

Հանդեսը՝ մասնագետների ավելի բայն շրջանակներին հաղորդակից դարձնելու միտումով, շարունակությամբ ընթերցողներին է ներկայացնում Հայոց ցեղասպանությանն առնչվող փաստագրական նյութեր՝ ըստ Զոքյան ինստիտուտի *"The Ottoman Empire: a Troubled Legacy"* (Օսմանյան կայսրություն. տագնապալի ժառանգություն) հրատարակության:¹
Նյութերը հավաքել և հրատարակության է պատրաստել ՎԱՀԱԳՆ ՏՄՏԻՅԱՆԸ:

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: A TROUBLED LEGACY VIEWS, COMMENTS AND JUDGMENTS BY NOTED EXPERTS WORLDWIDE

Contents

PART III

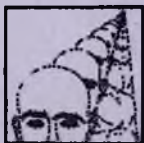
The Record of Massacres: The World War I Genocide Against the Armenians (Western Sources)

1. Great Britain
2. United States
3. France
4. Others
5. World War Statesmen
 - A. Western Allies. Entente Powers
 - B. Central Powers: Germany and Austria

PART III

The Record of Massacres: The World War I Genocide Against the Armenians (Western Sources)

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ՐԱԿՈՒՄՆԵՐ



1. Great Britain

Arnold Toynbee's Works:

Armenian Atrocities: The Murder of a Nation. (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1915).

¹ Տպագրվում է ըստ 1997թ. նույնանուն հրատարակության (Քեմբրիջ, 1997թ.):

² Մկիզբը՝ հանդեսի նախորդ համարում («Հայոց ցեղասպանության պատմության և պատմագրության հարցեր», N6, 2002):

p. 17 ...the intermittent sufferings of the Armenian race have culminated in an organized, cold-blooded attempt on the part of its Turkish rulers to exterminate it once and for all by methods of inconceivable barbarity and wickedness...

p. 23 The evidence is indeed abundant and direct, and it is also appalling in the uniformity with which it unfolds its otherwise scarcely credible tale.

The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire 1915-16 by Viscount Bryce. Compilation of the documents by Toynbee. (London, His Majesty's Stationary Office. Miscellaneous No. 31, 1916).

p. 637 The fundamental uniformity of procedure is more sinister than the incidental aggravations of the crime by Kurds, peasants, gendarmes or local authorities. It is damning evidence that the procedure itself, which set in motion all the other forces of evil, was conceived and organized by the Central Government at Constantinople.

p. 653 ...the Young Turkish Ministers and their associates ...are directly ...responsible, from beginning to end for the gigantic crime that devastated the Near East in 1915.

Turkey: A Past and a Future (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1917).

p. 8 ...Turkey, the Ottoman State, is not a unity ...it is a pretension, enforced by bloodshed and violence whenever and wherever the Ottoman Government has power...

p. 20 The Armenians were rounded up and deported by regular troops and gendarmes; they were massacred on the road by bands of *çetes*, consisting chiefly of criminals released from prison by the Government for this work...

The Western Question in Greece and Turkey (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

p. 265 ...The attempt to exterminate the Armenians in 1915 ...hundreds of thousands of people were done to death and thousands turned into robbers and murderers by the administrative action of a few dozen criminals in control of the Ottoman Empire.

p.ix I learnt, I believe, nearly all that there is to be learnt to the discredit of the Turkish nation and their rule over other peoples.

Acquaintances (London, Oxford University Press. 1967).

With reference to the Armenian genocide, Toynbee wrote:

p. 240 I was not only haunted by the victim's sufferings

p. 241 and by the criminals' deeds... I was exercised by the question how it could be possible for human beings to do what those perpetrators of genocide had done ...the deportations were deliberately conducted with a brutality that was calculated to take the maximum toll of lives *en route*.

Experiences (London, Oxford University Press, 1969).

p. 241 I am old enough to remember the horror at the massacre of Armenian Ottoman subjects in the Ottoman Empire in 1896 at the instigation of

infamous Sultan 'Abd-al-Hamid II... The massacre of Armenian subjects in the Ottoman Empire in 1896... was amateur and ineffective compared with the largely successful

- p. 341 attempt to exterminate [them] during the First World War in 1915... [This] genocide ... was carried out... under the cloak of legality by cold-blooded governmental action. These were not mass-murders committed spontaneously by mobs of private people.

Mankind and Mother Earth: A Narrative History of the Earth (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1976).

- p. 585 The atrociousness of the two great 20th century wars was aggravated by 'genocide.' In the First World War the Turks committed genocide against the Armenians; in the Second World War the Germans committed genocide against the Jews.

Toynbee to Prof. V. N. Dadrian in a 6 December 1973 personal letter

The genocide of the Armenians in 1916 was a capital crime.

A. J. Grant and Harold Temperley

Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1789-1950, 6th ed. (London, Longmans, 1962).

- p. 449 The tragedy of Armenia was the saddest of all the countless horrors associated with the great war of 1914. History is not a censor of morals. Yet it is the duty
- p. 450 of the historian to draw attention to any exceptional event or departure from ordinary standards, and both were found in Armenia during the 1914 war. Unfortunately there is no doubt where the responsibility lies. On the Turks of this period of vigorous Young Turkish nationalism lies the blame for massacres and cruelties such as authentic witnesses had never before related. The Armenian tragedy is a page of history which the Turks dyed purple with innocent blood.

J. A. R. Marriott

The Eastern Question. An Historical Study in European Diplomacy. 4th ed. (Oxford, Clarendon, 1958).

- p. 511 A Turkish Government, controlled, subsidized, and supported by Germany, has been guilty of massacres in Armenia and Syria more horrible than any recorded in the history even of those unhappy countries.
- p. 536 The problem of minorities, racial and religious, had been to a large extent solved by the simple method of extermination.

Lord Kinross

Within the Taurus (London, J. Murray, 1954).

- p. 69 The Turks are still sensitive on the topic of the Armenians: unnecessarily, since the massacres of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are now a matter of past Ottoman history: a deplorable but perhaps inevitable episode in the perennial struggle between East and West.

Alan Palmer

The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire (London, J. Murray, 1993).

- p. 234 No one knows how many Armenians perished during the war. Official Turkish estimates put the total figure at about 300,000; maximum Armenian claims suggest a figure of some two million, killed during what is regarded as a systematic campaign of genocide. Sadly, at least 1.3 million Armenian deaths seem probable. This estimate, if correct, means that in the war and its aftermath as many Armenians were slain as were soldiers serving the French Republic.

David Marshall Lang

The Armenians. A People in Exile (London, G. Allen and Unwin, 1988).

- p. 20 The fact that the Armenian genocide was planned by the young Turk Junta well before the outbreak of the First World War is shown by the skillfully laid plans for the scheme and its lightning execution when the signal was given in the late spring of 1915. From 1913 onwards, in all towns and villages inhabited by Armenians, governors and police chiefs had been appointed who were known for their devotion to the aims and dictates of the Turk regime. Specially briefed in Constantinople, they were supplied with secret orders giving detailed instructions for the extermination operation. In cases known to me from personal inquiry, friendly Turkish official got wind of these projected measures, and gave timely warning to Armenian friends some weeks before the genocide began.

The essence of the plan was secrecy. Since many telegraph operators, cipher clerks and local government officials themselves were Armenians, care was taken to avoid putting detailed instructions on paper. In many cases, the extermination scheme was to be put into operation on receipt of the simple message: 'Take care of the Armenians.' The carrying out of this meticulously planned annihilation programme forms the subject of the following chapter —and it does not make pleasant reading.

2. United States

W.W. Gottlieb

Studies in Secret Diplomacy During the First World War (London, G. Allen & Unwin, 1957).

- p. 109 ...The repulse of the Entente removed the restraint from the hand holding the scimitar over the Armenians' heart. The Turks were jealous of a race more agile and culturally and economically more powerful than

themselves... They needed scapegoats for the defeat at Sarikamish in January [1915] and the fall of Van late in May...

- p. 110 They wanted to popularize the unpopular war by directing greed and fanaticism to the spoilation and destruction of the largest and richest non-Moslem elements. Such were the motives of the Porte in deliberately disturbing the neighborly peace between the Turks and their victims and inciting the former to hatred and atrocities.

Ulrich Trumpener

Germany and the Ottoman Empire 1914-1918 (Princeton, N.J. Princeton Univ. Press, 1968).

- p. 67 It is now fairly clear that the Porte's ruthless campaign against its Armenian subjects in 1915 and thereafter was intended primarily to decimate, and to disperse the remnants of, an "unwanted" ethnic minority.
- p. 203 In fact most of the available evidence points to the conclusion that a systematic decimation of the Armenian population in the eastern provinces had already been decided on by the *Ittihad ve Terakki* regime, and that the troubles in Van and elsewhere merely served as a convenient excuse for getting a program of mass deportation and large-scale extermination.
- p. 268 A review of the Armenian tragedy during World War I suggests the following conclusions. First, the decimation of the Ottoman Armenian population between 1915 and 1918 through physical violence, hunger, and disease was not the unfortunate by-product of an otherwise legitimate security program but the result of a deliberate effort by the *Ittihad ve Terakki* regime to rid the Anatolian heartland of a politically troublesome ethnic group. While there were undoubtedly some districts behind the Transcaucasian front where deportations and other precautionary measures were militarily justified, and the sweeping geographic scope of the Porte's anti-Armenian program and its indiscriminate application to men, women, and children alike suggest that this was a politically inspired attempt to achieve a kind of "final solution" of the Armenian question in Anatolia.

Leo Kuper

"The Turkish Genocide of Armenians, 1915—1917" in *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*. R.G. Hovannisian, ed. (New Brunswick, N. J., Transaction Books, 1987).

- p. 53 Turkish explanations can constitute no argument for massacres of the men, nor for deportation of the women and children, the aged and infirm, by long incredibly arduous forced marches, nor for the choice of desolate wastes as the destination of the survivors of the death caravans. The whole plan of the deportation and the testimony of eyewitnesses are clear evidence of an exterminatory intention to so reduce the Turkish-Armenian population as to dispose of the Armenian Question once and for all. There is as little credibility in this line of Turkish defense as in the defense of the

Burundi government that in its slaughter of the Hutu (variously estimated as between 100,000 and 200,000) it was punishing, though admittedly with some understandable excesses, only those guilty of massacres and planned genocide against the Tutsi.

The Turkish government's denial of the genocide is aggressively pursued in the attempt to expunge it from historical memory. This is notwithstanding the overwhelming contemporary testimony to the crime, and past historical indications of a genocidal threat in the relations of the Turkish rulers to their Armenian subjects. As we look back on events during the period of the disintegration of the Turkish Empire, it seems clear that there were early warning signals of this threat of genocide, and that it was deeply rooted in the structure of the Ottoman Empire, in the history of Turkish-Armenian relations, and in the involvement of outside powers in the affairs of the empire.

Serge A. Zenkovsky

Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia (Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press, 1967).

- p. 111 The climax of Pan-Turkic political agitation was reached on the eve of World War I. Patriotic journalists already envisioned the fall of Russia and the rise of a Turanian empire on its ruins. The massacre in 1914-1916 of one and half million Armenians was largely conditioned by the desire of the Young Turks to eliminate the Armenian obstacle which separated Ottoman Turks from the Turks of Azerbaijan, and to prepare the way for the territorial unification of the 'Oğuz,' or southeastern group.

Terence Des Pres

The Survivor. An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps (New York, Quokka, 1978).

- p. 52 In Turkey in 1915 a million people were massacred as part of a deliberate policy to rid the country of its Armenian population.

Roger Adelson

London and the Invention of the Middle East. Money Power and War, 1902 - 1922 (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1995).

- p. 132 ...Armenian victims of the Turks during World War I, and the first genocide of the twentieth century.

Feruz Kazemzadeh

The Struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951)

- p. 11 The Turks had only one answer to troubles with subject peoples — massacre, and from then onwards Armenian massacres became a permanent feature of Turkish life.

Herbert Adams Gibbons

Spencer Trask Lecturer, Princeton University, 1919. "Armenia in the World War" in *the Lausanne Treaty and Armenia*. The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty publication. (New York, 1926).

p. 128 [The war entailed] the virtual extermination of Armenians in many regions of the Ottoman Empire...

p. 129 Nearly a million Armenians died in Turkey...

The Blackest Page of Modern History. Events in Armenia in 1915. The Facts and Responsibilities. (N.Y., Putnam's 1916).

p. 56 The deliberate, minutely-planned Armenian massacres and deportations carried on without interruption from April to November, 1915, must have been conceived by someone, and perpetrated for some purpose.

Franklin H. Littell

"Breaking the Succession of Evil" *Problems of Genocide* (Cambridge, MA, Zoryan Institute, 1997)

p. 28 ...the Armenian Genocide and the Genocide of the Jews spotlight, in a scholarly way, certain pathological conditions that developed in Western civilization...

p. 28 ...governmental incitement and the use of criminal elements to staff the killing units were crucial aspects of the genocide of the Armenians.

p. 39 In the pan-Turkic or pan-Turanian creed, which had such fatal consequences for the Armenians, the dream of 'ethnic cleansing' was basic.

Ben Kiernan

"Enver Pasha and Pol Pot: A Comparison of the Armenian and Cambodian Genocides" *Problems of Genocide* (Cambridge, MA, Zoryan Institute, 1997).

p. 61 Contemporary official documents reveal that the Young Turk regime decided 'to annihilate all Armenians living in Turkey'. Talaat did order that 'to save appearances, a show of gentle dealing shall be made for a time.' Court martials held after the war by the Ottoman Sultan were to find Enver and Talaat guilty of crimes against the Armenians and sentence them to death *in absentia*.

Roger W. Smith

"Denial of the Armenian Genocide" in *Genocide. A Critical Bibliographic Review*, vol. 2., I. Charny, ed. (London, Mansell, 1991)

p. 63 The Turkish Republic, established in 1923, is not guilty of physical genocide against Armenians, but it continues to the present to deny that the Young Turk government engaged in massive destruction of Armenians from 1915-17, resulting in the death of one million men, women, and children, and the elimination of the Armenian community from its homeland of nearly three thousand years.

Roger Smith, Eric Markusen, Robert Jay Lifton

"Professional Ethics and the Denial of Armenian Genocide" *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 9, 1 (Spring 1995).

- p. 1 This article examines Turkish efforts to deny the Armenian genocide of 1915-17. Specifically, it exposes an arrangement by which the government of Turkey has channeled funds into a supposedly objective research institute in the United States, which in turn paid the salary of a historian who served that government in its campaign to discredit scholarship on the Armenian genocide. After a short review of the Armenian genocide and a range of Turkish denial efforts, three documents are reproduced in full. They include a letter that Robert Jay Lifton received from the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, and two documents that were inadvertently included with the Lifton letter—a memorandum to the Turkish Ambassador and a draft letter to Lifton for the Ambassador's signature. After a critical analysis of each document, we discuss the harmfulness of genocide denial and explore why intellectuals might engage in the denial of known genocides. The article concludes with reflections on the relationship between scholars and truth.

Christopher Simpson

The Splendid Blond Beast, Money, Law, and Genocide in the Twentieth Century. (New York, Grove Press, 1993).

- p. 28 It was the Turkish government's attempted genocide of that country's large Armenian population that had led to the demand for a clear international ban on crimes against humanity. Turkey was the center of the Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians were a large minority group whose ancestral home clustered around Mount Ararat in eastern Turkey. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, Turkish religious extremists and security forces seeking racial and religious purity in Turkey had repeatedly instigated pogroms, murdering tens of thousands of Armenians. One result was that militant Armenians took up arms and began pressing for political independence.

Shortly before World War I, a secretive and disciplined cabal of young Turkish military officers known as the *Ittihad* took power in Turkey and brought the country into an alliance with Germany. These were the original "Young Turks", and their capacity for cruelty and violence still reverberates in that phrase today.

In the first months of World War I, the Young Turks instigated a national effort to exterminate the

Armenian population under the guise of modernization, suppressing domestic dissent, and securing Turkey's borders. The *Ittihad* bent the power of the Turkish state to their purpose. Beginning in late 1914 and accelerating over the next three years, the Turkish government rounded up Armenian men for forced labor, worked many to death building a trans-Turkish railway for German business interests, then shot the survivors. The government then secretly ordered mass executions of Armenian intellectual and political leaders in the spring of 1915. The state

also uprooted Armenian women and children from their homes and drove them into vast resettlement camps that were barren of supplies or shelter. When the camps became full, the Turks expelled the people into the deserts of what is today Syria and Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians died from shootings, starvation, exposure, and disease.

The state declared that all the property of deported Armenian families had been "abandoned," then confiscated it and used it to reward *Ittihad* activists and others who

- p. 29 participated in the extermination process. Many Turks prospered by liquidating Armenians' businesses, stealing their stocks, and seizing Armenians farms and real estate. The genocide was particularly cruel to Armenian women and girls, who became the objects of pervasive, tacitly sanctioned campaign of rape. Turkish police encouraged gangs of thugs to prey upon the deportees as a means of humiliating and destroying these women. Meanwhile, some Armenian girls were able to escape deportation by announcing a religious conversion to Islam, and in this way some Turkish men secured Armenian concubines and house slaves.

Lewis Einstein

Inside Constantinople, A Diplomat's Diary During the Dardanelles Expedition. (New York, E.P. Dutton, 1918).

Einstein during the war was Special Representative of the State Dept. at the Constantinople Embassy and author of many historical and literary works. His comments below are excerpted from the diary he kept while serving in Turkey during the war.

- p. 214 The persecution of Armenians is assuming unprecedented proportions, and it is carried out with nauseating thoroughness. (4 August, 1915 entry).
- p. 219 After the repulse of the Allies at the Dardanelles on March 18, the Committee believed the moment opportune for carrying into execution their ancient policy against the Armenians... At secret meetings held here, they decided to dispatch emissaries to all the provincial authorities through Asia Minor. Telegraphic orders were sent, accompanied by further verbal instructions (6 August 1915 entry).
- p. 231 The whole policy of extermination transcends one's capacity for indignation. (11 August 1916 entry).

3. France

Alfred Grosser

Preface in *Histoire du génocide arménien*, by Vahakn Dadrian (Paris, Stock, 1996).

- p.30 *Tous les documents concordent pour montrer qu'en 1915 (comme déjà en 1896), des atrocités ont été perpétrées contre les Arméniens par des foules fanatisées.*

English translation

All the documents concur in the fact that in 1915 (as earlier in 1896), mobs, driven to fanaticism, committed atrocities against the Armenians.

- p. 29 *les preuves de la volonté d'exterminer, de la part non des Turcs, mais de dirigeants turcs importants, sont plus fortes que celle d'une volonté hitlérienne claire avant 1941 ou 1942.*

English translation

The evidence of an intent to exterminate on the part of, not ordinary Turks, but influential Turkish leaders, is much stronger than of evidence of a Hitlerite intention before 1941 or 1942.

Pierre R. Lepine

Member, Académie des Sciences

- p. 230 *Au mois d'octobre 1925 j'ai été nommé par la Fondation Rockefeller et pour un an professeur à l'université américaine de Beyrouth où j'ai enseigné jusqu'en juillet 1926.*

English translation

In October 1925 I was named by the Rockefeller Foundation a professor of the American University of Beirut for a year where I taught until July 1926.

- p. 231 *Je puis donc témoigner, soit du fait des confidences qui m'ont été faites par les Arméniens eux-mêmes, soit par les constatations faites dans le désert, qu'il y a bien réellement eu vis-à-vis de la population arménienne une attitude des autorités turques que l'on veut aujourd'hui qualifier de génocide.*

English translation

I can testify then on the basis of testimony given by Armenians themselves as well as by observations made in the desert that, in fact, there had been toward the Armenian people a policy on the part of the Turkish authorities that today is called genocide.

Excerpted from *Le Crime de Silence. Le Génocide des Arméniens* (Paris, Flammarion, 1984), pp. 352-53.

René Pinon

La suppression des Arméniens. Méthode Allemande - Travail Turc (Paris, Librairie Académique, 1916).

- p. 59 *Ce qui frappe dans tous ces récits, c'est l'organisation régulière et systématique des massacres. Les allemands, à cet esprit d'ordre, reconnaîtront leurs alliés et disciples. Ce n'est pas une population qui se jette sur une autre dans une crise d'anarchie sauvage. Non; l'opération commence par un décret du gouvernement affiché dans les villages; les instructions arrivent de Constantinople aux fonctionnaires de rang élevé, et, par aux exécutants et aux exécuteurs. Le téléphone joue un grand rôle dans le lugubre drame.*

English translation

What is so striking in all these accounts is the methodical and systematic organization of the massacres. In this sense, the Germans will readily recognize their allies and disciples. One is not dealing here with a population pouncing upon another population in a crisis marked by savage anarchy. No; the operation commences through a governmental decree posted in the villages. The instructions, intended for high-ranking functionaries, arrive from Constantinople, through them, they are relayed to those to carry out the instructions, and to the actual executioners. The telephone plays a major role in the doleful drama.

- p. 27 ... *personne non plus ne ferait grief aux Turcs, engagés dans une terrible guerre, d'avoir réprimé, même durement, des insurrections qui auraient pu favoriser la marche de leurs ennemis. Mais il y a loin entre la répression impitoyable de révoltes et la destruction systématique et barbare de toute une population innocente.*

English translation

... no one would hold against the Turks, engaged in a terrible war, had they repressed, even with severity, in surrections that might have favored the advance of their enemies; no one would hold such action against the Turks. But there is a difference between the pitiless repression of revolts and the systematic and barbaric destruction of an entire and innocent population.

Emile Doumergue

L'Arménie, les massacres et la Question d'Orient, 2nd ed. (Paris, Foi et Vie, 1916).

- p. 24 *le plan d'extermination totale de la race arménienne fut préparé dans un secret complet; et le massacre fut organisé avec un soin, avec un calcul, avec une méthode...*

English translation

The plan of the total extermination of the Armenian race was prepared in complete secrecy and the massacre was organized carefully, calculatedly, methodically...

- p. 24-25 *On procéda au désarmement de la population arménienne et l'armement de la population musulmane. 30000 criminels furent libérés des prisons.*

English translation

They [the Turks] proceeded to disarm the Armenian population at the same time arming the Muslim population. 30,000 criminals were released from the prisons.

Fredric Macler

La nation arménienne, son passé, ses malheurs (Paris, Fischbacher, 1923).

- p. 54 *Les Turc employèrent les précédés les plus barbares. Suivant les instructions télégraphiques, émanées de Constantinople, on donna l'ordre d'évacuer toutes les localités. Si cette précaution pouvait paraître utile pour les provinces turques qui étaient en lisière de*

l'empire russe, elle perdait tout son sens pour les provinces qui en étaient éloignées de 700 à 1000 kilomètres.

English translation

The Turks employed the most barbaric procedures. On the basis of telegraphic instructions from Constantinople, orders were issued for the evacuation of [the Armenian inhabitants of] all the localities. Even if such a precautionary measure might appear useful for the Turkish Empire, it becomes entirely senseless for the provinces located at a distance of 700 to 1,000 kilometers.

In commenting on the fate of those Armenian deportees who escaped massacres and barely survived the exacting treks of deportation, this is what MacIer wrote:

p. 56 *Une bonne partie de ces déportés mourut en cours de route; ceux qui purent arriver dans les déserts de Syrie et de Mésopotamie furent massacrés, sur l'ordre du gouvernement turc. Rien qu'à Deir-el Zor, de sinistre mémoire, 200000 Arméniens furent anéantis en quelques jours.*

Les deux tiers de la population arménienne des six provinces furent ainsi exterminés 'par les méthodes les plus infernales et avec sang-froid', comme le déclara lord Robert Cecil, dans sa lettre du 3 October 1918, adressée à lord Bryce.

English translation

A large part of these deportees died *en route*; those who managed to arrive in the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia were massacred as a result of the order of the Turkish government. Alone in Der-el Zor of sinister memory, 200,000 Armenians were annihilated within a few days.

Two third of the Armenian population of the six provinces were thus exterminated 'cold-blooded and with most infernal methods' as stated by Lord Robert Cecil [British Assistant Foreign Minister 1918-19] in his letter of 3 October 1918, addressed to Lord Bryce.

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie

College of France

Le Tribunal des peuples se réunit à Paris pour évoquer le génocide des Arméniens. Je souhaite de tout coeur que cette intervention généreuse amène l'O.N.U. (et la Turquie) à reconnoître l'atroce vérité et à prendre les mesures réparatrices et 'conservatoires' qui s'imposent manière, fut infligé à une population innocente.

English translation

The Permanent People's Tribunal meets in Paris to evoke the genocide of the Armenians. I hope with all my heart that this generous intervention brings the United Nations (and Turkey) to recognize the atrocious truth and to take the measures of reparation and conservation that are needed, considering the irreparable damage which in any way was inflicted upon an innocent population.

Jacques de Morgan*Histoire du peuple arménien* (Paris, 1919).

- p. 276 *Il n'est pas au monde de langue qui soit assez riche, assez colorée pour dépeindre de pareilles horreurs, pour exprimer les souffrances morales et physiques endurées par ces innocents martyrs, avant que le ciel leur eût envoyé l'éternel sommeil. Epaves désespérées d'affreux massacres, témoins de la mort de tous les leurs, des êtres qui leur étaient chers, les privilégiées du sort étaient envoyées dans des camps de concentration et là soumises à des tortures, à des hontes pires que la mort.*

Lors de la prise d'assaut de Constantinople par Mahomet II, 50000 Grecs sont tombés sous le glaive des barbares et le Sultan a fait cesser le massacre: l'Europe alors en a tressailli d'horreur. Que ne doit-on pas penser aujourd'hui de ce supplice de la nation arménienne qui dure depuis tant d'années, depuis vingt-deux ans (1894-1916), et qui a déjà fait plus d'un million de victimes!

English translation

No human language is strong or colorful enough to depict such horrors, or to express the moral and physical sufferings of these innocent martyred people up to the moment of their release in death. Any survivors, hopeless wrecks from the frightful massacres wherein they have seen all their loved ones perish, are sent into concentration camps where torture and degradation worse than death await them.

When Mahomet II took Constantinople by storm, fifty thousand Greeks were put to the sword by the barbarians before their Sultan ordered the slaughter to cease. Europe was then seized with horror, but what must be our feelings today as we look back on the agony of the Armenian nation, an agony that lasted so many years, twenty-two long years in fact (1894-1916), and its toll of over a million victims!

4. Others**George Young**

Constantinople (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1992; reissue of 1926 London edition). He is the author of the monumental *Corps de droit Ottoman*, a seven-volume compendium of the corpus of Ottoman laws.

- p. 284 ... the appalling 'atrocities' which exterminated one-half of that unhappy people in 1915. It was a massacre disgraceful to the 'reformers' [the Young Turk Ittihadists], for whom the Armenians had fought loyally during the revolution and in the field. The German patrons of Turkey must share the responsibility of what took place during the war.

Josef Marquart

Die Entstehung und Wiederherstellung der armenischen Nation (The rise and reconstruction of the Armenian nation) (Berlin-Schöneberg, Alb. Sayffiaerth, 1919).

- p. 57 Without regard to age or gender 1,5 million Christians were partly

murdered and partly driven into the desert to succumb there to hunger or pestilence. The victims did not die as enemies in a regular fight; nor were they killed in the course of rebellions. Rather, they were murdered by their own government according to a certain plan.

Kurt Ziemke

Die neue Türkei. Politische Entwicklung 1914-1919 (The new Turkey, political development 1914-1919) (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1930).

- p. 272 ...the large-scale deportation of the Armenian population ... was attended by undeniable massacres....The Turkish measures attained their objective ...one million Armenians perished, the rest fled or was dispersed.

Wolfdieter Bihl

Die Kaukasus-Politik der Mittelmächte (The Caucasus Policy of the Central Powers) Part I (Vienna, H. Böhlau, 1975).

- p. 172 ...[the authorities] did not bother to deport the Armenians; rather, massacres were perpetrated on the spot. In a singular boodlust (one has to use this word) tortures and slaughters were resorted to... these measures were not limited to the theatres of war but were extended to the Black Sea coast, Cilicia and western Anatolia... In round figures, 1,100,000 Armenians fell victims to the first genocide of the 20th century.

Fridtjof Nansen

Armenia and the Near East (NY, DeCapo Press, 1976, [reprinted series]).

- p. 305 ...these deportation columns were merely a polite form of massacre; but in reality they were infinitely worse and more heartless; for instead of instant death they forced the victims to undergo all sort of inhuman sufferings, while this cowardly and barbarous plan was to save the face of the authorities by posting as necessary military measure.

S. Zurlinden

Der Weltkrieg (The World War) 2d vol. (Zürich, Institute Orell Hissli, 1918).

- p. 641 At issue here is the implementation of a comprehensive scheme aiming at nothing less than the total eradication and obliteration of the entire Armenian population residing within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire.

Fa'iz El-Ghusein

(Turkish educated Arab provincial district governor) *Martyred Armenta* (New York, G. H. Doran, 1918).

- p. 50 ... how can the Turkish government be justified
p. 51 at the present time in killing off an entire people.

Talcott Williams

Former Dean of Columbia University's Pulitzer School of Journalism. He was born in Turkey and lived there for 16 years. *Turkey. A World Problem of Today* (Garden City, NY, Doubleday, Page, 1921).

- p. 195-6 Of the schedule of instructions for massacre issued to the military authorities at Kharput [province] I have had a description from the notes of one who read it.

Erik J. Zürcher,

Turkey. A Modern History (London, I.B. Tauris, 1993).

- p. 121 ...an inner circle within the Committee of Union and Progress under direction of Talât wanted to 'solve' the Eastern Question by the extermination of the Armenians and that it used the relocation as a cloak for this policy. A number of provincial party chiefs assisted in this extermination, which was organized through the *Teskilat-i Mahsusa* under the direction of its political director (and CUP central committee member) Bahaeddin Şakir.

Armin T. Wegner

"Ein Vermächtnis in der Wüste" (A Testament in the Desert) *Berliner Tageblatt* No. 86, 23 February 1919. It appeared as an Open Letter to President Wilson.

As one of the few Europeans who have been eyewitnesses of the dreadful destruction of the Armenian people from its beginning in the fruitful fields of Anatolia up to the wiping out of the mournful remnants of the race on the banks of the Euphrates, I venture to claim the right of setting before you these pictures of misery and terror which passed before my eyes during nearly two years, and which will never be obliterated from my mind. I appeal to you at the moment.... When the Turkish Government, in the Spring of 1915, set about the execution of its monstrous project of exterminating the Armenians, all the nations of Europe were unhappily bleeding to exhaustion, owing to the tragic blindness of their mutual misunderstanding, and there was no one to hinder the lurid tyrants of Turkey from carrying onto the bitter end those revolting atrocities which can only be likened to the acts of a criminal lunatic....

...Here they died—slain by Kurds, robbed by gendarmes, shot, hanged, poisoned, stabbed, strangled, mown down by epidemics, drowned, frozen, parched with thirst, starved—their bodies left to putrefy or to be devoured by jackals. Children wept themselves to death, men dashed themselves against the rocks, mothers threw their babes into the brooks, women with child flung themselves, singing, into the Euphrates. They died all the deaths on the earth, the deaths of all the ages....

Every one who knows the events of this war in Anatolia, who has followed the fortunes of this nation with open eyes, knows that all those accusations which were brought, with great cunning and much diligence, against the Armenian race, are nothing but loathsome slanders fabricated by their unscrupulous tyrants, in order to shield themselves from the consequences of their own mad and brutal acts, and to hide their own incapacity for

reconciliation with the spirit of sincerity and humanity.

But even if all these accusations were based on the truth, they would never justify these cruel deeds committed against hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

Wolfgang Gust

Der Völkermord an den Armeniern. Die Tragödie des ältesten Christenvolkes der Welt (The Genocide of the Armenians. The tragedy of the world's oldest Christian people) (München/Vienna, Carl Hanser, 1993).

p. 12 In the shortest time the Turks killed one million Armenians.

Raymond Tanter

Former Visiting Professor at Hebrew University, White House Staffer with the Reagan Administration, Pentagon's Representative to NATO Arms Control Negotiations. "The Moral High Ground" *Jerusalem Post*. 25 April 1995.

In disputing assertions that there was no Turkish plan for genocide, Tanter advises those making these assertions to

Consult the volumes of the United States Official Documents on the Armenian Genocide, which discuss atrocities within and outside central Asia Minor. The documents chronicle communications between American embassies and consulates in and around Turkey with the U.S. State Department at the onset of the Armenian Genocide. Enough heart-rending evidence pours forth from these eyewitness reports to impress even a genocide denier.... Had the Great Powers paid more attention to the Armenian Genocide, perhaps Hitler would not have been so encouraged to engage in similar behavior later.

Christoph Dinkel

"German Officers and the Armenian Genocide" *Armenian Review* 44 (Spring 1991).

p. 120 ...the measures against the Armenians which led to the Genocide, may thus be reduced to an 'exertion of influence' by the German side. German officers proposed the deportation and also played a large role in ensuring that they were carried out against other German opposition.

US Department of State, *Office of Research and Intelligence*. Report of 12 March 1946, no. 3523.2.

The report repudiated Turkish charges that

p. 18 Armenians as a body—or even substantial sections of the Armenian population—were subversive elements threatening the security of the Ottoman Empire... [these charges served as] a mere pretext invoked to justify the extermination of over a million Armenians, uprooted mostly from regions remote from the war fronts—and whose able-bodied men who might have caused trouble had been drafted into labor battalions. The argument is compatible to Nazi accusations of Jewish subversive activities, and is equally invalid. Assertions have been made that

Armenians also have massacred Turks. But the sporadic raids of terrorist groups, or acts of savage vengeance of individual Armenian volunteers with the Russian armies in the east or with the French Legion Armenienne in Cilicia, cannot be equated with the systematic, organized, and prolonged massacres of a whole minority by the Ottoman Government.

5. World War I Statesmen

A. Western Allies. Entente Powers

David Lloyd George

Chancellor of the Exchequer since 1908, who on 10 November 1914 described the Turks as:

A human cancer, a creeping agony in the flesh of the lands which they misgovern, rotting every fibre of life... [the Turk was to be] called to a final account for his long record of infamy against humanity.

Excerpted from Sir John A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question. An Historical Study in European Diplomacy* 4th ed. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 538.

David Lloyd George

British Prime Minister 1916-1922

Memoirs of the Peace Conference, vol. 2 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939).

p. 62 Had it not been for our sinister intervention, the great majority of the Armenians would have been placed, by the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, under the protection of the Russian flag.

The Treaty of San Stefano provided that Russian troops should remain in occupation of the Armenian provinces until satisfactory reforms were carried out. By the Treaty of Berlin (1878)—which was entirely due to our minatory pressure and which was acclaimed by us as a great British triumph which brought "Peace with honour"—that article was superseded. Armenia was sacrificed on the triumphal altar we had erected. The Russians were forced to withdraw; the wretched Armenians were once more placed under the heel of their old masters, subject to a pledge to "introduce ameliorations and reforms into the provinces inhabited by Armenians." We all know how these pledges were broken for forty years, in spite of repeated protests from the country that was primarily responsible for restoring Armenia to Turkish rule. The action of the British Government led inevitably to the terrible massacres of 1895-97, 1909, and worst of all to the holocausts of 1915. By these atrocities, almost unparalleled in the black record of Turkish misrule, the Armenian population was reduced in numbers by well over a million.

Having regard to the part we had taken in making these outrages possible, we were morally bound to take the first opportunity that came our way to redress the wrong we had perpetrated, and in so far as it was in our power, to make it impossible to repeat the horrors for which history will always hold us culpable.

When therefore in the Great War, the Turks forced us into this quarrel, and deliberately challenged the British Empire to a life and death struggle, we realised that at last an opportunity had been given us to rectify the cruel wrong for which we were responsible.

Winston S. Churchill

First Lord of the Admiralty 1911, Secretary of State for War 1918-1921. *The World Crisis. The Aftermath* (London, T. Butterworth, 1929).

- p. 405 In 1915 the Turkish Government began and ruthlessly carried out the infamous general massacre and deportation of Armenians in Asia Minor. Three or four hundred thousand men, women and children escaped into Russian territory and others into Persia or Mesopotamia; but the clearance of the race from Asia Minor was about as complete as such an act, on a scale so great, could well be. It is supposed that about one and a quarter millions of Armenians were involved, of whom more than half perished. There is no reasonable doubt that this crime was planned and executed for political reasons. The opportunity presented itself for clearing Turkish soil of a Christian race opposed to all Turkish ambitions, cherishing national ambitions that could only be satisfied at the expense of Turkey, and planted geographically between Turkish and Caucasian Moslems.

Theodore Roosevelt

26th U.S. President 1901-1909.

The crowning outrage has been committed by the Turks on the Armenians. They have suffered atrocities so hideous that it is difficult to name them, atrocities such as those inflicted upon conquered nations by the followers of Attila and Genghis Khan. It is dreadful that these things can be done and that this nation [U.S.A.] nevertheless remains "neutral".

Excerpted from a letter to Dr. Samuel P. Dutton, published in *New York Times*, 1 December 1915.

Thomas Riley

28th U.S. Vice President 1913-17, 1917-21.

I have... read and listened to the age-old suffering of Armenia, culminating in the horrors of the recent war. Deeply as I sympathize with Belgium, truth and justice compel me to say that the proceedings in Belgium at the hands of the Germans were but a pink tea in comparison with the brutality of Turkey. Armenia cries to God for justice and sympathy. I hope that cry will not only reach the throne of the Eternal but will reach the heart of the just men who will sit at the Peace Council...

Excerpted from *The Lausanne Treaty. Turkey and Armenia*. The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty (New York, 1926), p. 183.

James G. Harbord

Major General, Chief of the American Military Mission to Armenia. *Report to the Secretary of the State*. 16 October 1919.

- p. 280 Meanwhile there have been organized official massacres of the Armenians ordered every few years since Abdul Hamid ascended the throne. In 1895, 100,000 perished. At Van in 1908, and at Adana and elsewhere in Cilicia in 1909, over 300,000 were murdered. The last and greatest of these tragedies was in 1915.
- p. 280 Conservative estimates place the number of Armenians in Asiatic Turkey in 1914 over 1500000, though some make it higher. Massacres and deportations were organized in the spring of 1915 under definite system, the soldiers going from town to town. The official reports of the Turkish Government show 1,100,000 as having been deported. Young men were first summoned to the government building in each village and then marched out and killed. The dead from this wholesale attempt on the race are variously estimated from 500000 to more than a million, the usual figure being about 800000.
- p. 281 Mutilation, violation, torture and death have left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages.
- p. 285 Testimony is universal that the massacres have always been ordered from Constantinople.

Excerpted from *International Conciliation* CLI (New York, June 1920).

Aristide Briand

French Premier eleven times; was awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 1925-26; advocated a United States of Europe. He was also the framer of the law for the separation of church and state. In a letter to French Senator Louis Martin, published in the 7 November 1916 issue of the French newspaper *Le Temps*, he declared:

Le Gouvernement de la République a tenu dans les circonstances solennelles à flétrir les crimes des Jeunes Turcs et à livrer au jugement de la conscience humaine leur monstrueux projet d'extermination de toute une race.... Pour la première fois, notre pays s'est trouvé impuissant à poursuivre en Turquie sa mission civilisatrice et à s'y dresser en face de la barbarie de ses gouvernants.

English translation

The government of the Republic most solemnly has committed itself to expose and decry the crimes of the Young Turks and to deliver up to the judgement of human conscience the fact of the monstrous scheme involving the extermination of an entire race... Our country for the first time finds itself impotent to pursue in Turkey its civilizational mission and to confront and rise up against its barbarian government.

Premier Briand again, on behalf of the Allies, by a note dated January 10, 1917, delivered to the American Ambassador, stated as one of the objects of

the war:

Liberation of the population subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; expulsion of the Ottoman Empire from Europe, as foreign to Western civilization.

Excerpted from *The Lausanne Treaty. Turkey and Armenia*. The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty (New York, 1926), p. 193.

Alexandra Millerand

Minister of War 1914-15, Premier 1920, President of France 1920-24.

During the past twenty years Armenians have been massacred with unexampled brutality. During the war, the exploit of the Turkish government, in massacres, deportations and bad treatment of prisoners of war, exceeded in ferocity its former misdeeds. Not only has the Government failed to protect its subjects against murder and pillage, but it itself has organized and perpetrated these outrages.

Excerpted from *The Truth About the Massacres and Deportations of the Armenian Population of the Ottoman Empire* (National Committee of Lebanon, Beirut, 1975), p. 41.

George Clemenceau

French Premier 1917.

History tells us of many Turkish successes and many Turkish defeats. ... Yet in all these changes there is no case to be found, either in Europe or Asia or Africa, in which the establishment of Turkish rule in any country has not been followed by a diminution of material prosperity and a fall in the level of culture; nor is there any case to be found in which the withdrawal of Turkish rule has not been followed by a growth in material prosperity and a rise in the level of culture. Neither among the Christians of Europe, nor among the Moslems of Syria, Arabia, and Africa, has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered; never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won in war...

To thinking Moslems throughout the world, the modern history of the Government enthroned at Constantinople can be no source of pleasure or pride.

Excerpted from Paul C. Helmreich, *From Paris to Sévres. The Partition of the Ottoman Empire at the Peace Conference of 1919-1920* (Columbus, Ohio State University, 1974), p. 110.

Lewis Heck

U.S. High Commissioner in Istanbul, 1918 to April 1919.

U.S. National Archives. R.G. 256.867.4016/12. Report to Washington D.C. 9 January 1919. See also RG 256.867.00/59, p. 3.

- p. 1 The great majority of the Turkish officials in the interior are also the same officials who either actively participated in or at least, condoned the massacres of the Armenians and the deportation of the Greeks.
- p. 2 ...the vast majority of the Turkish race heartily approved [the extermination of the Armenians].

Senior G. Gorriani

Italian Consul-General at Trabzon during the war, with jurisdiction nearly over the entire Black Sea littoral and over five provinces in eastern Turkey; he left Turkey at the end of July 1915.

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

The passing of the gangs of Armenian exiles beneath the windows and before the door of the Consulate; their prayers for help, when neither I nor any other could do anything to answer them; the city in a state of siege, guarded at every point by 15000 troops in complete war equipment, by thousands of police agents, by bands of volunteers and by the members of the "Committee of Union and Progress"; the lamentations, the tears, the abandonments, the imprecations, the many suicides, the instantaneous deaths from sheer terror, the sudden unhooking of men's reason, the conflagrations, the shooting of victims in the city, the ruthless searches through the houses and in the countryside; the hundreds of corpses found every day along the exile road; the young women converted by force to Islam or exiled like the rest; the children torn away from their families or from the Christian schools, and handed over by force to Moslem families, or else placed by hundreds on board ship in nothing but their shirts, and then capsized and drowned in the Black Sea and the River Deyirmen Deré - these are my last ineffaceable memories of Trebizond, memories which still, at a month's distance, torment my soul and almost drive me frantic. When one has had to look on for a whole month at such horrors, at such protracted tortures, with absolutely no power of acting as one longed to act, the question naturally and spontaneously suggests itself, whether all the cannibals and all the wild beasts in the world have not left their hiding places and retreats, left the virgin forests of Africa, Asia, America and Oceania, to make their rendezvous at Stamboul. I should prefer to close our interview at this point, with the solemn asseveration that this black page in Turkey's history call for the most uncompromising reproach and for the vengeance of all Christendom. If they knew all the things that I know, all that I have had to see with my eyes and hear with my ears, all Christian powers that are still neutral would be impelled to rise up against Turkey and cry anathema against her inhuman Government and her ferocious "Committee of Union and Progress," and they would extend the responsibility to Turkey's Allies, who tolerate or even shield with their strong arm these execrable crimes, which have not their equal in history, either modern or ancient. Shame, horror and disgrace!

Excerpted from an interview published in the 25 August 1915 issue of // *Messaggero*.

Leslie A. Davis

A lawyer by training and U.S. Consul at Harput 1914-17.

His 132 typed pages comprise the report he prepared at the request of Wilbur J. Carr, director of Consular Bureau of the U.S. Department of State at the end of the war. *The Slaughterhouse Province. An American Diplomat's*

Report on the Armenian Genocide 1915-1917. S. Blair, ed. (New Rochelle, NY, A. Caratzas, 1989).

- p. 181 The term of "Slaughterhouse Vilayet" which I applied to this Vilayet in my last report upon this subject (that of September 7th has been fully justified what I have learned and actually seen since that time.
- p. 82 I was subsequently informed more in detail about the system employed in disposing of these parties of Armenians. They were allowed to camp for a day or two in the valleys or in some convenient place. While they were there the gendarmes summoned the Kurds, as this old man told us, and ordered them to kill the Armenians, telling the Kurds they could make money in this way but would have trouble if they refused.
- p. 82 A remarkable thing about the bodies that we saw was that nearly all of them were naked. I have been informed that the people were forced to take off their clothes before they were killed as the Mohammedans consider the clothes taken from a
- p. 83 dead body to be defiled. There were gaping bayonet wounds on most of the bodies, usually in the abdomen or chest, sometimes in the throat. Few persons had been shot, as bullets were too precious. It was cheaper to kill with bayonets and knives. Another remarkable thing was that nearly all the women lay flat on their back and showed signs of barbarous mutilation by the bayonets of the gendarmes, these wounds having been inflicted in many cases probably after the women were dead. We also noticed that all the bodies in these valleys were apparently those of people who had been on the road at least one or two months, showing that they were not from Harput but were from distant places.
- p. 80 It was rumored that many of the people who were brought here had been pushed over the cliffs by the gendarmes and killed in that way. That rumor was fully confirmed by what we saw. In some of the valleys there were only a few bodies, but in others there were more than a thousand. One of the first corpses that we saw was that of an old man with a white beard, whose skull had been crushed in by a large stone which still remained in it.
- p. 64 There were also hundreds of children arriving all the time from other places, whose parents had died or been killed on the way... Then the children disappeared and it was reported that they had all been taken to a lake about twenty miles from Harput and drowned.
- p. 87 We estimated that in the course of our ride around the lake, and actually within the space of twenty-four hours, we had seen the remains of not less than ten thousand Armenians who had been killed around Lake Goeljuk...
- p. 87 That which took place around beautiful Lake Goeljuk in the summer of 1915 is almost inconceivable. Thousands and thousands of Armenians, mostly innocent and helpless women and children, were butchered on its shores and barbarously mutilated. It is hard for one living in a civilized country to believe that such things are possible yet as Lord Bryce has said, "Things which we find scarcely credible excite little surprise in Turkey."

- p. 96 There were fully 150,000 Armenians in the Vilayet prior to 1915; at the end of that year, although there were more than we had supposed, there remained only 8,000 or 10,000, as nearly as I can estimate it now, with the addition of 1,000 or 2,000 deportees who had come there from their vilayets.

B. Central Powers. Germany and Austria

Bethmann Hollweg
 Wartime Chancellor of Germany.

The awful treatment of the Armenians call for lodging a protest to the Turkish government whose leadership should be admonished regarding the disastrous consequences which the Turkish Empire is bound to incur as a result of such a policy of extermination (*Ausrottungspolitik*).

For reasons of protocol, this decial was relayed by German Foreign Minister Gottlieb von Jagow (*German Foreign Ministry Archives. Türkei 183/48. A25749, p. 65 of Ambassador Wolff Meternich's 72pp. Report*), even though it was composed by the Chancellor.

Ibid. K171, No. 855, 12 September 1916.

Richard Kühlmann

Ambassador to Turkey 1916-17, Foreign Minister 1917-18.

The extermination (*Ausrottung*) [of the Armenians] is largely achieved (*zum grossen Teil erreicht*); the current Turkish powerwielders are completely identified [with this goal].

Ibid. Türkei 183/46, A2615, 20 January 1917 report.

The destruction of the Armenians was undertaken on a massive scale... This policy of extermination will for a long time stain the name of Turkey.

Ibid. Türkei 183/46, A5919, 16 February 1917 report.

Hans Wangenheim

Ambassador to Turkey 1912 - October 25, 1915.

...the manner in which the matter of relocation is being handled demonstrate that the government is in fact pursuing the goal of annihilating the Armenian race in Turkey" (*die armenische Rasse... zu vernichten*).

Ibid. Türkei 183/37, A21257, 7 July 1915 report.

By her policy of deportation and relocation the Turkish government is delivering up the Armenians to [the clutches of] a policy of destruction" (*Vernichtung*).

Ibid. Türkei 183/37, A22210, 16 July 1915.

The massacres are being carried out by convicts released from the prisons" (*entlassene Sträflinge*).

Ibid. Türkei 183/37, A21483, 9 July 1915.

Hohenlohe-Langenburg

Ambassador Extraordinary to Turkey, October-November 1915.

The systematic butchery of the uprooted and deported Armenians have assumed such a scope (*Umfang*)... it was not only tolerated but openly promoted by the government. It meant the extermination of the Armenians (*die Austrottung der Armenier*).

Ibid. Türkei 183/38, A24507, 12 August 1915.

Despite governmental assurances to the contrary, everything points to the goal of the destruction of the Armenian people" (*läuft alles auf Vernichtung des armenischen Volkes*).

Johann Bernstorff

Ambassador to Turkey 1917-18

Memoirs of Count Bernstorff (New York, Random, 1936).

p. 176. When I kept on pestering Talaat on the Armenian Question, he once said with a smile "What on earth do you want? The question is settled. There are no more Armenians."

p. 374 In Armenia... the Turks had been systematically trying to exterminate the Christian population.

Johann Markgarf Pallavicini

Austrian Ambassador to Turkey 1906 - 30 November 1918.

... the Armenian population which is being expelled from its homeland is not only being subjected to the greatest misery but also to a total extermination (*einer gänzlichen Ausrottung*).

Austrian Foreign Ministry Archives. 12 Türkei/209. No. 50/P.E. 27 June 1915.

The manner in which the Armenians are being deported for resettlement purposes is tantamount to a death verdict (*Todesurteil*) for the affected people.

Ibid. 12 Türkei/209. No. 51/P.E. 1 July 1915.

Too many court-martial executions of the Armenians are being carried out in the entire empire... the time will come when Turkey will have to account for this policy of extermination (*diese Politik der Exterminierung*).

Ibid. 12 Türkei/209, No. 66/P.B. 13 August 1915.

Karl Count zu Trautmansdorff-Weinsberg
Temporary Ambassador to Turkey, September 1915.

... the mistake which the Turkish leaders committed in the Armenian Questions could not be repaid (*nicht gut zu machen*!).

Ibid. Allgemeines/947. No. 77. 22 September 1915.

The reports on unheard of atrocities are being confirmed by returning German officers. It can no longer be denied that the Turks... have undertaken the extermination of the Armenian race and it appears that they have largely succeeded in it. With a certain air of gleefulness Talaat recently told me that in Erzurum, for example, there should be remaining not a single Armenian... Turkey today is under a maniacal spell due to the realization that she carried out the extermination of the Armenian race with impunity (*in dem Wahne lebt die Exterminierung... ungestraft durchgeführt zu haben*).

Ibid. 12 Türkei/209.79/P.A. 30 September 1915.

(To be continued)