau, US Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in 1913-1916 mentioned:

“... The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when comparing with the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915.” (Sassounian 2005, 23)

Israel officially condemned the Armenian Genocide as Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin proclaimed on the floor of the Israeli legislature, on April 27, 1994, in answer to the claims of Turkish Ambassador:

"It was not war. It was most certainly massacre and Genocide, something the world must remember.” (Sassounian 2005, 13)

Even Adolf Hitler on the eve of invading Poland said to his people:

“Think of the biblical deportations and the massacres of the Middle Ages and remember the extermination of the Armenians. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?” (Sassounian 2005, 20)

The Armenian Genocide is similar to the Jewish holocaust in many respects. Both people adhere to an ancient religion. Both were religious minorities of their respective states. Both have a history of persecution. Both are surrounded by enemies. Both are talented and creative minorities who have always been persecuted.

The Armenian Genocide has been referred to and condemned not only by individuals but also by countries and international organizations.

The Armenian Genocide was condemned at the time by representatives of the British, French, Russian, German, and Austrian governments—namely all the major Powers. The first three were foes of the Ottoman Empire, the latter two, allies of the Ottoman Empire. The

United States, neutral towards the Ottoman Empire, also condemned the Armenian Genocide and was the chief spokesman on behalf of the Armenians.

There are many official documents attesting to the Armenian Genocide, the point is how the well-established fact of Genocide, its territory, time-frame and other such issues have been reproduced in those documents.

The policy of the Young Turk government during WWI was fundamentally a revolutionary project aimed at altering completely the ethnic and political balance in eastern Anatolia and by so doing to permit the eventual creation of a new ethnically Turkic empire. By eliminating one factor, namely the Armenians, in the region, the Young Turks could end Western and Russian interference in Ottoman affairs, achieve the long-desired goal of Turkish nationalists to create a homeland for the Turkish people, and even work toward the utopia of a Turkic empire stretching from Istanbul to Central Asia. This was the region that had to be subjected to ethnic cleansing.

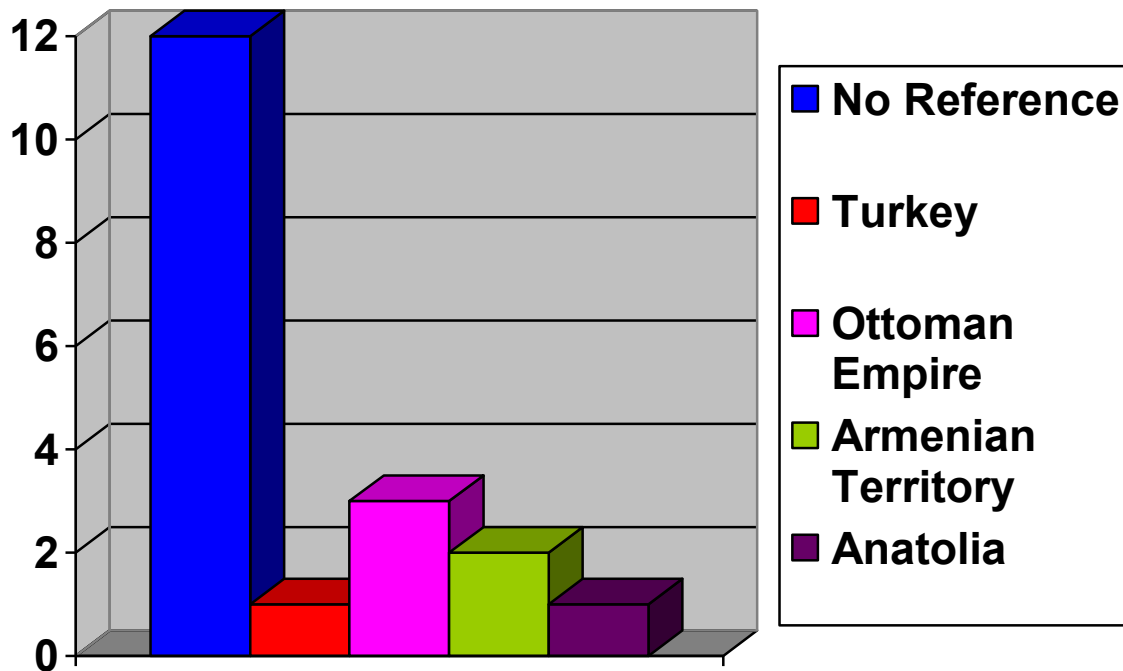
After being engaged in clear and precise analyses of the accepted official documents on the recognition of the Genocide it becomes vivid that not everything is as perfect as it is desired. Almost all documents misrepresent the actual territory where the brutal activities took place either by not mentioning it at all, or by giving a wrong reference.

The analysis of how the Armenian Genocide territory has been referred in the adopted official documents of different countries and international organizations yielded the following findings, which are presented in the tables and charts on the next pages.

Table 1: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)

	COUNTRY	REFERENCE TO THE GENOCIDE TERRITORY	DATE OF ADOPTION
1	Argentina - National Chamber of Deputies	No Reference	April 17, 1985
	Argentina - National Senate	No Reference	June 19, 1985
2	Belgium – Senate	“Armenians living in Turkey”	March 26, 1998
3	Bulgaria – Parliament	No Reference	April 20, 1995
4	Canada - House of Commons	No Reference	April 21, 2004
	Canada - Senate	No Reference	June 13, 2002
5	Cyprus - House of Representatives	“Armenians from ancestral lands.”	April 29, 1982
6	France – National Assembly	No Reference	May 29, 1998
	France – Senate	No Reference	November 7, 2000
	France – Law Signed by Jacques Chirac	No Reference	January 29, 2001
7	Greece - Parliament	No Reference	April 25, 1996
8	Holland - House of Representatives	No Reference	December 21, 2004
9	Italy – Chamber of Deputies	“Armenian minority (within the Ottoman Empire).”	November 16, 2000
10	Lebanon – Chamber of Deputies	No Reference	May 11, 2000
11	Russian Federation – State Duma of Federal Assembly	“Armenians on the territory of Western Armenia.”	April 14, 1995
12	Slovakia - Parliament	“Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire.”	November 30, 2004
13	Sweden - Parliament	No Reference	March 29, 2000
14	Switzerland - National Council	“Armenians of the Ottoman Empire”	December 16, 2003
15	United States – House of Representatives	No Reference	September 10, 1984
	United States – Senate	No Reference	May 11, 1920
16	Uruguay - Senate and House of Representatives	No Reference	April 20, 1965
	Uruguay - Law	No Reference	March 26, 2004
17	Vatican – Joint Declaration	No Reference	September 27, 2001
18	Poland – Sejm of Poland	No Reference	April 19, 2005
19	Germany – Bundestag	“Armenians in Anatolia.”	June 21, 2005

Chart 1: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)



The chart vividly shows that twelve out of 19 governments have left out the issue of territory in the adopted resolutions and laws. This means that 63% of the documents do not provide any evidence concerning the territory where the brutal mass killings of the Armenian race took place. These governments are Argentina, Bulgaria, Canada, France, Greece, Holland, Lebanon, Sweden, United States, Uruguay, Vatican and Poland. All these countries intentionally or unintentionally have left out the territory where the Armenian Genocide was committed, making the issue open for any kind of interpretation.

On the other hand, four countries have in one way or another mentioned a specific territory of the massacres. Belgium, Italy, Slovakia and Switzerland have defined the territory as a Turkish region; a patch of land that belongs to Turkey. This is a wrong reference because a careful look at the Armenian map of the times shows that Armenians were deported from and massacred on their historic lands.

Only two governments, the House of Representatives of Cyprus (1982) and the State Duma of Federal Assembly of Russian Federation (1995) have correctly defined the territory as ancestral lands of Western Armenians.

Germany has specified the territory as Anatolia, which includes both and not only Turkey and Western Armenia.

At this point the analyses allow me to believe that it is only the Russian Federation out of the 19 above-mentioned countries have stated the specific territories where the Armenians were cruelly murdered and the concrete time-period when the killings took place.

Almost the same wording can be observed in the documents adopted by international organizations. We all believe that international organizations exist first and foremost to establish peace and security worldwide, to protect the rights of individuals and nations as a whole by condemning acts against humanity and preventing any breaches against the security and peace worldwide.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe (2001) and the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (1985) have failed to be precise in their condemnation of the Armenian Genocide by obscuring the issue of territory.

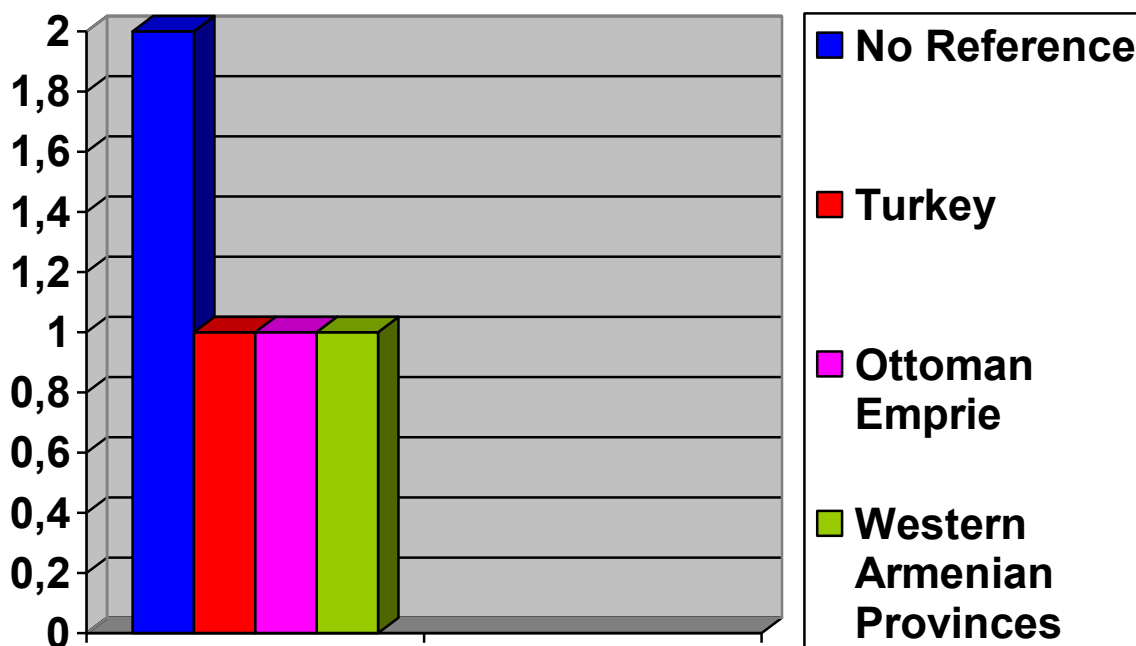
The European Parliament (1987) and the UN War Crimes Commission Report (1948) attest to the fact the land where the massacres of Armenians occurred belonged to Turkey, forming its constituent part.

The only succinct reference to the issue of territory is observed in the Joint Declaration by France, Great Britain, Russia in 1915, where the regions were named in detail: Erzerum, Derchun, Equine, Akn, Bitlis, Mush, Sassoun, Zeitun, Cilicia, 100 villages near Van, Constantinople.

Table 2: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (International Organizations)

#	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION	REFERENCE TO THE GENOCIDE TERRITORY	DATE OF ADOPTION
1	Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe	No Reference	April 24, 2001
2	European Parliament	“Armenians living in territory of the Ottoman Empire”	June 18, 1987
3	Joint Declaration by France, Great Britain, Russia	“Provinces in Western Armenia and Constantinople.” ¹	May 29, 1915
4	UN War Commission Report	“Territory which formed part of the Turkish Empire”	May 28, 1948
5	UN Sub-Commission on Prevention and Protection of Minorities	No Reference	July 2, 1985

Chart 2: The Territory of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (International Organizations)



¹ The document does not mention the name “Western Armenia” territory, but it specifies one by one such provinces of Western Armenia as Erzerum, Dertchun, Eguine, Akn, Bitlis, Mush, Sassoun, Zeitun, Cilicia, Van and Constantinople.

CHAPTER II

The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents

Adopted Abroad

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Armenian population of the decaying Ottoman Empire became the target of heightened persecution. These persecutions culminated in a three-decade period during which the Armenians were systematically uprooted from their homeland of 3,000 years and eliminated through deportation and massacres.

Sultan Abdul Hamid's brutal reign ended in 1908 when the Young Turks came to power. Initially there was tremendous support for the new rulers who promised many reforms and appeared to favor friendly relationships among the various nationalities within the empire. Armenian political parties actively participated in this movement for political reform. However, by 1914 the Young Turks had adopted pan-Turkism as a nationalist ideology and set out to Turkify the country's minorities, beginning with the Armenians. Before the onset of World War I, they had already declared that the war would create an opportunity to pursue a final solution to the Armenian Question which presupposed the forcible removal of the Armenian population from the area of its ancestral settlement. These premeditated, well-planned decisions were put into effect and deportations and exterminations began under the Ottoman Government's order and supervision.

Roughly speaking, according to Dadrian (1995), the Armenian Genocide lasted from 1894-1923 with Hamidian massacres of 1894-1896, the massacre of Adana in 1909 and the Great Calamity of 1915-1923.

The detailed chronology of the Armenian Genocide from 1894 – 1923 is presented in Appendix 1.

“The history of Christians under Moslem law is only an uninterrupted scene of tyranny, violation, and slaughters.” (Bryce 2004, 68)

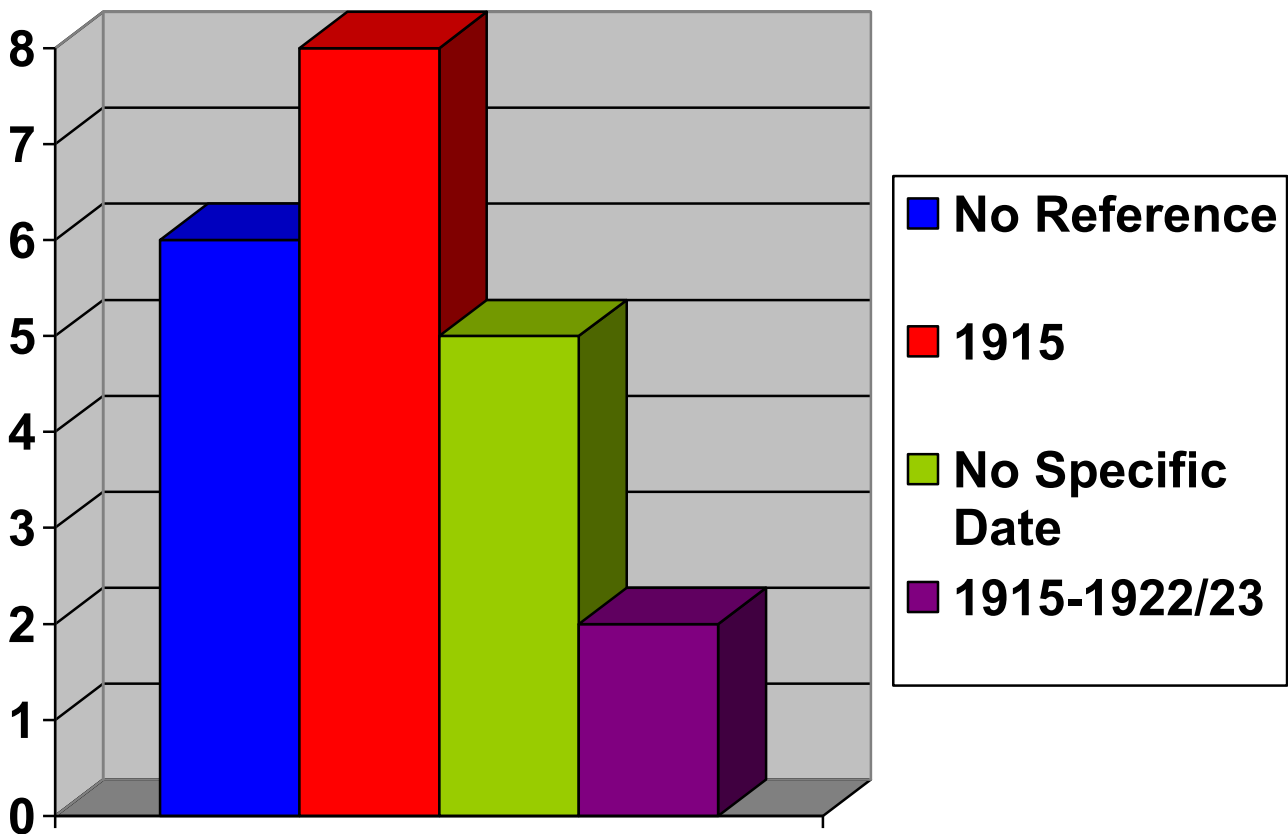
The findings of the analyses referring to the issue of the Armenian Genocide time-frame, as reflected in the official documents adopted by countries and international organizations, are shown in the tables and charts below.

Table 3: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents Adopted Abroad (States)

#	COUNTRY	REFERENCE TO THE GENOCIDE TIME-FRAME	DATE OF ADOPTION
1	Argentina - National Chamber of Deputies	“On April 24, 1915 massacres were put in motion.”	April 17, 1985
	Argentina - National Senate	“On April 24, 1915, an action began”	June 19, 1985
2	Belgium – Senate	“Genocide committed in 1915.”	March 26, 1998
3	Bulgaria – Parliament	No Reference	April 20, 1995
4	Canada - House of Commons	“Genocide of 1915”	April 21, 2004
	Canada - Senate	No Reference	June 13, 2002
5	Cyprus - House of Representatives	“...which was started in 1915”	April 29, 1982
6	France – National Assembly	“Genocide of 1915.”	May 29, 1998
	France – Senate	“Genocide of 1915.”	November 7, 2000
	France – Law Signed by Jacques Chirac	“Genocide of 1915.”	January 29, 2001
7	Greece - Parliament	No Reference	April 25, 1996
8	Holland - House of Representatives	No Reference	December 21, 2004
9	Italy – Chamber of Deputies	“Before the creation of the modern Republic of Turkey.”	November 16, 2000
10	Lebanon – Chamber of Deputies	“in the year 1915....”	May 11, 2000
11	Russian Federation – State Duma of Federal Assembly	“Extermination of Armenians from 1915 to 1922.”	April 14, 1995
12	Slovakia - Parliament	“Recognizes the Armenian Genocide of 1915...”	November 30, 2004
13	Sweden - Parliament	“The events of 1915 and thereafter be developed.”	March 29, 2000
14	Switzerland - National Council	“Genocide of the Armenians in 1915.”	December 16, 2003

15	United States – House of Representatives	“Genocide between 1915 and 1923.”	September 10, 1984
	United States – Senate	No Reference	May 11, 1920
16	Uruguay - Senate and House of Representatives	“Slain in 1915.”	April 20, 1965
	Uruguay - Law	“Slain in 1915.”	March 26, 2004
17	Vatican – Joint Declaration	No Reference	September 27, 2001
18	Poland – Sejm of Poland	“Extermination of Armenians in 1915.”	April 19, 2005
19	Germany – Bundestag	“.... Massacres which took place at the beginning of the 20 th century and later on during the WWI.”	June 21, 2005

Chart 3: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents Adopted Abroad (States)



As it would be very humiliating and artificial not to mention any date at all, in most of the cases the recognition documents mention a specific date: namely, April 24, 1915, thus

ignoring the continuous nature the massacres and the Genocide carried. 3 countries, Bulgaria, Holland and the United States have not given any time reference in their resolutions.

Twelve countries out of nineteen, declare that the Genocide took place only in the year of 1915. These countries are Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Cyprus, France, Greece, Lebanon, Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay and Poland. Most of these countries even specify the date of April 24, which either consciously or subconsciously implies that the killings of Armenians lasted **only one** day.

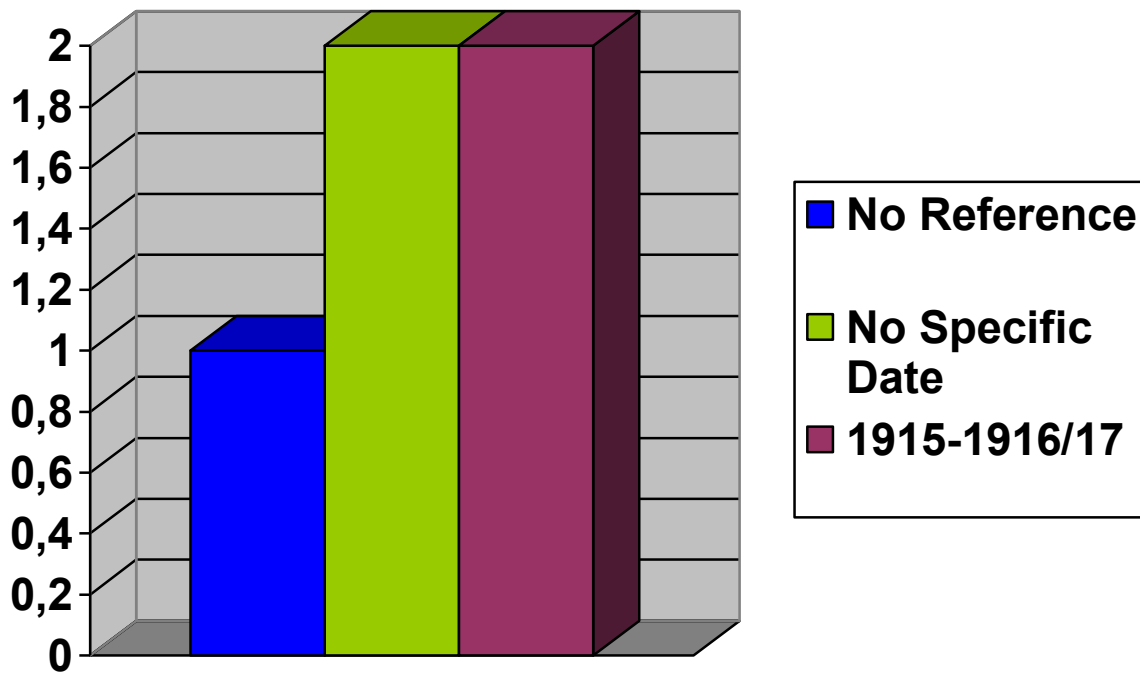
Canada, Italy, Vatican and Germany, being more diplomatic have stated a very broad time-frame, which is either the 20th century (it does not say whether it is the beginning, the middle or the end of the 20th century), or before the creation of modern Turkic Republic (it does not say how long before). These are all issues that leave the time-period of the committed Genocide very vague and anyone can adjust it to his/her own interpretation.

Again, only two countries, Russian Federation and the United States have mentioned the concrete time period of the Genocide: namely, from 1915 to 1923.

Table 4: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents Adopted Abroad (International Organizations)

#	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION	REFERENCE TO THE GENOCIDE TIME-FRAMCE	DATE OF ADOPTION
1	Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe	“At the beginning of the 20 th century.”	April 24, 2001
2	European Parliament	“Tragic events in 1915-1917.”	June 18, 1987
3	Joint Declaration by France, Great Britain, Russia	No Reference	May 29, 1915
4	UN War Crimes Commission Report	“At the beginning of the First World War in Turkey...”	May 28, 1948
5	UN Sub-Commission on Prevention and Protection of Minorities	“The Ottoman massacre of Armenians in 1915-1916.”	July 2, 1985

Chart 4: The Time-Frame of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents Adopted Abroad (States)



The Joint Declaration by France, Great Britain and Russia made in May 29, 1915, basically a month later, is silent about the dates. This silence leaves room for subjective interpretations. Council of Europe and UN War Crimes Commission Report is also very vague in this respect, mentioning the 20th century as the period of the committed Genocide. On the other hand, European Parliament and UN Sub-Commission on Prevention and Protection of Minorities have mentioned only a part of the stages of the Genocide.

It is disturbing to think that none of the official documents truly represents or specifies the real chain of Armenian massacres. Out of the 30 years of continual bloodshed and persecution only the year of 1915 and very often only the date of April 24 is mentioned, thus putting a cross on the previous and following years of carnage and sufferings.

CHAPTER III

The Perpetrator of and Accountability for the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents Adopted Abroad

The Turkish government has in the past few decades been denying that Genocide has ever occurred and spending millions of dollars to further that view. This is adding insult to injury and will cause bad feelings to continue much longer than would otherwise be the case between the peoples. Unless crimes like this are faced up to and compensated for, they will be committed again and again by people who do not fear prosecution or justice. There are various examples of Turkey's attempts to conceal or falsify the fact.

Harut Sassounian in his speech Turks Cause Worldwide Outcry by Canceling Genocide Conference (2005) recalls the conference that was to take place in Istanbul in May 25-27, 2005. Fearing that these scholars were about to disclose a version of history which was not in line with that approved by the Turkish government, the Governor of Istanbul called the rector of Bogazici University, the day before the conference, and ordered her to cancel the meeting. She declined. She also refused requests later that day from the Chief Public Prosecutor to hand over the texts of the papers to be delivered at the conference. In such an atmosphere of insults, slander, and threats, the organizers were left no choice but to cancel the meeting.

Turkey considers the evidence about the atrocities as mere allegations and regularly obstructs efforts for acknowledgment.

This and other cases of Turkish denial mentioned previously simply come to prove that Turkey has always been and is still unwilling to recognize the fact of the Genocide and take up the responsibility to be accountable of what happened decades ago.

"If nations are allowed to commit Genocide with impunity, to hide their guilt in a camouflage of lies and denials, there is a real danger that other brutal regimes will be

encouraged to attempt Genocides. Unless we speak today of the Armenian Genocide and unless the Government recognizes this historical fact, we shall leave this century of unprecedented Genocides with this blot on our consciences." (Caroline, Baroness Cox, House of Lords, April 1999)

"The Turkish denial of the Armenian Genocide is probably the foremost example of historical perversion. With a mix of academic sophistication and diplomatic thuggery the Turks have put both memory and history into reverse gear." (Tatz 1996)

"The nearest successful example of collective denial in the modern era is the 80 years of official denial by successive Turkish governments of the 1915-17 Genocide against the Armenians in which 1.5 million people lost their lives. This denial has been sustained by deliberate propaganda, lying and cover-ups, forging documents, suppression of archives, and bribing scholars." (Cohen 1995)

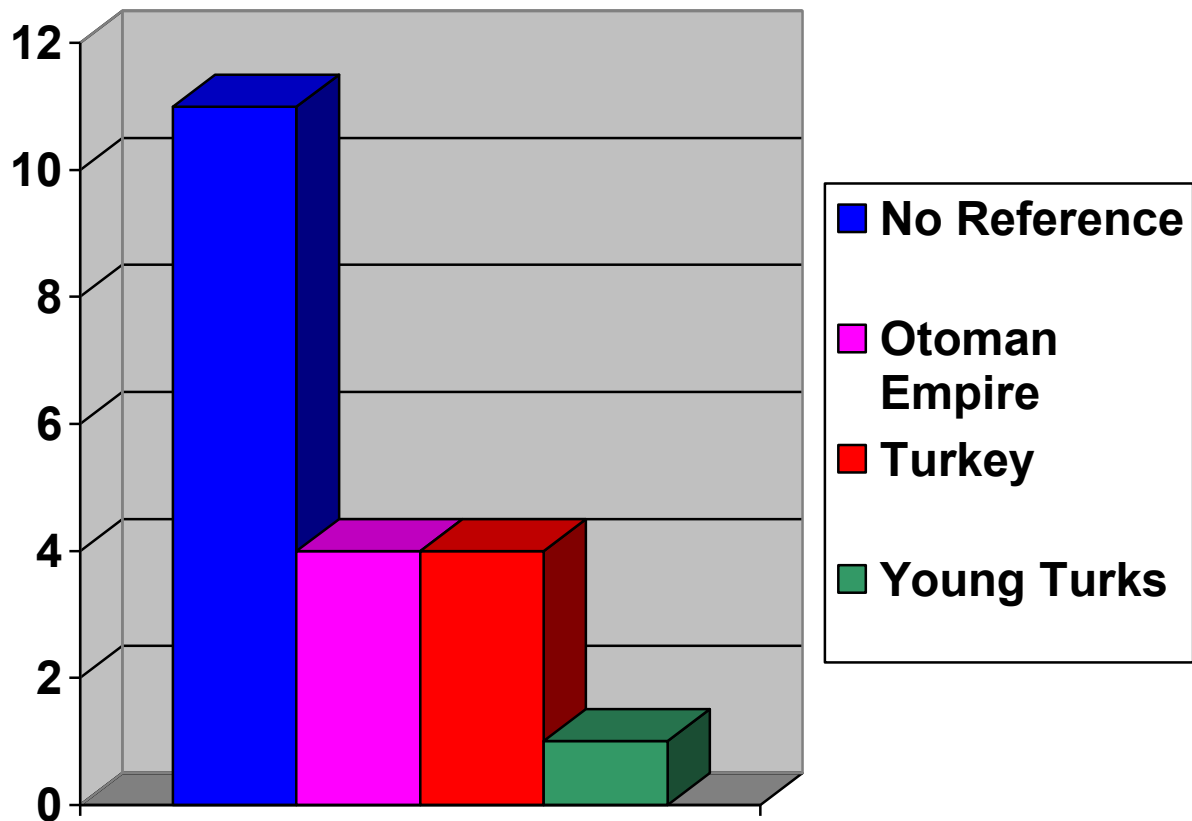
The awful part of this is that the whole world is silent about who is to be responsible and accountable for what happened in the period of 1894-1923. No government, political figure or international organization has referred to the nowadays Turkey's role as a legal successor of the Ottoman Empire and hence accountable for the actions of its legal predecessor.

This viewpoint was supported by the analyses of the resolutions and declarations on the issue of the Armenian Genocide perpetrator.

Table 5: The Perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)

#	COUNTRY	REFERENCE TO THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATOR	DATE OF ADOPTION
1	Argentina - National Chamber of Deputies	No Reference	April 17, 1985
	Argentina - National Senate	No Reference	June 19, 1985
2	Belgium – Senate	“By the Ottoman government of the time.”	March 26, 1998
3	Bulgaria – Parliament	“By the Ottoman Empire on the Armenian people.”	April 20, 1995
4	Canada - House of Commons	No Reference	April 21, 2004
	Canada - Senate	No Reference	June 13, 2002
5	Cyprus - House of Representatives	“By the then Turkish regime.”	April 29, 1982
6	France – National Assembly	No Reference	May 29, 1998
	France – Senate	No Reference	November 7, 2000
	France – Law Signed by Jacques Chirac	No Reference	January 29, 2001
7	Greece - Parliament	“by Turkey.”	April 25, 1996
8	Holland - House of Representatives	No Reference	December 21, 2004
9	Italy – Chamber of Deputies	No Reference	November 16, 2000
10	Lebanon – Chamber of Deputies	“by the Ottoman authorities”	May 11, 2000
11	Russian Federation – State Duma of Federal Assembly	“The actions of the Turkish Empire.”	April 14, 1995
12	Slovakia - Parliament	No Reference	November 30, 2004
13	Sweden - Parliament	No Reference	March 29, 2000
14	Switzerland - National Council	“At the order of the Ottoman order.”	December 16, 2003
15	United States – House of Representatives	“Perpetrated in Turkey”	September 10, 1984
	United States – Senate	No Reference	May 11, 1920
16	Uruguay - Senate and House of Representatives	No Reference	April 20, 1965
	Uruguay - Law	No Reference	March 26, 2004
17	Vatican – Joint Declaration	No Reference	September 27, 2001
18	Poland – Sejm of Poland	No Reference	April 19, 2005
19	Germany – Bundestag	“by Young Turks.”	June 21, 2005

Chart 5: The Perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (States)



The analyses on the issue of accountability followed two distinct goals: the first was to see whether and how the perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide was mentioned, and the second objective was to reveal whether there was any responsibility ascribed to the modern Turkey as a legal successor. The results are obvious.

Ten out of 19 countries do not mention at all who carried out the Genocide. These countries are Argentina, Canada, France, Holland, Italy, Slovakia, Sweden, the United States², Uruguay and Vatican.

² The resolution was adopted by the Senate of the U.S. in 1920 when the genocide was not over yet, and it would be no problem to define who the perpetrators were and who was to be responsible for the actions.

Poland, the United States³, Switzerland, Russian Federation, Lebanon, Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria and Belgium stated the Ottoman Empire or the ‘then Turkish regime’ as the perpetrator of the Genocide.

Germany has specified the Young Turks as the perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide.

Unfortunately, none of the mentioned 19 countries have referred to the issue of accountability, leaving it unspecified and open to any kind of interpretation. This is why Turkey furthers its policy of denial. Turkish government does not feel to be criticized, condemned and accused for the Genocide and it is silent because the international community allows it to be silent. The official resolutions and laws that were adopted do not serve as a serious means of bridling Turkey and making it feel liable for its past, but rather as a tool to ‘calm’ the Armenian people and silence the Armenian authorities.

The matter is almost the same with international organizations.

Table 6: The Perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide as Defined in the Official Documents (International Organizations)

	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION	REFERENCE TO THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATOR	DATE OF ADOPTION
1	Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe	“by the Ottoman Empire.”	April 24, 2001
2	European Parliament	“of the Ottoman Empire.”	June 18, 1987
3	Joint Declaration by France, Great Britain, Russia	“All members of the Ottoman government.”	May 29, 1915
4	UN War Crimes Commission Report	“Turkish Empire”	May 28, 1948
5	UN Sub-Commission on Prevention and Protection of Minorities	“the Ottoman massacre of Armenians.”	July 2, 1985

³ This document was adopted in 1984 by the House of Representatives.

All of them unanimously consider the Ottoman Empire to be legally responsible for what it did to Armenians, but none of them mentions whether today Turkey is to take some steps to solve the issue.

Only the European Parliament has referred to this issue where it does not acknowledge today's Turkey responsible for the Armenian Genocide.

“... Recognizes, however, that the present Turkey cannot be held responsible for the tragedy experienced by the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and stresses that neither political nor legal or material claims against present-day Turkey can be derived from the recognition of this historical event as an act of Genocide.” (Sassounian 2005, 58)

The silence over some issues in laws and resolutions of government bodies and international organizations can not be by chance; it is premeditated and expresses their opinion, which in this case, implies that the modern Turkey can not be blamed for what was done by the Ottoman Empire in 1894-1923.

CHAPTER IV

The International Recognition of the Armenian Genocide: the Role of Armenian Diplomacy and the Motivation of the International Community

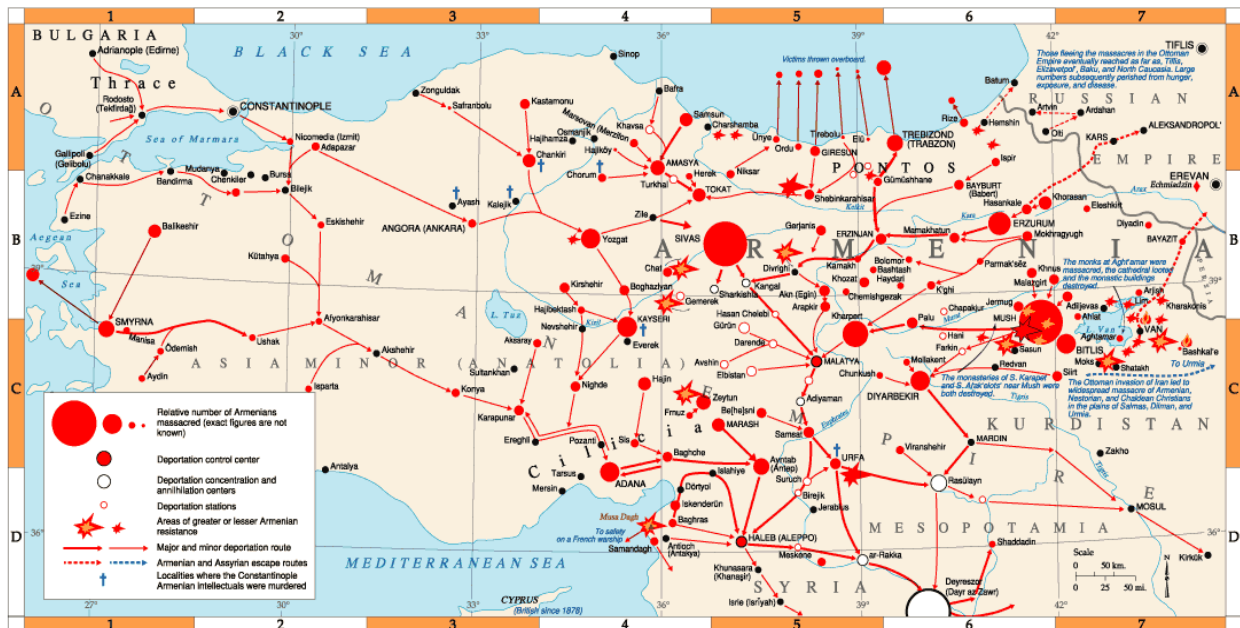
The recognition of Armenian Genocide (Ayvazyan 2004) has legal, moral as well as strategic significance for Armenia. That is why it is important to see whether the adoption of these documents and resolutions are influenced by Armenian diplomacy and whether they express the self-interests of governments or their good will.

Based on the results of the analyses it becomes evident that all the governments and international organizations that have recognized the Armenian Genocide have mainly done so to pursue their self-interests. The only fact that the documents analyzed above are very vague, contain very little factual data or even misrepresent several issues is a proof of “adjusting” the fact of Armenian Genocide to their self-interests and needs.

To be more precise the resolutions and declarations of each government will be discussed separately.

Argentina: Argentina adopted its declaration in 1985. The declaration lacks many factual data. It does not mention any of the Western Armenia provinces which were subject to the Turkish killings and from which the Armenians were driven away. Besides, the declaration says nothing about the time-frame, mentioning only the beginning of the great calamity (1915). Despite the fact that it falsifies the beginning of the Genocide (1894), it is also silent about its duration. Argentina diplomatically avoids mentioning Turkey as the perpetrator and which is more important about Turkey’s accountability.

Belgium: (see Appendix 2) Belgian Senate adopted its resolution in 1998, which misrepresents the territory of the committed Genocide prescribing it to Turkey.



It is suffice to look only at the historic map of Western Armenia and it becomes clear that provinces of Cilicia, Adana, Van, Erzerum, etc, which were the target of the Genocide are the territories of Western Armenia and not Turkey. Belgium mentions 1915 as the year when the Genocide started and ended, and although the Ottoman Empire is mentioned as the perpetrator it says nothing about the accountability of today’s Turkey.

Bulgaria: the resolution is silent about the Genocide territory, its duration period as well as the accountability of Turkey although it mentions Ottoman Empire as the perpetrator.

Canada: (see Appendix 3) the declaration of Canada consists of only ONE sentence. Only the length of the declaration is enough to understand the intentions and driving force of the country adopting it. There is no reference to the territory, perpetrator and the issue of accountability on the part of modern Turkish Republic. The Genocide time-period is also misrepresented as 1915 only.

Cyprus: (see Appendix 4) being enemies with Turkey Cyprus has expressed two lines of intents in its resolution. It wants to condemn Turkey but at the same time is afraid of doing it properly. It has not mentioned the Genocide territory, the Turkish regime is mentioned as the perpetrator although nothing is said about its liability for its past actions. The period of Genocide is left vague in the resolution as it only mentions its beginning (1915). At the same time the resolution mentions the “harmonious and long-standing coexistence and brotherly cooperation with the Armenians of Cyprus and their contribution to the political, economic and cultural life of our country.” (Sassounian 2005, 38)

France: (see Appendix 5) the law signed by Jacques Chirac consists of only ONE sentence. It does not recognize Turkey as the perpetrator and hence responsible for it, besides the time-frame is also misrepresented. The whole range of 30 years was suppressed into only 1 year: the year of 1915.

Greece: (see Appendix 6) the resolution of the Hellenic Parliaments lacks many factual data. There is no reference to the territories, no reference to the Genocide time-frame. Although Turkey is mentioned as the perpetrator Greece is silent about the accountability of today’s Turkey. Besides, instead of presenting important and factual data, the resolution is very keen on expressing the procedures of the Armenian Genocide commemoration, its character, content and the manner of organization, which in itself is minor in its nature.

Holland: the declaration of Holland is unique in that it contains no factual data. There is no reference to the Genocide territory, its time-range, the perpetrator and the role of today’s Turkey.

Italy: (see Appendix 7) this resolution is the only one discussed so far that promotes the restoration of Armenian-Turkish diplomatic relationships and urges Turkey to open negotiations with Armenia. The resolution does not specify the Genocide territory and its

time-frame. It recognizes the Ottoman Empire as the perpetrator but does not recognize modern Turkish republic as liable for its past.

Lebanon: (see Appendix 8) the Genocide duration is contracted into the one single year of 1915, the Ottoman Empire is recognized as the perpetrator, no reference to the Genocide territory and no claims of responsibility put upon modern Turkey.

Russian Federation: (see Appendix 9) the resolution adopted by the State Duma is partially precise about the Genocide duration (1915-1922); the Western Armenia is recognized as the Genocide territory, and the Turkish Empire as the perpetrator. The resolution also claims that the manner of the extermination of Armenians from 1915 to 1922 is in accordance with the Genocide Convention.

Slovakia: this resolution misrepresents not only the Genocide time-period but also the number of victims. The number of deaths is approximately 2,000,000 people, whereas this resolution states “hundreds of thousands” as the number of people who died during the Genocide. Besides this factual misrepresentation, 1915 is mentioned as the Genocide period, Ottoman Empire as its perpetrator and the accountability of today’s Turkey is left out.

Sweden: (see Appendix 10) the declaration of Sweden adopted in 2000 is absurd. Instead of recognizing the well-known fact of Armenian Genocide, and urging Turkey to take the responsibility for the committed actions, it calls for the “unbiased, independent and international research on the Genocide committed against the Armenian people be carried out, and an increasing openness and historical understanding of the events of 1915 and thereafter be developed.” This is another way of denying the Armenian Genocide. The resolution does not mention the territories of the committed Genocide, its duration, and its perpetrators. In this regard Victor Hugo’s words can well be cited:

“If a man is killed in Paris, it is a murder; the throats of fifty thousand people are cut in the East, and it is a question.” (Peterson 2004, 69)

Switzerland: the usual scenario is preserved in this declaration as well, that is; the Genocide territory is left out, 1915 is recognized as the Genocide time-frame, the Ottoman Empire as its perpetrator. No responsibility is placed on modern Turkey.

United States: (see Appendix 11) the US Senate in its resolution of 1920 has even avoided using the word ‘Genocide’ exchanging it with the word ‘massacre’. No Genocide territory is mentioned, no Genocide time-frame is specified, even the Ottoman Empire – the perpetrator is left out from the resolution. The US resolution of 1984 has incorporated some factual data: first, the word ‘Genocide’ is used; second, Turkey is recognized as the perpetrator; third, 1915-1923 is recognized as the Genocide time-period. Unfortunately, the Genocide territory is not specified.

Uruguay: (see Appendix 12) the word ‘Genocide’ is intentionally avoided twice in this law in the first case by using the word ‘massacre’ and in the second case – the word ‘martyr’. The only factual data that this law contains is the year of 1915.

Vatican: (see Appendix 13) this declaration is only a ‘narrative’ sentence. There is no reference to any factual data of the Armenian Genocide; no territory is mentioned, no time-frame is mentioned and no perpetrator is specified. The sad part of this document is that it is a joint declaration, made by John Paul II and **Catholicos Karekin II** (the Catholicos of Armenia.)

Poland: (see Appendix 14) the bill of Poland is the only document that finds modern Turkey accountable for Genocide, although Turkey itself denies it. This is a very important point made by the Polish Sejm, but at the same time the bill does not specify the territory of the Genocide, and the time-frame is the year of 1915.

Germany: (see Appendix 15) the declaration of Bundestag can be considered as one of the most important documents as Turkey and Germany were allies during WWI. German Bundestag is very diplomatic in recognizing the Armenian Genocide.

Sassounian (2005) in his article German Parliament Deals a Fatal Blow to Turkish Denial of Genocide mentions several reasons why the German Parliament's decision is a significant development:

First, Germany is one of Turkey's staunchest allies in Europe.

Second, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and his ruling party were initially completely opposed to this proposed resolution.

Third, while only 30,000 Armenians live in Germany, there are more than 3 million Turks in that country.

Fourth, the Turkish government and the large Turkish community in Germany tried everything in their power to block the consideration of this resolution by the German Parliament.

Fifth, all the political factions in the Bundestag, including the ruling party, ended up unanimously supporting the resolution on the Armenian Genocide.

Finally, the resolution states that the Germans acknowledge their own share of guilt in the Armenian Genocide and urge the Turks to face up to their dark past.

This declaration contains some very important factual data. German Bundestag which has participated in the implementation of Genocide against Armenians feels responsible to face its past. Bundestag also recognizes that the recognition of the Genocide lies in the bases of relationship restoration between Armenia and Turkey which is very important for the future of the region. The declaration also attests to the fact that the territories that were cleaned off Armenians were settled by Kurds and Muslim refugees from the Balkan wars. Bundestag also recognizes the fact that Turkey is avoiding to recognize the Genocide and face its historic past.

Besides this, there are many instances of falsifications.

First, Anatolia is recognized as the Genocide Territory. The perversion of Western Armenia with Anatolia is the advocacy of Turkish authorities, and has successfully penetrated into the scientific and academic circles of the West. The Armenians of Anatolia are only those Armenians that lived in Asia Minor, outside the boundaries of historic Armenia (Ayvazyan 1998).

Second, in the declaration the Bundestag expresses its gratitude to the Turks and Germans that were trying to help Armenians against the order of Ottoman rule. Nowhere in historic books and articles are such events mentioned.

Third, the German Bundestag considers the examination of history necessary for the establishment of peace between Armenia and Turkey. The history of Armenian Genocide is already very well-examined and all the details of the Genocide are publicly known all over the world.

Fourth, the creation of the committee of Turkish and Armenian historians is considered as a step towards relationship restoration between Armenia and Turkey. As a matter of fact the committee has not been created.

Finally, the Genocide territory is not mentioned in this declaration.

In order to guarantee safe future for this region the relationships and negotiations between Armenia and Turkey need to be restored, but these relationships can be restored only after Turkey has recognized the Genocide and faced the issue of its accountability. As this issue can not be solved only by Armenia and Turkey, the West and the international organizations must work in that direction and contribute to the solution of the problem.

This means that the West must urge Turkey to restore negotiations with Armenia, stop the advocacy against Armenians within the academic circles, stop collaborating with Azerbaijan in the Karabakh conflict and make Turkey recognize the Genocide (Ayvazyan 2004).

Unfortunately, none of the resolutions, declarations and laws analyzed above expresses the will of the governments to contribute peacefully to the solution of the conflict. The international community is silent about very important issues related to the Armenian Genocide, some of the western countries even question the fact of the Genocide, call for historical analyses and examinations, others avoid the usage of the word ‘Genocide’, whereas other countries misrepresent historic data.

None of the resolutions refers to the accountability of modern Turkish Republic as the legal successor of the Ottoman Empire. These documents serve only as a means to restrain Turkey from becoming regional hegemony because it will contradict the interests of the West (Ayvazyan 2004).

If this is the case, then what was the role of Armenian foreign policy?

These analyses are clearly pointing at the fact that these recognitions can not be considered as emanation of good will on the part of the international community. They are mostly the reflection of foreign policies of the mentioned states and organizations, based on pragmatic calculations, ‘cost and benefit’ analyses, self-interests and needs. In particular the European recognitions reflect the growing unease about the possible entry of Turkey into the European Union. The Armenian Genocide issue is an additional leverage that some European states would like to have against Turkey.

This does not mean that Armenia and the Armenians have nothing to gain from such official statements and resolutions. On the contrary, they can have substantial benefit in political and potentially financial and other terms. This recognition documents have advanced one step the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide. But this is not enough to say that Armenian politicians have accomplished the maximum in this regard. The climax of the Armenian Genocide international recognition will be obtained when modern Turkey itself acknowledges the fact of the Genocide and undertakes responsibilities in financial, political

and other terms. Unfortunately, Armenia is not sufficiently strong to persist on its views regarding this issue in the international arena. It is a must for our political leaders and diplomats to persistently further their views and stance, thus urging modern Turkey to accept the **true history** of the Armenian Genocide without any concessions, because urging to recognize the fact of having annihilated millions of Armenians can not be subject to bargaining. Armenian politicians should try to realistically assess the process of international recognition of the Armenian Genocide, with all of its shortcomings and potentialities.

It should be mentioned that these documents were the first step on the long road to the international recognition of the Genocide as well as enormous efforts aimed at putting an end to the consistent Turkish denial. In this regard, these documents can be considered as powerful leverage of the Armenian foreign policy against Turkey. As far as further success regarding this issue is concerned, something more needs to be done.

Armenian diplomacy should be stronger, more powerful and persistent in order to avoid such occurrences as the lack of factual data, misrepresentation of historical issues, absence of claims on modern Turkey to undertake responsibility, perversion the Genocide time-frames, even sometimes avoidance the word ‘Genocide’, etc.

The speeches of the Armenian president, the minister of Foreign Affairs at the UN and other international organization do not constitute the only element of the Armenian foreign diplomacy. Other important features of the diplomacy comprise the collection and dissemination of relevant information among the Armenian diplomats, political leaders, political parties, historians, sociologists; the systematization of the actions of such groups; careful analyses of information and planning of long-term and short-term actions of Armenian politicians and Diaspora. Unfortunately, none of the elements is functioning properly (Ayvazyan 2004).

CONCLUSION

The Armenian question has ceased to be national or even international. It has become universal. It is one in which a common humanity prompts all men who retain living and activate instincts of humanity to become interested. The Turks seem to have relinquished this. The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide describes Genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group." Clearly this definition applies in the case of the atrocities committed against the Armenians. Countries like France, Argentina, Greece, Russia, etc., where the survivors of the Armenian Genocide and their descendants live, have officially recognized the Armenian Genocide.

However, as a matter of policy, the present-day Republic of Turkey adamantly denies that Genocide was committed against the Armenians during WWI. Moreover, Turkey dismisses the evidence about the atrocities as mere allegations, reasoning that the deaths among the Armenians were not a result of a state-sponsored plan of mass extermination, but from the result of inter-ethnic conflict, disease and famine during the turmoil of World War I, thus regularly obstructs efforts for acknowledgment. Affirming the truth about the Armenian Genocide, therefore, has become an issue of international significance. The recurrence of Genocide in the twentieth century has made the reaffirmation of the historic acknowledgment of the criminal mistreatment of the Armenians by Turkey all the more a compelling obligation for the international community.

Despite this, an increasing number of Western scholars believe that the massacres of Armenians were a case of what is termed Genocide and formally recognize the event and consider it to be undeniable. On the other hand, the academic recognition has not always been followed by government and media recognition. Many governments do not officially use the

word 'Genocide' to describe these events, due in part to their strong commercial and political ties to Turkey, though some government officials have used the term personally.

Almost a century has passed since the Armenian Genocide and up to this day Armenia, the Armenian nation and each Armenian feels the consequences of that appalling tragedy. It will still take a long time to rehabilitate from that terrible blow. The Armenian Genocide can have an enormous impact on the future of Armenia and on our today's reality.

As regards geopolitics, the territory of historic Armenia affected by the Genocide had a protective role for Armenians living in that region. The provinces and districts of Armenia were more than simply a geographical territory; for centuries they had provided the protective space for the Armenian nation. The first terrible consequence of the Armenian Genocide was that Armenians were estranged from their historical living space. As regards the strategic factor, the loss of land has deprived the Armenians from their former possibility to have several defensive regions, leaving Armenians to live on only a small portion of their previous space. At present Armenia's territory lacks any strategic power. Directly speaking, Armenia simply cannot risk the loss of even a single major battle; otherwise it could mean the end of Armenia and the Armenian nation.

The Genocide also resulted in innumerable cultural losses for Armenian nation. The scale of the cultural catastrophe can be considered by the following single fact: at present there are as many ancient and medieval Armenian manuscripts in existence as were destroyed during the Genocide. Many priceless data were destroyed, depriving us and the world in general of the rich heritage our ancestors left. The loss of such cultural values as folklore, dialects, and regional ethnographic diversity was a terrible blow to the survival potential of the Armenian nation.

During the Genocide Armenians also suffered material losses. The Ottoman Turkey captured and confiscated all the property of Western Armenians, forcing the survivors to

suffer individually the hardship of heavy work in order to provide the bare physical survival of their families in foreign lands rather than participate in the creative making of collective national life.

The perpetrated Genocide aimed and succeeded in exterminating not only masses of people, but a nation, which was based on century-long institutions, traditions and customs. Bound to scatter from country to country in search of safety for those who survived in their families, only a part of the Armenian survivors was capable of reorganizing in and around the newly-created national institutions; the rest was drawn into foreign environment and structures and experienced gradual adaptation and assimilation.

In fact, the aim of the Genocide was not merely to kill as many Armenians as possible, or to wipe out the Armenians from the Ottoman Empire; the ultimate aim was to destroy the Armenian civilization, as they targeted all components of Armenian civilization: demographic, economic, linguistic, geographic, religious, etc.

As a result of all these dreadful developments, currently Armenia is a state struggling for its very survival. Hence, it is relevant and imperative to look at the question of Armenian Genocide and especially its Turkish denial from these alarming current realities. Turkey has been pursuing a decades-long international anti-Armenian campaign in diplomatic, academic and public circles. After Armenia regained its independence, this campaign has been intensified even more.

Turkey has been categorically refusing to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia, justifying its stance by reference to Armenia's nonexistent territorial claims against Turkey. Later, Turkey invented numerous other pretexts as rationales for its hostile policies toward Armenia. The refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia should be assessed as nothing less than an attempt to fundamentally deny the Armenian right to an independent statehood, let alone its claims in an international arena, as Turkey is worried that in the future

its Armenian neighbor will be held up as an economically prosperous and internationally respected state, which would then be in the position to raise questions about moral and material compensations for the enormous damage done to the Armenian nation by the Ottoman Empire, including the territorial claims.

Having been a victim of Genocide in the not too distant past, Armenia's population is extremely sensitive to security issues. This sensitivity has been partly responsible for the mass departure of population from Armenia during recent years. For Armenians, psychological security, a feeling of safety, is equal in importance to such traditional basic layers of national security as military and economic security. And this is not something peculiar to a small and feeble country like Armenia; even the great powers such as the United States recognize more and more the importance of psychological security for their own populations.

The Turkish state has never repented committing the Armenian Genocide which indeed has been the continuation of Genocidal policies by other means. The recognition of Genocide by the international community would reduce the possibility of any direct Turkish aggression against Armenia. The recognition of Genocide by Turkey itself could serve as a basic confidence-building measure in Armenian-Turkish relations. However, present Turkish policies indicate that this is not going to happen in the near future. Unfortunately, these relationships will be developing in conditions of deep and principled mistrust for an unknown period of time.

On the other hand, Armenia has not completely succeeded in clearly presenting its strategic concerns to the international community which in its turn has contributed to the indifference of the international community to Armenia's long-term strategic security requirements.

For Armenia, international recognition of the Armenian Genocide has a primary strategic and security importance in addition to its legal and moral value. Armenians have the

right to expect from the international community credible security guarantees against Turkish pressures, which have all the potential of turning into a direct military intervention.

In today's extremely unpredictable international situation, Armenian people should be ready to bear independently the responsibility for the security and prosperity of their homeland as well as claiming their rights in the international arena against all challenges and threats. A necessary condition for this is the maintenance of a strong and unified nation in a powerful country, which can be obtained by implementing wise diplomatic and political relationships. A strong country with a strong and unified nation is an important clue to the solution of the Armenian Genocide denial.

Not only Armenia as a state, but Armenians as a nation should also go through a rebirth as regards to moral and psychological issues. They should fill themselves with new energy and enthusiasm, take out the sorrow and the feeling of commiseration and replace them with decisiveness to fight for their rights and claim for what has belonged to them and have the sad history of their sufferings, losses revealed and recognized by the international community and modern Turkey as well as, what is more important, have Turkish authorities to take accountability to compensate the loss of Armenians in material, cultural, political and other terms.

Finally, despite all the above mentioned blows to Armenia, the Armenians embody a unique perseverance and can be considered a resilient nation, for they have found the strength to survive, rehabilitate and continue striving for development. Indeed it is this resilience and determination which we all need to draw upon as we build a state today, hopefully one which will better withstand and overcome any future challenge and continue to grow and prosper.

The Chronology of the Armenian Genocide from 1894-1923

1875 December 1	By order of the Turkish government, the Armenian market district at Van is destroyed by fire with great loss to Armenian property, goods, and businesses.
1879	Armenian performances are forbidden in Constantinople. The urban Armenian population of Garin and Arabkir come out against the government.
1880 August	By special order of the Turkish government, the word "Armenia" is forbidden for use in official documents.
1888	The Turkish government orders that all Armenian periodicals and magazines in Constantinople and Western Armenia be discontinued.
1890 June 15	An Armenian demonstration in the district of Gum-Gapu in Constantinople is drowned in Armenian blood.
1891 January	The Armenians of Vardenis in Taron are robbed by Turks and their village is destroyed.
1894 August 20-27	Sassoun's Gelie-guzan village massacre, known as the "Gelie-guzan Hole Carnage" takes place. Here, Turks inaugurate the system of slaughtering unarmed people.
1894 August 25-30	Sassoun's Gebin Mount carnage is inflicted when the Turkish army manages to force Armenian women, children and old men to leave Andok for the forest on the bottom of mountain. The army ignites the forest and burns the Armenians alive.
1894 August	10,000 Armenians are killed and 74 Armenian villages are destroyed in Sassoun.
1894 August- October	Armenians refuse to pay illegal taxes to Kurdish irregular forces in Sassoun. Unrest in the vilayet of Bitlis, near Mush. Revolt in Sassoun. Attempted uprising against Kurdish oppression is followed by massacres in Sassoun.
1895 September 30	Carnage of Armenians in Baberd at the hands of the Turks.
1895 September 30, October	In the Bab Ali section of Constantinople, Armenians carry out a peaceful demonstration. The Turks set upon killing Armenians. 2000 Armenians die.
1895 October 5	Mass obliteration of Armenians takes place in Trebizond and its villages. Armenians of Sassoun share the same fate.
1895 October 7	Armenians of Derjan province are slaughtered by the Turks.
1895 October 8	Massacres of Armenians by Turks begin in the vilayet of Trebizond as confirmed by the report of Gillieres, the French Consul in Trebizond.
1895 October 9	The carnage of Armenians at Erzingan and Kamakh by the Turks.

1895 October 10	In Kghi province more than 1000 Armenians are killed, and dozens of villages destroyed. In Bitlis, 102 villages are destroyed. On the same day the carnage of Armenians at Charsanjak and in its villages begins, taking almost 700 lives. In Balu, the body count of Armenian victims reaches 1200, Arabkir – 2800, Torgom – 500
1895 October 13	Most of the Armenians in Baghesh are killed by the Turks.
1895 October 16	Urfa in Yedesia is attacked and in spite of persistent defense, the Turkish army and the Turkish mob succeed in slaying around 10,000 Armenians. On the same day, the Turks inflict similar carnage in Shapin-Garahisar. 2000 Armenians are slain in the town and 3000 in 30 villages.
1895 October 21	The Armenian population in Erzingan, a town of Erzerum vilayet, is slaughtered by the Turks. 1000 Armenians are killed.
1895 October 23	3000 Armenians of Malatia are killed. 1000 houses are burned.
1895 October 25	Massacres follow in Bitlis, in the vilayet of Bitlis.
1895 October 26	Almost the entire Armenian population of Kharput is slaughtered by the Turks. The body count exceeds 4000. Mass massacres take place in Bayburd, vilayet of Erzerum. 165 villages are destroyed.
1895 October 27- 28	Massacres in Urfa, vilayet of Aleppo, the first by the Hamidie Kurdish regiments organized by the Turks for this purpose, confirmed by the report of the British consul, Fitzmaurice, dated March 16, 1896.
1895 October 30	Massacres in Erzerum, vilayet of Erzerum. 400 killed by the Turkish mob and soldiers.
1895 October 31	Massacres occur in Garin and in the vilayet of Erzerum. Around 2000 Armenians are killed; 43 villages are destroyed.
1895 October	Organized massacres of Armenians by Turks in Constantinople and Trebizond.
1895 November 1	Diarbekir carnage begins. 1000 Armenians are killed in the town and 30,000 more in the villages. 119 villages are destroyed. Massacres in Arabkir, vilayet of Kharput. 2,800 dead.
1895 November 3	Almost the whole Armenian population in Marzvan, around 700 people, are killed by the Turks.
1895 November 4	3,800 killed in the vilayet of Kharput by the Turks.
1895 November 10	Systematic Turkish army attacks on Van take place. The city of Van, in the vilayet of Van, is attacked by the Turkish Hamidian forces. Forced conversions to Islam in Kharput, vilayet of Kharput.
1895 November 11	Turkish army attacks the town of Balu, in the vilayet of Kharput. It results in 1680 Armenian deaths. Turkey proclaims a holy war (Djihad).

1895 November 12	Turks kill 1,500 Armenians in the vilayet of Sivas, and an equal number in Gurun.
1895 November 15-17	Armies of Sultan destroy Aintab in the vilayet of Aleppo and kill 1500 Armenians.
1895 November 18	Massacres in Marash, vilayet of Aleppo. 1,000 Armenians are killed.
1895 November 18-20	160 villages around the city of Van are robbed and pillaged.
1895 November 28	In Zklus, 200 Armenians are killed; in Amasia, 100; and in Aleppo, 1000.
1895 December	Armenians of the villages of Norduz, Hayots Dzor, Gavash and Karchevan in the vilayet of Bitlis are set upon by fire and sword. 100 villages are destroyed. On December 28 in the town of Ourfa (Yedesia), 8000 Armenians are slaughtered. 100 villages around Mush, vilayet of Bitlis, are destroyed.
1895 December 28	A battalion of Turkish-led Hamidian forces, proceeding from Aleppo, encircles the town of Urfa. Massacres on the following day kill 8,000 Armenians. This is confirmed by the above-mentioned report of the British consul, Fitzmaurice, dated March 16, 1896, as well as by the French consul.
1896 June 8-15	The population of Van and nearby villages is destroyed. The major Armenian population of Sgherdi is decimated and survivors are forcibly converted to Islam. In 40 villages of Khizan, 400 people, and in 20 villages of Mamrzank 160 people are slain, and the others are converted to Islam forcibly. All Armenian villages of Shatakh are devastated and turned to ruins. 11 villages of Gyumushkhane are destroyed and most of their population slain.
1896 Middle of June	Turks break their vow and near St. Bartholemew Church, attack Armenians in Van seeking to defend themselves, murdering 1500 people. The survivors flee to Persia.
1896 September 2	Armenian population of Agn is destroyed. Half the houses in the city are burned. Joint verbal note of protest issued by the Great Powers, accusing the Sublime Porte directly.
1896 September 3	In the city of Mush and its villages, 250 Armenians are killed by the Turks.
1896 November 10	In Agn's Binkaya village, 250 Armenians are killed. Of the 250 houses there, only 12 houses remain standing.
1894-1896	300,000 Armenians become the victims of the carnages inflicted by the Turks. In addition, almost as many flee the country.
1900 August	Mothers and children are cut down by sword in Sassoun's Spaghanak villages by sudden attacks late at night.

1904 May	7500 Armenians are slain in Sassoun by the Turks.
1908 April 14	Violent outbreaks in Adana (in Cilicia) and in near-by towns, in an attempted counter-revolution by Turks supporting the Sultan.
1909 April 15-25	30,000 Armenians are slaughtered in Adana, Tarsus and other towns of Cilicia.
1914- beginning of 1915	The Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople estimates the Armenian population in Turkey at 2,100,000.
1915 January	The Turkish authorities decree the demobilization and disarmament of the Armenians. The Armenians are grouped into small work battalions used for garbage details and similar tasks. The Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army, under the pretext of work details, are marched and killed in cold blood or used for target practice.
1915 February 26	War Minister Enver convenes 75 top ranking Ittihadists. This secret meeting finalizes the details of the plan to carry out Genocide of the Armenians. Evidence indicates that the decision to carry out the Genocide was made some years earlier.
1915 April 8	The process of removing the Armenian population of Zeitun commences. Taking advantage of the defense staged by a group of young Armenians, the Turkish army invades Zeitun, with the assistance of local Turks, to re-establish control.
1915 April 15	Talaat, Enver and Nazem send a secret order to the local governments for the removal and extermination of Armenians in Turkey.
1915 April 15-18	The Turkish forces destroy 80 villages and slay 24,000 Armenians in the vilayet and city of Van. The Turks accuse the Armenians of collaboration with the Russian troops.
1915 April 24	800 Armenian leaders, writers and intellectuals are arrested in Constantinople and murdered. The barbaric Armenian Genocide begins. This is a most important date for all Armenians today. It represents the date for commemorating the Armenian Genocide each year throughout the world.
1915 April 27-30	The forced removal and deportation of Dyurt Yol's Armenian population begins.
1915 May 15	Turkish forces begin the process of removal and deportation of the Armenian population from villages in the vilayet of Erzerum.
1915 June 1	12,000 Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army are massacred in Balu, vilayet of Diarbekir.
1915 June 12 –	Turkish armies slay or remove Armenians of Shapin Garahisar, who tried to defend themselves.

July 3	
1915 June 15	21 leaders of the Hnchakyan Party are hanged publicly in Constantinople.
1915 June 24	Massacres and deportations of the inhabitants of Shabin Karahissar begin.
1915 June 25	The removal and deportation of the Armenians of the city of Sivas begin.
1915 June 26	The removal of the Armenian population of Kharput and Trebizond vilayets are commenced by the Turkish army.
1915 June 27	Mass removals and deportations of Armenians begin in Samsun.
1915 July 1	Assyrians and Armenians are deported from Medzpin (Nisibe), Tel-Ermen (Hill of the Armenians), Bitlis, vilayet of Bitlis, Mardin and surrounding regions.
1915 July 3	The massacres of the Armenian population of Mush, Sassoun and Bitlis vilayets begin.
1915 July 10	The Armenian population of Malatia is deported.
1915 July 13	Self-defense of Musa mountain begins.
1915 July 27	The Armenian population of Cilicia and Antioch is deported.
1915 July 28	The removal of the Armenian population of the Cilician cities, Aintab and Qilise, is carried out.
1915 July 29	Deportations begin from Aintab and Kilisse, in Cilicia.
1915 July 30	Deportations begin from Suedia, in Cilicia.
1915 August 16	Deportations begin from Marash in Cilicia and Konia in western Asia Minor.
1915 August 10- 19	Removal and deportations begin of Armenians from Smyrna (Nikodemia), Brusa, Bartizak, Adabazar and surrounding areas.
1915 August 19	Removal and deportation begin of Armenian population of Urfa in Yedesia.
1915 September 15	Rashid, Governor of Diarbekir, sends cable to Talaat, the Minister of the Interior, announcing that the number of Armenians "expelled" from Diarbekir has reached 120,000.

1916 March 7	Talaat, Minister of the Interior, sends a cable to the Aleppo Prefecture, ordering the extermination of children at military installations.
1918 October 30	The armistice of Moudros ends the war between the Allies and Turkey. Global estimates of the campaign of extermination: close to 1,500,000 Armenians dead.
1918 November	Defeated Turkey recognizes the small Armenian Republic whose territory consists only of a small fraction of former Armenian lands. Turkey also cedes to it the vilayets of Kars and Ardahan the following year. This transfer proves to be only temporary.
1920 January 13 and for months following	Various trials take place in Constantinople and a number of Turkish officials and Young Turks are convicted and sentenced to death for their involvement in the crimes against the Armenian people.
1920 February	French forces in post-war occupation of Cilicia unexpectedly withdraw. Turks take advantage of the opportunity and kill 30,000 Armenians.
1921 May 16	The independent Armenian Republic, in existence since May 28, 1918, is transformed into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia.
1922 September	Kemal Ataturk's forces seize and set fire to the city of Smyrna and engage in a rampage, killing Greeks and Armenians. 150,000 perish.
1923 April 25	Unrepentant Turkey enacts the law of "abandoned property" which provides for the confiscation of all property abandoned by Armenians absent from the country, regardless of the date, reason or conditions of their departure.
1923 July 24	The Treaty of Lausanne is signed by the new Republic of Turkey and the Great Powers. The Treaty recognizes full Turkish sovereignty over all its territory, and contains no provisions about Armenia.
1923 September	Turkey adopts a law which prohibits the return of Armenians who left Cilicia or any of the eastern vilayets whether or not they had left voluntarily.

Belgium (Senate)

March 26, 1998

"...that the recognition of mistakes and crimes of the past is a precondition for reconciliation between peoples and that there cannot be peace without justice..."

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

The Senate,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Canada (House of Commons)

April 21, 2004

"That this House acknowledges the Armenian genocide of 1915 and condemns this act as a crime against humanity."

Pursuant to Standing Order 93(1), the House proceeded to the taking of the deferred recorded division on the motion of Ms. Dalphond-Guiral (Laval Centre), seconded by Mr. Assadourian (Brampton Centre), Mr. Kenney (Calgary Southeast) and Ms. McDonough (Halifax), — That this House acknowledge the Armenian genocide of 1915 and condemn this act as a crime against humanity. (Private Members' Business M-380)

The question was put on the motion and it was agreed to on the following division:

YEAS: 153, NAYS: 68

Cyprus (House of Representatives)

April 29, 1982

Resolution Unanimously Adopted By The House of Representatives
of the Republic of Cyprus on the 29th April, 1982

The House of Representatives

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

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

France (Law Signed by President Jacques Chirac)

January 29, 2001

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

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

France publicly recognizes the Armenian Genocide of 1915.

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

Done at Paris on January 29, 2001.

Jacque Chirac

For the President of the Republic:

Prime Minister Lionel Jospin

Greece (Parliament)

April 25, 1996

Hellenic Parliament Resolution 2397/1996

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

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

Article 1

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

Article 2

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

Article 3

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

Italy (Chamber of Deputies)

November 16, 2000

Resolution

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

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

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

Lebanon (Chamber of Deputies)

May 11, 2000

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

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

Russian Federation (State Duma of Federal Assembly)

April 14, 1995

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sweden (Parliament)

March 29, 2000

An official statement and recognition of the Genocide of the Armenians is important and necessary. In 1985 the UN and the European Parliament established the fact that the Ottoman Empire had committed genocide against the Armenian people in the beginning of the 20th century.

The Standing Committee [on Foreign Affairs] is of the opinion that the greater openness Turkey demonstrates, the stronger Turkey's democratic identity will be.

It is therefore important that unbiased independent and international research on the genocide committed against the Armenian people be carried out.

It is of great importance that an increasing openness and historical understanding of the events of 1915 and thereafter be developed. An improvement in this respect would also be of importance for the stability and the development in the whole Caucasus region."

United States (House of Representatives)

September 12, 1984

98th Congress
2nd Session

H.J. Resolution 247 [House Joint Resolution 247]

To designate April 24, 1985, as

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

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

Passed the House of Representatives September 10, 1984.

Attest: Benjamin J. Guthrie, Clerk.

United States (Senate)

May 11, 1920

66th Congress
2nd Session

Senate Resolution 359

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

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

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

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

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

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

Uruguay (Law)

March 26, 2004

Day of Recognition for the Armenian Martyrs

Bill Number 17.752

Article 1

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

Article 2

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

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

Uruguay (Senate and House of Representatives)

April 20, 1965

Law No. 13.326

Day of Remembrance for the Armenian Martyrs

Legislative Power.

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

Decree

Article 1.

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

Article 2.

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

Article 3.

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

Article 4.

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

Article 5.

Communicate, etc.

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

Martin R. Echegoyen

President

Jose Pastor Salvanach

Secretary

Vatican (Joint Declaration)

September 27, 2001

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

Poland (Sejm)

April 19, 2005

SEJM OF POLAND RECOGNIZED ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

A bill by Presidium of the Sejm was passed in Poland. The bill states that "Memories about the atrocities of these years are the moral duty of all people of good will. While integrating Turkey in EU, EU demands to recognise the Armenian Genocide officially and establish official relations with Republic of Armenia". The bill will be sent to the Senate for approval as well. The Polish Foreign Ministry lobbied against the passage of the bill.

According to Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, Speaker of the Sejm, that the members of parliament undertook the decision to recognize the Armenian Genocide, understanding perfectly that the Turkish government still does not want to accept responsibility for the extermination of Armenians in 1915. He affirmed that this event did take place, there should be no doubt that responsibility falls on Turks, and that Turkish documents confirm this. "At the same time, I understand that this it is difficult for Turks to accept, politically and psychologically, even though it took place three generations ago....Nevertheless, we know that the clear need for obeisance of this kind of tragic event is unshakable, and moral considerations force us to do what we have done. The Turkish Foreign Ministry is not right (saying that Poland's decision is anti-Turkish), and I can not accept that criticism."

Germany (Bundestag)

June 15, 2005

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

Motion by the parliamentary groups of SPD, CDU/CSU, BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN and FDP

Commemorating the expulsion and massacre of the Armenians in 1915 – Germany must make her contribution to the reconciliation between Turks and Armenians.

The Bundestag may resolve:

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

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

The German Bundestag is painfully aware from its own national experience how hard it is for every people to face the dark sides of its past. But it also believes that facing one's own history fairly and squarely is necessary and constitutes an important basis for reconciliation. This is true, in particular, within the European culture of remembrance to which belongs the open discussion of the dark sides of each national history.

Against this Background, the German Bundestag deplores the fact that a full discussion of these events of the past in the Ottoman Empire is still not possible today in Turkey and that scientists and writers who wish to deal with this aspect of Turkish history are being prosecuted and exposed to public defamation. However, the German Bundestag also sees positive signs that Turkey, to an ever-increasing degree, approaches this subject within the above European culture of remembering. Examples include:

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

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

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

Both major churches in Germany, in particular, have for many years advocated the integration of the Armenians from Turkey. The Armenian communities which have settled here offer the opportunity of reconciliation and remembrance. Particularly in view of the large number of Turkish Muslims living in Germany, it is an important task to bring to mind the past and so to make the first steps toward reconciliation.

But dealing with these historical events also has an immediate significance for the present. Today, the normalization of the relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia is of paramount interest and importance for the future of the entire region. What is urgently needed is to establish trust-forming measures on both sides as defined in the OSCE principles. Turkey opening the borders to Armenia could, for instance, help to relieve Armenia's isolation and promote the taking up of diplomatic relations.

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

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

The German Bundestag requests the Federal Government

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

Armenians

- to help Turkey and Armenia to normalize their interstate relationships.

Reasons for the motion

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

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

According to independent estimates, more than 1 million Armenians fell victim to the deportations and mass murders. Many independent historians, parliaments and international organizations describe the expulsion and annihilation of the Armenians as genocide.

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

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

The German Empire as the major military ally of the Ottoman Empire was also deeply involved in these events. Both the political and the military leadership of the German Empire

had been aware of the persecution and murder of the Armenians right from the beginning. The files of the German Foreign Office resting on reports by the German embassy and consulates in the Ottoman Empire document the planned and organized execution of the massacres and deportations. In spite of urgent requests by many German personalities in science, politics and the churches, among these politicians like Philipp Scheidemann, Karl Liebknecht or Matthias Erzberger, and eminent persons of the protestant and catholic churches such as Adolf von Harnack and Lorenz Werthmann, the German Reich government failed to exert pressure on its Ottoman ally.

When the protestant theologian Dr. Johannes Lepsius presented the outcome of his research in Istanbul to the German Reichstag on October 5, 1915, the whole of the subject of the Armenians was censored by the German Reich government. In 1916, the German military censorship banned and confiscated Johannes Lepsius' "Report on the Situation of the Armenian People in Turkey". The copies of this documentation which Lepsius had sent directly to the delegates of the German Reichstag were intercepted by the authorities and not handed to the delegates until after the war in 1919.

This almost forgotten policy of repression by the German Reich demonstrates that this chapter of history still waits to be dealt with in a satisfactory manner here in Germany.

Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe

April 24, 2001

Recognition of the Armenian genocide

Doc. 9056

Written Declaration No. 320

Commemorating today the anniversary of the first genocide of the 20th century -- the Armenian genocide -- and paying tribute to the memory of its victims;

Condemning all manifestations of the crime of genocide as crimes perpetrated against humanity;

Considering that the unequivocal repudiation of the acts of genocide is a necessary means to help prevent its recurrence;

Taking note of the fact that various European institutions, parliaments of a number of member countries of the Council of Europe have adopted resolutions and statements recognising the Armenian genocide, in the case of the National Assembly of France a law;

Considering that the recognition by the international community of the Armenian genocide will eventually allow the Turkish authorities a similar admission, and as a result will lead to improved relations between Armenia-Turkey, and thus, contribute to regional peace, security and stability,

The undersigned, members of the Assembly, appeal to all the members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to take the necessary steps for the recognition of the genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians at the beginning of the 20th century.

European Parliament

June 18, 1987

Resolution on a political solution to the Armenian question
Doc. A2-33/87

The European Parliament,

-having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr. Saby and others on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 2-737/84),

-having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr. Kolokotronis on the Armenian question and the declaration of 24 April as Armenian Genocide Day (Doc. V 2-360/85),

-having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 2-33/87),

A. having regard to:

-the motion for a resolution by Mr. Jaquet and others on the situation of the Armenian people (Doc. 1-782/81),

-the motion for a resolution by Mrs. Duport and Mr. Glinne on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 1-735/83), and

-the written question by Mrs. Duport on the Armenian question,

-the resolution of the Ministers with responsibility for Cultural Affairs, meeting within the Council of 13 November 1986 on the protection of Europe's architectural heritage, including that outside the territory of the Community.

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

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

D. whereas the Turkish State rejects the charge of genocide as unfounded,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Joint Declaration by France, Great Britain, Russia

May 24, 1915

Telegram

Amembassy [American Embassy],
Constantinople.

French Foreign Office requests following notice be given Turkish Government. Quote. May 24th

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

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

United Nations War Crimes Commission Report

May 28, 1948

United Nations Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights
Report Prepared by the United Nations War Crimes Commission
In Accordance with the Request Received from the United Nations
Restricted — E/CN.4/W.20 — 28 May 1948
Information Concerning Human Rights Arising from Trials of War Criminals

II. Developments during the First World War

1. The Massacres of the Armenians in Turkey

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

undertakes equally to recognize such Tribunal."

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

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

**United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and
Protection of Minorities**

July 2, 1985

United Nations Economic and Social Council
Commission on Human Rights
Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities
Thirty-eighth session
Item 4 of the provisional agenda

E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/6 — 2 July 1985

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

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

[Paragraph 24]

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

[Paragraph 73]

73. "In place of the law of the jungle of "vae victis" ("woe to the conquered") Hugo Grotius laid the foundation for international law during the terrible Thirty Years War in the Seventeenth Century with his work *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (Concerning the Laws of War and Peace). Following the founding of the Red Cross two centuries later, a series of Geneva and Hague Conventions were ratified seeking to establish international norms of conduct even in warfare. There were however no agreed sanctions or procedure to deal with war criminals. After the First World War, the defeated Germans themselves held some war crime trials in Leipzig in 1922, but these were unsuccessfully organized and 888 people out of the 901 charged in them were acquitted. The Turks also in 1919-20 held trials: not of 'war criminals' but of some of the Ottomans guilty of the Armenian genocide. When in the Second World War awareness of the extraordinary scale of the Nazi crimes became widespread, a European

advisory Commission on War Crimes was set up to consider, as it was told by the French “an enemy who has sought to annihilate whole nations, who has elevated murder to a political system, so that we no longer have the duty of punishing merely those who commit but also those who plan the crime”.⁵⁶ As early as January 1942 the representatives of nine occupied countries conferred in London and issued the St. James’s Declaration that “international solidarity is necessary to avoid the repression of these acts of violence simply by acts of vengeance on the part of the general public and in order to satisfy the sense of justice of the civilized world”.⁵⁷

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

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

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