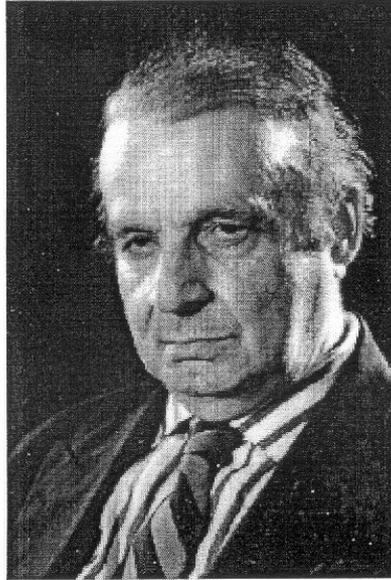


## Lecture Delivered by



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I shall begin my lecture by stating that my analysis of the case for Armenian Genocide is divided into five sections.

- 1) Turkish Denial, origin, function & character;
- 2) Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in authentic Ottoman archival documents;
- 3) Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in authentic German archival documents;
- 4) Reconstruction of the Armenian Genocide through the basis of this documentary evidence;
- 5) Theoretical suggestions, as to what we may learn as a result of the above.

Being a scholar first and foremost, the central objective of any scholarship is to contribute to theory & abstractions in terms of what some limited propositions can be derived from the case study of the Armenian Genocide.

### **The Syndrome of Turkish Denial**

The problem of denial is very critical to the analysis of the Armenian Genocide because unlike the Jewish Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide is being denied persistently and insistently and often with great emphasis from Turkish authorities past and present. This accentuates the critical importance of documentation and for this reason I will outline a very interesting episode in history, in which the very opposite of denial has taken place in today's Turkey.

Mainly at the end of World War I, in October 30, 1918, Turkey prostrate, defeated and exhausted sued for peace and an armistice was signed. Beginning with 30th October till about January 1920, when Kemal Ataturk began to rise and prevail in Turkey, in this period of eighteen months, the conditions of Turkey were very comparable to the conditions that prevailed in defeated Nazi Germany at the end of World War II.

There were confessions, expressions of atonement, prominent Turks wrote articles and literature in books, editorials saying what a great crime they had committed against the Armenian people. If you study this period - we are doing this now in the United States, collecting all editorials, books etc. published in this period - the dramatic contrast of the phenomenon of denial today can be clearly seen. Remarkable contrast! So much so, that in this period of admission of contrition, guilt feelings and atonement, there was even a singular suggestion by wartime Turkish Cabinet Minister Javit Pasha, who in conversation with the President of Robert College - an American College in Istanbul, Turkey - suggested that not only did Turkey owe an apology to the Armenian people but that Turkey was indebted to them and therefore should consider seriously making reparations to them.

Think of it, a wartime Minister and a very close friend of the architect of the Armenian Genocide - Talaat Pasha - Minister Javit went so far as to say, that the crime was so enormous that simply being contrite was not enough and that they owed Armenian people reparations.

Psychologically and sociologically, it is interesting to stop and ponder this dramatic reversal of attitude, a defeated exhausted nation, full of guilt feelings and contrition, meaning to make amends to the Armenian people were saying, "What can we do to atone?" Then with the rise of the insurgency in the interior of Turkey, led by Mustafa Kemal, a dramatic shift, a complete reversal occurred and the question asked was "Massacre, what massacre? You Armenians committed massacres against us."

Therefore I cannot emphasize sufficiently the significance, the critical discrepancy between eighteen months of the post-war armistice period, of the frame of mind of the general public and Turkish politicians and then the reversal, the complete reversal of attitude to the point of categorical denial of the crime.

Let us examine briefly what the components of Turkish denial are. What are they denying? I think there are four major elements in the syndrome of denial:

- 1) Firstly, what they are saying is that what happened to the Armenian population was essentially large scale "deportations," but not necessarily massacres. This is a very critical point. They say, it was "deportation" for the purpose of "re-location" and that "re-location" was supposed to take place in the barren deserts of Mesopotamia (present day Syria.)

2) The second element of Turkish denial is that - contrary to Armenian claims - they argue that only a portion of the Armenian population suffered the consequences of deportation, as the only ones who were deported were Armenians who were mainly concentrated in the so called "war zones." Their argument being that the bulk of the Armenian population was exempt from deportation.

3) The third element of Turkish denial is that there were no organized massacres, but that communities fought against each other. A number of Armenians killed Turks, Turks killed Armenians, atrocities were mutual and therefore,

4) The fourth element, which is the key element of Turkish denial, persistent to date, is that whatever happened to the Armenian population of Ottoman Turkey was a kind of "civil war" in the context of a global war. This way, the entire problem of centralised mass murder of the bulk of the Armenian population is transformed and reduced to the problem of "civil war."

Before I tackle this issue of "civil war," let me briefly point out that it has to be agreed and considered by Armenian historians, that not all Armenian people were totally innocent and I have uncovered evidence of sabotage and occasional spying by individual Armenians for the Russians and British. German documentation demonstrates that indeed there were isolated cases of espionage, such as cutting of telegraphic wires. However, the emphasis is that these were isolated instances and would be considered to be very common and normal phenomena in all theatres of war, particularly in the case of a minority that for centuries had been persecuted and oppressed, therefore isolated cases are inevitable.

There were also four major instances of insurrection. Namely in Van, Shabin Karahisar, Urfa and Musa Dagh. In each and every instance of such major insurrection, practically all were last ditch desperate efforts of the Armenian civilian population to die fighting, rather than being slaughtered like sheep. Except for one instance, in all three other cases, the situation was hopeless. Shabin Karahisar as well as Urfa were surrounded by a contingent of the Turkish army. In Musa Dagh likewise, therefore it is inconceivable that the Armenian population who rose up against the Turks hoped to prevail. It was a last ditch attempt to die fighting.

In Van, it was slightly different, however, I would like to emphasise that in every case - and I have several articles on these insurrections - all of them involve last minute preparations, in recognition that imminent massacre was on the horizon, so that within five to six days, the civilian population tried to fight to save themselves. These are all isolated and disconnected cases, countering the Turkish argument that there was a widespread conspiracy, insurrection here, insurrection there, in order to cripple the Turkish war effort. They were in fact isolated disconnected instances of last minute efforts at self-defence.

### **The untenable nature of the "Civil War" argument**

Let me now examine the key argument of Turkish denial: "Civil War."

By any definition, Civil War means first and foremost, the collapse of central authority, thereby a vacuum is created in which different communities enter the picture and fight against each other. Let us see if there was any such evidence of a collapse of central Ottoman Turkish authority.

All documentation, all books of history, even Turkish historians keep emphasizing the fact that the very opposite took place. Not only was there no collapse of central authority, but by deploying Martial Law by general mobilization, authority was not only centralised but it was magnified to the nth degree. Martial Law means the suspension of constitutional guarantees. The Parliament was dissolved and the entire governmental authority shifted from the legislative to executive branch, centralizing power to the point that everyone became frightened by this gathering of force by the central government.

This is one aspect of the incredible and untenable nature of the argument for "Civil War" but more importantly, let us examine the question, what faction, what portions of the Armenian population would dare to confront the fully mobilised Turkish Army and fight against it? Within twenty four hours after the Ottoman Empire declared general mobilisation, on the night of 2nd August, 1914, the Ottoman Empire signed a secret political and military alliance with the Imperial German Empire. As a result of the declaration of general mobilization, all able bodied Armenian men between the ages of twenty to forty five, were conscripted into the Ottoman Army.

I want you to think of the emotional and psychological condition of the remaining Armenian population, consisting of women, children and old men, desperate and frightened, still under the horror of the 1909 Adana massacres, still remembering the horrendous massacres of the Abdul Hamid era of 1894 - 1896. A terribly vulnerable population deprived of its men folk, awaiting its fate. To think that under these conditions, this collection of frightened people, the remnants of the Armenian population would even dare to think of confronting the Ottoman forces, is the height of absurdity.

Therefore, the concept of "Civil War" is completely untenable. It defies logic and documentation and therefore even now, several Turkish historians are telling each other that they should abandon this argument and think of something else with which to deny the Armenian Genocide.

### **Scholarship & its Relationship to Power**

These are now the conditions under which Armenian scholarship and scholarship in general about the Armenian Genocide is faced with: The dilemma of how to examine the Armenian Genocide against the background of insistent and persistent Turkish denial. Here we have to recognize that scholarship intertwines with the problem of power.

I would further like to claim that in as much as one has to have overwhelming power to think, plan, organize and execute mass murder, one also needs likewise the leverage of power to deny the crime, after it has been consummated. To me, the Turkish denial of the Armenian Genocide is a function of power accruing to the perpetrator.

As I said, for a brief period of eighteen months, anything but denial was on the horizon, on the scene in Turkey. Things have changed, but here again I cannot help but comment on the bad luck Armenian people suffered. In contrast and remarkably, at the end of World War II, the three Western Powers, United States, France and Great Britain managed to create a common denominator, a common ground to negotiate and create conditions of a trial - the Nuremburg Trial - with a regime that was diametrically opposed to Western Civilization, namely Communist Russia. At Nuremburg, the Communists found a common

language, common criteria and common standards to prosecute the Nazi war criminals.

However, at the end of World War I, there was no Communism. All were Western Powers.

But within eight months after Istanbul was occupied, the British, the French and the Italians began to bicker amongst themselves, as to who was going to get what part of Turkey. The Italians resented and hated the Greeks for occupying Smyrna, which they wanted for themselves. The French hated the British domination of Istanbul and all of a sudden the victorious allies became disunited, bickering amongst themselves.

Meanwhile, a great leader, it is a fact, by the name of Mustafa Kemal, went to the interior of Turkey, organized insurrection, challenged first Greece and Armenia (Eastern / Russian Armenia,) defeated them in the battlefield and then challenged the victorious Western Allies. In less than two years, a totally defeated country, the Ottoman Empire prevailed on the victors of World War I, dictated and imposed her will in the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

We all know that three years before, in August 1920, there was the Treaty of Sevres, whereby Armenia would have been compensated by territorial adjustments, reparations and anything else but as I said, internal bickering, colonial designs, petty arguments among the victors enabled Mustafa Kemal to move inside Turkey, organize resistance and transform a massive defeat into a spectacular victory.

These are the conditions under which the denial of the Armenian Genocide began to take shape. Within three years, the same Turks who during the period of the Armistice were begging for understanding and mercy etc., within three years after the insurrection of the Republic of Turkey, the three Turks who were tried for war crimes, convicted and executed by hanging in Istanbul, were lionised. Even today, monuments are erected in various parts of Turkey. The major boulevard in Ankara today is named after the most infamous architect of the Armenian Genocide, namely Talaat Pasha Boulevard.

These are the conditions that I'd like to impress on you: the intimate connection between the audacity of denying a crime, of such enormous proportions and its relationship to power. Power relations are a very critical condition even for denying a crime. Therefore, I submit to you, that if the Nazis had won World War II, I'm not sure that Germany today would be any different to Turkey. Would a victorious Nazi regime concede to and admit holocaust or war atrocities?

### **Problem of Documentation & the quest for Compelling Evidence**

Let me now proceed to the second part of my presentation, the problem of documentation of the Armenian Genocide, with respect to residual Ottoman Turkish State documents. First of all, let me emphasize that there are two problems, as I mentioned before.

Because of the forcefulness of the Turkish denial, the documentation used for evidence cannot be ordinary documentation. It has to have extraordinary strength. It has to have a character that precludes the possibility of denial and therefore, in my definition I call this kind of documentation, the quest for Compelling Evidence. Compelling Evidence is what is needed for the documentation of the Armenian Genocide, not ordinary evidence, but

Compelling Evidence. In my definition of Compelling Evidence, there are four constituent elements which are as follows:

- 1) Compelling Evidence has to be Relevant;
- 2) Compelling Evidence has to be Explicit;
- 3) Compelling Evidence has to be Incontrovertible;
- 4) Most importantly, Compelling Evidence has to be Verifiable.

Let me briefly illustrate these four elements. What is meant by Relevance?

The best way to illustrate Relevance, is to bring the case of the American Consul Leslie Davis, in Harput (Kharpert.) At the end of World War I, he prepared a lengthy memorandum for the State Department in Washington, in which he narrated in harrowing detail, describing the massacre and extermination of the Armenian population in the Province of Harput. He called it the *Harput Province Slaughterhouse*.

Why is his account extremely Relevant? Because, first and foremost, he was taken to the sites of the atrocities not by an Armenian, not by a neutral person, but by a Turkish employee of the Consulate, the United States Consulate in Harput. Leslie's Turkish aid told him that he was allowed to see countless sites of massacres, where the Armenian deportee convoys were taken and slaughtered by Turkish mobs and soldiers. The Consul being extremely astute - he was a trained lawyer - felt that his government should be appraised of this and therefore expressed willingness to let his Turkish employee guide him to various sites of Harput Province. He spent eighteen hours in a single day inspecting several sites of atrocities. In his book he narrated the harrowing details of how he saw case after case, of naked bodies of Armenian women and children, bayoneted to death by Turkish soldiers.

Consul Leslie's guide was a Turk, therefore I submit to you that this fact that a Turkish national was serving as a guide to the American Consul, makes the evidence extremely Relevant.

In terms of the Explicitness of Evidence, the core issue here is the fate of the Armenian population in Turkey. Was it essentially a matter of "deportation" or was it the destruction of the deportee population? There is a vast difference between planned re-location that is temporary re-location as a wartime measure and to using "deportation" as a subterfuge to destroy the deportee population. Therefore the evidence has to be Explicit in that the fate of the Armenian population was ultimately destruction. That is to say that "deportation/re-location" was a means to an end.

In terms of Incontrovertible Evidence, as I will explain to you shortly, it is to leave no room for doubt about the authenticity of the argument. Incontrovertible means it has relevance to documents that are authentic.

Finally perhaps the most important element of Compelling Evidence is that the evidence has to be Verifiable. If I use any evidence or quotation that I've referenced in my book, everybody and anybody should be able to trace the source, locate the archives, go to the document and verify its presence there. Therefore, these are the conditions under which I'd like to proceed now to explain the documentation of the Armenian Genocide.

There are two categories of documentation, German state documents and authentic Turkish documents:

## Ottoman Turkish Archival Documents

Let me begin with the Turkish documentation. There is a slight paradox here that calls for an explanation. We are saying that Turks are persisting in denying the Genocide. How can there be nine decades of denial by an entity and yet anyone be able to say that there are some documents that contravene and contradict the denial? We all know that criminals and perpetrators of such massive crimes have one major concern: how to remove all traces of evidence.

The Nazi Germans had left numerous documents because they were a people with an obsession with systematic record keeping, but most perpetrators and criminals try to remove and make evidence disappear and so did the Turks. Shortly before the end of World War I, one of the architects of the Armenian Genocide, Dr. Nazim, removed all evidence that was extremely incriminating and there is Turkish testimony that he removed this and we know what happened.

There were several stages of Turkish document elimination at the end of the First World War, and yet I submit to you that given the enormity of the crime, it is practically impossible to remove and make disappear every single case of evidence. Almost invariable, almost always inevitably, certain documents survive the sweep of removal. These are the types of documents that I have located, obtained and used for my research.

So let me briefly describe what type of document we are talking about. There are three types of Turkish documentation that I consider to be part of Compelling Evidence.

1) Immediately after Turkey sued for armistice and within two weeks, the victorious Allies marched into Istanbul and occupied the capital of the Ottoman Empire. There was great fear, uncertainty and terrible apprehension about the harsh terms of peace that might be imposed on defeated Turkey. (One of the conditions imposed on defeated post war Ottoman Turkey by the allies - Britain, France and Italy - was that those people guilty of the Armenian massacres and deportations should be prosecuted and punished.) I submit to you that not for the love of truth, but with a view to less stringent terms of peace on their defeated country, the Turks began to do several things in order to impress the allies.

One was the Parliamentary Debates. The Ottoman Parliament had two Chambers, the Upper and Lower, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. I will give you some examples of Turkish declarations of atonement and admission of guilt in the Ottoman Parliament.

On the 19th October, 1918, nine days after the Ottoman Senate was opened, the elected President of the Senate, Ahmed Riza - a former arch Ittihadist and Young Turk leader who had become disillusioned with Talaat and Enver and distanced himself from them - stood up and in his inaugural speech said, "Let's face it, we Turks savagely killed off the Armenians." He used the Turkish word "vahshiane" which means "savagely." This is recorded in the proceedings of the Ottoman Senate, of which I have a copy. Here's the President of the Ottoman Senate, publicly declaring in his inaugural speech that Armenian people were savagely killed off by the Turkish authorities.

Two days later he was challenged by a retired General, Osman Pasha, who was also a Senator. He said, "Why are you omitting the massacre of Turks by Armenians? Granted Armenians were massacred by the Turks, so were Turks massacred by Armenians."

The answer that Senator Ahmed Riza gave is pungent, brief and extremely significant. He said, "Yes, Armenians massacred some Turks, but there are two aspects to this that differentiate it from what happened to the Armenians. Firstly, some Turks were killed in the wake of the massacres of Armenians, as retaliation and revenge killings. Secondly, these crimes were perpetrated by individual Armenians. Sir," he said, "in the case of the Armenian massacres, it was state organized massive mass murder. I submit to your attention that individual acts of crime bear no relationship to planned, centrally organized mass murder, in which the state is implicated." With this answer, the General was silenced.

### **Duplicity & the Dual Function of Power, Informal Authority versus Formal Authority of the State**

Then a month later, on 19th November, 1918, the very distinguished and venerable old Turkish Senator, Reshid Akif Pasha, made this sensational declaration in the Ottoman Senate. He said, "Within days after the end of the War, after the Armistice was signed, I was appointed President of the State Council."

The State Council in the Ottoman Government was the intermediary between the Executive and the Legislative and the main function was to examine laws that were being enacted, as to whether or not they conformed to the Ottoman Turkish Constitution. It was a very important body in the Ottoman Government structure.

Reshid Akif Pasha continuing his declaration, "One day, as I was examining wartime papers, I came across two types of documentation relating to the Armenian deportations. One class of documents involve the official orders of the Interior Minister Talaat, through which he is ordering the deportation of the Armenian population and solicitously instructing for the provision of bread and olives and protection of the deportee convoys." Talaat appearing very solicitous in his capacity as Interior Minister of the Ottoman Government, concerned about the deportee convoys.

"However, parallel to this official Governmental order, there was another class of order which was issued not from the official Ottoman Government organs, but from the Central Committee of the Ittihad Party. This was a circular with a very brief content, which was as follows: As soon as Armenian Deportee convoys are sufficiently removed from centres of population and there is reasonable assurance that there are no witnesses, proceed with your mission." Then Reshid Akif Pasha said, "The mission in the circular was: to attack the convoys and massacre the population." Reshid Akif Pasha then said, "I am ashamed as a Moslem, I am ashamed as an Ottoman Statesman. What a stain on the reputation of the Ottoman Empire, these criminal people, the Ittihad Young Turk party."

These statements are all recorded in the transcriptions of the Ottoman Senate

and I have copies of them. A Turkish Senator and President of the Council of State, publicly declaring that he saw, what I consider to be the essence of the Armenian Genocide: and if you examine Turkish denial, Turkish denials are predicated (based) upon this duplicitous (deceitful) procedure, where they always cite Talaat Pasha's solicitous telegram, ordering food and protection for the deportees. This is formal authority, merely for public consumption.

Here you see a sociological problem that is very much neglected in the literature of Genocide: The power of informal authority. What is a committee? A political party has no formal authority; it has no position in Government. In this case, the informal authority of the Party (the Young Turk Ittihad Party) superseded the authority of the regular Government and gave orders for the destruction of the Armenian deportee convoys.

What is most significant in the case of the Armenian Genocide is that, the official representatives of the Ottoman Turkish Government, Interior Minister Talaat Pasha, War Minister Enver Pasha, were at the same time in the top levels of the Young Turk Ittihad political party. Therefore they had a dual function; on the one hand as part of formal Government and on the other, as part of the informal power structure of the party, superseding the authority of formal Government.

Finally let me give you an example from the Chamber of Deputies, the Lower House. the Chamber of Deputies, as you know in all governments, is more important than the Senate. The Senate is a collection of retired old people, with no vital function. But the Chamber of Deputies is the heart of all governments.

On 11th December, 1918, a sensational confession was made in the Chamber of Deputies, by a Turkish Deputy by the name of Hafez Mehmet, from Trabizon. Significantly, Hafez Mehmet was also a lawyer by profession and this is what he said. This too is recorded in the official transcriptions of the Ottoman Parliament. He said, "I Hafez Mehmet, Deputy of the Province of Trabizon, saw one day in the port city of Ordu, on the Black Sea, how in broad daylight, Armenian women and children brought to the port city, loaded on barges, which took off to the high seas, on the Black Sea, where they drowned their human cargoes and within two hours came back empty."

Think of it, a Deputy of the Ottoman Parliament, an eye-witness of one of the more harrowing aspects of the Armenian Genocide: the massive drowning operations in the Black Sea. He continued his confession, saying that upon investigation as a Deputy, he established the fact that in other ports on the Black Sea, similar drowning operations had taken place, in Samsun, Rize, Trabizon. He said he went to the Governor General of the Province of Trabizon, asking "What is this, how could you do this?" Then he said, "I was dismissed by the Governor General. Then I went to the capital of the Empire, Istanbul and made a similar presentation to Interior Minister Talaat, who likewise brushed me off." These are the recorded testimonies, of the Parliamentary Debates of the Chamber of Deputies of the Senate of the Ottoman Parliament of 1918, and today in 2005, they are available, by the official publication of the Ankara Government.

As evidence began to accumulate in the post World War I period, an Arab Deputy in the Chamber of Deputies presented a motion saying, "I want to investigate the conditions under which Turkey's involvement in the War was precipitated." He put forward ten points; points one and ten, dealt with the

Armenian deportations and massacres.

In point (1), he said, "You violated all sentiments and laws of humanity."

In point (10) he said, "Criminal gangs were used for incredible crimes."

Therefore, according to the procedures of the Chamber of Deputies, this was a preliminary step to take to task all Cabinet Ministers and all Ministers were subjected to interrogation and investigation. This was an initial step to the Motion to the Chamber of Deputies. According to the Ottoman Constitution, when a Deputy makes a Motion in this way, with a view to taking Cabinet Ministers to trial, there has to be a detailed investigation by a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies.

Committee Number Five therefore, was selected for the task. In Turkish, "Beshingi Shube Hakikat Commosionou," meaning, Fifth Committee of Investigation (or Truth Committee.) Out of forty five members, only twenty two were able to act. For seven weeks, all Wartime Cabinet Ministers were interrogated in writing and orally. Here too, sensational admissions of guilt were made in the course of this investigation.

I'll give you just a few examples of admission of guilt. These were Wartime Cabinet Ministers of the Ottoman Empire. Justice Minister Ibrahim, during the interrogation, made a sensational admission. It is very interesting that of all the members of this Investigative Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, only two or three Deputies were constantly posing the questions, while the rest were silent. Why is this? Because the entire Chamber of Deputies was dominated by members of the Young Turk Ittihad Party, they constituted 80% of the Chamber. However, the Arab members of the Chamber, two or three of them, were asking probing questions to all the Turkish Ministers.

During his interrogation the Justice Minister Ibrahim, made the following admission. He said, "I was told by War Minister Enver, that the conditions of War were such that we needed inmates of Ottoman prisons. We needed criminals to be released for enrolment into the army." Justice Minister Ibrahim said that the Ottoman Constitution prohibited the employment of convicts; they were dishonoured and could not be trusted for patriotic service. Then several other Justice Ministry employees came to testify before the Parliament, saying that the situation had been critical, and convicts were needed. During the course of these interrogations, one high ranking officer in the War Ministry admitted that these convicts were to be used for "special" duties other than front line duty. This evidence too is recorded.

Referring to War Minister Enver's request, Justice Minister Ibrahim said, "Reluctantly I yielded because these people were omnipotent, the War Minister and the Interior Minister pressured me, saying the country needed our patriotic duty, so I issued an order for the release of convicts from prisons of the Ottoman Empire."

An incredible admission that convicts were used for "extra military duties" that is for criminal duties in being given the task of "caring" for the Armenian deportee convoys. However, the most sensational admission was made by the Grand Vizier, the Prime Minister. He said, "Yes we issued an order for deportations but not for killing." He was complaining that the deportation orders were criminally transformed into an order for mass murder. He said, "I complained to the Interior Minister Talaat, and asked for an explanation and I was brushed aside."

Think of it, the Prime Minister was defied by a subordinate Minister. Why? Talaat was Interior Minister but Talaat was also the chieftain of the criminal Young Turk Ittihad Party, and he was defying the Prime Minister not in his capacity as a Minister, but as a super ordinate (superior) instance (member) of the Ittihad Party political machinery. This too is recorded in the official proceedings of the Ottoman Parliament.

### **The Mazhar Inquiry Commission**

So much for this aspect of the Ottoman Parliament. Now I would like to outline to you the most critical element of Turkish official documentation of the Armenian Genocide. When the Sultan's Government realized that the Chamber of Deputies was becoming an organ of the Party, holding over of the extinct criminal regime of the Young Turk Ittihad Party, so that the entire Chamber was dominated by them, the Sultan - using his prerogatives which are accorded to him by Article Seven, of the Ottoman Constitution - dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and thereby the entire investigative power shifted from the Legislative to the Executive Branch of the Post War Government. From then on, the Executive Branch took over the matter of the investigative duty of the Armenian deportations and massacres.

A new Inquiry Commission was called in, called the Mazhar Inquiry Commission, headed by former Governor Mazhar. For about seven weeks, this Commission accumulated a huge amount of documentary evidence. As you know, before criminal proceedings can be launched, there has to be a pre-trial investigation to determine whether or not there is sufficient evidence that may justify a trial. If sufficient evidence is not found, there would be no trial. This is a standard procedure in all systems of Criminal Justice.

The Mazhar Inquiry Commission obtained an enormous amount of documentation in this critical period, when Turkey was more than eager to placate the victorious Allies, in order to demonstrate to them that they wanted justice and punishment for the conspirators and the guilty parties. Let me give you an example of what kind of documents the Mazhar Inquiry Commission obtained.

From Ankara Province alone, the Commission secured forty two cipher telegrams of wartime origin. Most of the cipher telegrams dealt with the communication between two Colonels regarding progress reports about the ongoing Armenian massacres. One was Colonel Recayi of the Fifth Army Corps, stationed in Ankara. The other was Colonel Shahabeddin, Deputy Commander of the Fifteenth Infantry Division, stationed in Kaiseri.

In one cipher telegram, during massacres taking place in the Province of Sivas, Ankara and in particular in the Boghazlyan district, the gendarmerie Commander of the Boghazlyan reported to his superior in Kaiseri, Colonel Shahabeddin that on that day 350 Armenians were taken away and "despatched to their destination" in Ottoman Turkish, "muretteblerine sevk."

From Colonel Shahabeddin the cipher was forwarded to his superior Colonel Rejayi. Colonel Rejayi, either innocently or pretending not to understand this court language, wired back to Colonel Shahabeddin in Kaiseri asking what was meant by "despatched to their destination." Colonel Shahabeddin wired back to the gendarmerie commander of Boghazlyan District saying that their superior officer in Ankara wanted an explanation. The answer came back within an hour

in a cipher. It said "They were all killed off."

This use of code language, is another distinct feature of the Armenian Genocide which was emulated by the Nazis during the Jewish Holocaust in World War II. Why did the original cipher say "despatched to their destination instead of "killed off"?"

The Mazhar Inquiry Commission acquired dozens and dozens of these cipher telegrams. Fourteen of them were used in the Turkish Court Martial Trials, which were launched only after the Mazhar Inquiry determined that there was ample evidence to proceed.

### **Allegations of a "Kangaroo Court" debunked**

Let me specify a very important point that goes to the heart of Turkish denial. The Turks, supported today by their few hateful dilettantes in the United States and England, in their position of denial, are saying that these trials were the product of what is called a "kangaroo court." The logic being that Turkey was occupied and vanquished and therefore dominated by the victors of World War I. It is alleged therefore that there was an absence of total freedom and the results of the trials were the will of the victors as the Turkish people tried everything to be accommodating.

These arguments are used by deniers, particularly by Justin McCarthy. Two months ago Justin McCarthy was invited to Ankara, by the Turkish Parliament. He gave an eight hour speech in order to try and refute claims of Genocide and repeated in his speech the same arguments about the Court Martial Trials being a "kangaroo court."

However, he completely overlooked the very critical element of the entire Court Martial. The Turkish Court Martial Court of 1918 - precisely in anticipation of the possibility of such tactics by the deniers - the Mazhar Commission in charge of accumulating evidence decided on a very critical procedure. Before any official Turkish Document could be introduced to the proceedings of the Court Martial, they had to be examined, verified and authenticated by competent officials, who were professionals in this field. A very important point at this juncture is that every document that I mentioned - and I have some of them in my possession - that was introduced to the Court Martial, bears on the top right hand corner the following statement, in Turkish, "Aslena Muafikdir" meaning "It Conforms to the Original." These are documents that have nothing to do with post war politics and therefore they have been authenticated by the leftover Young Turk Ittihad Party members. This is because the Interior Ministry and the Justice Ministry were full of Young Turk partisans of the now defunct Ittihad Party. They had no choice but to confirm the authenticity of the documents. Therefore these are the bases on which the Turkish Court Martial was framed. There were several indictments and a series of verdicts issued in a period of eighteen months, before Kemal ascended to power.

Here, one of the important elements of Turkish Criminal Procedure that again, ignorant people like Justin McCarthy are totally unaware of is the Turkish Criminal Justice System. This is an imitation of the French Justice System, which is Prosecutorial. Suspects are not provided with legal counsel prior to trial interrogation. The Judges have tremendous leeway in making judgements. This is the French system where Judges have extraordinary power in contrast to the Anglo Saxon system, where Judges are neutral and lawyers engage in debate and have access to documentation.

In the Turkish Court Martial, according to the traditions of the Turkish Criminal Justice System, the Key Indictment, which is the quintessence of Turkish Court Martial documentation, is directed against Cabinet Ministers and Party Chiefs. So the top leadership strata of the Ottoman Empire, during World War I were subject to special Key Indictments. There were Subsidiary Indictments for local officials and other people. But the Key Indictment was framed for Cabinet Ministers and the leadership of the Young Turk Ittihad Party.

What is unusual about the Key Indictment is that attached to it are forty two authenticated documents: Confessions by Generals, secret ciphers issued by the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide communicated to each other.

For instance, there is a cipher telegram dated 27th September, 1915, from Dr. Behaeddin Shakir, one of the chief architects of the Armenian Genocide, cabling from Erzerum not to the Governor of the Province of Harput, as one might expect, but to a subordinate in the Young Turk Ittihad Party hierarchy asking the following, "Are the Armenians from the Harput province being merely deported or are they being exterminated?"

How did the Tribunal Court get hold of this very incriminating authenticated document? The Governor of Harput Province, Sabit, apprehensive that Turkey might be losing the war and that he might be held accountable for the fate of the Armenian population in his Province, had kept several such secret ciphers in his possession, in case he was tried and could show them in court as evidence. He was arrested in the Armistice period and during this preliminary period of investigation produced for his self-protection, several such secret cipher telegrams from the architects of the Armenian Genocide, telling their subordinate party members, "are you taking care of our mission, which is the extermination not the deportation of the Armenian convoys?"

Therefore, several such incriminating documents were attached to the Key Indictment of the Turkish Military Tribunal. As a result of all this documentation, the Military Tribunal issued about ten Key Verdicts relating to the Province of Erzerum, Harput, Trabizon, Ankara and Sivas.

### **Turkish Court Martial Verdicts & International Criminal Law**

We are now translating all these verdicts into English and modern Turkish and in a few months we will publish them in Turkey and the United States. If a legitimate Court Tribunal issues a verdict and that verdict is published in a legitimate Law Journal, it becomes part of International Law. And this is what we are aiming at in order to enhance, to move the level of the Armenian Genocide debate to what we call Canon Law, International Law. If and when it is ever published, such a law journal, in the technical text of the translation, the Armenian Genocide will become part of the corpus of International Criminal Law.

In all these verdicts that were issued by the Turkish Military Tribunal, several important elements were established which I will treat very shortly in my conclusion. Let me move now to the German Documentation.

### **German Archival Documentation**

The German Documentation has equal if not more significance than Ottoman Turkish Documentation for two reasons: The Germans were political and

military allies of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. It is inconceivable that during the War, a political and military ally would even think of incriminating an ally. That is what happened with German Documentation.

The German Consuls in the Provinces were instructed by their Ambassadors in Istanbul, not to be too critical with their reports about the Armenian deportations. This is a fact. Five weeks after the initiation of the Genocide, reporting was very cautious. They said that the British were exaggerating and it was propaganda. However, they were unable to remain silent for long about such a gigantic crime as the extermination of the entire Armenian population. Beginning from the middle of June 1915, the Ambassador in Istanbul realized that this was not a regular "re-location" but a gigantic crime that was taking place in the interior of Turkey.

I have to tell you that very brave and very decent German Consuls - eight of them - deployed in the interior of Turkey, defied their Government, because they were eye-witnesses to the terrible drama taking place in their consular districts. The German Consul of Trabizon, a very Turkophile man and a lawyer by profession, in one of his messages said, "I am sorry I can no longer cover up the crime. I have to inform my Government that a centrally organized mass murder of gigantic proportions is taking place in Turkey."

The Consul of Adana, Dr. Bude and the Consul of Aleppo, Ressler, a very decent man, saw the consequences of the "deportations" as massacre in the deserts of Mesopotamia. Erzerum was the heart of Historic Armenia and the epicentre of the Armenian Genocide, therefore the most important reports were those of the Consul of Erzerum, Sheubner Richter. His reports to Istanbul and Berlin were the most damning evidence coming from a Consular representative of a Government that was allied to the Ottoman Empire.

In all these reports issued by German Consuls, what is remarkable is that one rarely sees the employment of the word "deportation." Almost always all the descriptions involve the word massacre. The German word "ausrottung" meaning massacre and the German word "vernichtung" meaning destruction.

In twenty years of research and eighteen visits, I have listed these words in the German State archives, and have amassed possibly hundreds of authentic German documents, damning evidence coming from an ally.

However, the most important feature of German documentation is that they were not intended for public consumption. Subordinate governmental officials were reporting to their superiors as to what they had observed in their consular districts.

The Reports had four different characterizations: Confidential, Strictly Confidential, Secret and Top Secret. Since they were not meant for public consumption, they acquire extraordinary value for truthfulness, because they were meant for in-house use, not for publication. This to me enhances dramatically the authenticity the sincerity and truthfulness of the argument.

I think I can give you one striking example of German documentation which came from a very Turkophile Consul, who later became the Foreign Minister of Germany during the War. Three months before he became the Foreign Minister, Dr. Richard Kullman was Ambassador to Turkey. This is what he said in his report, "Using the excuse of "deportation", Turkey has embarked upon a gigantic crime of extermination of the Christian population." Then he provides

his rationale as to why the Turks are doing this. This more or less conforms to my own historical research.

He said, "The Armenians in the period of 1912-1913 accentuated the problem with the Turks, by sending a delegation to Europe - the Nubar Pasha Delegation - to influence the European Powers to force Turkey to embrace reforms that had failed throughout the 19th Century. This movement by the Armenians exacerbated Turko-Armenian conflict and it was there and then that the Ottoman Young Turk leadership decided that at the next most opportune moment, they would radically solve the Armenian Question."

This has a long history when the Ottoman Empire lost the Balkan Peninsula and one after another, the Serbs, Rumanians, Greeks and Bulgarians were emancipated from the Turkish yoke, mostly through help and intervention of European Powers.

Sultan Abdul Hamid, on 18th October, 1896, in a conversation with German Ambassador Radolin, at the end of the Abdul Hamid massacres, made this statement, which also applies to the thinking of his followers, the Young Turk leadership. He said, "The Balkan countries, Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece are the arms and legs of the Ottoman Empire. An organism can live without arms or legs, but the Provinces in Eastern Turkey, the so called Armenian Provinces, they are the digestive organ of the Ottoman Empire. No body can live without their digestive organs." This is recorded in the German documentation. "Therefore," he said, "I would rather die than allow Armenian Reforms in the Eastern Provinces, because inevitably they will be the prelude to autonomy and eventually independence. This is what happened in the Balkan countries, Equality, Autonomy and then Independence. We can ill afford to lose the Eastern Provinces, therefore I will never, never allow Armenian Reforms in the Eastern Provinces."

It is my conclusion that the whole Turko-Armenian conflict is focused on this reform issue. Decades and decades of Armenian effort to enlist the support of European Powers to induce the Ottoman Empire to create equality failed again and again, because the Turks felt that the minute Armenians gained equal rights, they would ascend and dominate the entire continent. It was this fear of Armenian diligence and power that prevented and ensured the abortiveness of the entire Armenian Reform movement and finally the radical solution of the question.

## **Reconstruction of the Armenian Genocide**

In line with all this let me now go to the next part of my presentation to briefly recapture what we can learn from the Armenian Genocide in terms of conceptualisation. What can we say in a nutshell about the structure of the Armenian Genocide.

In summary, I would like to suggest that there are four major determinants of the Armenian Genocide.

- 1) The Armenian Genocide is characterised by what is called 'premeditation,' a crime of premeditation.
- 2) Secondly the Armenian Genocide is characterised by a condition that is very quintessential for meeting the criteria of the United Nations Convention on Genocide, namely 'intent.' There was definitely Genocidal intent in the

Armenian case of mass murder.

3) The third characterisation is the organization of the Genocide.

4) Finally the fourth characterisation is the implementation and execution of Genocide.

Regarding premeditation: in all systems of Criminal Justice, the harshest, the most severe penalties are preserved for crimes that are deemed to be premeditated. Because the understanding is that the criminal, the perpetrator had ample opportunity to consider and weigh the consequences to make a determination. If after weighing all this he decides to proceed with the crime, he has to pay a corresponding price for it. Therefore, the most severe penalties are reserved for crimes that are premeditated.

### **Proof of Premeditation & Genocidal Intent of Ottoman Turkish State**

The Key Indictment of the Turkish Military Tribunal contains proof of premeditation in the documentation. Printed in the official organ of the Ottoman Parliament, "Takvim-I Vekayi," No. 3540, page eight of the Key Indictment, a particular expression can be found articulated by one of the architects of the Armenian Genocide. Namely Dr. Nazim recorded as saying to a cohort, "Don't delude yourself that we are handling the Armenians in a way that was precipitated. No. The measures we are applying against the Armenians are the result of a "profound and careful deliberations." In Turkish using the Arabic word, "ariz ve amik dushunlerik." The Turkish Court Martial made a point about this expression as a symbol or proof of premeditation.

But the most explicit recognition of premeditation in the verdicts of the Military Tribunal came from Trabizon, Yozgat and Harput. In all three verdicts, the Turkish Court Martial used the Arabic word "Taammuden" meaning by prior deliberation. So here it is, a Turkish Court Martial, a Military Tribunal declaring in three of its verdicts that the treatment of Armenians was premeditated.

The second part of the evidence for Genocidal intent, comes in particular from Turkish Military Authorities. I think in terms of German documentation, the most striking evidence comes from Colonel Stange, who was the only high ranking German officer who was part of the Third Ottoman army. The Third Ottoman army was stationed in Erzerum and had jurisdiction over the six Armenian populated Provinces: Erzerum, Dyarbekir, Harput, Van, Bitlis and Sivas.

The most gruesome details of the Armenian Genocide took place against the Armenian population of the Six Provinces. This was because the Turks felt that this concentration of Armenian people of the Six Provinces constituted a major threat to the integrity of Turkish territories.

Therefore as Colonel Stange was part and parcel of the Third Army, he conducted several guerrilla operations on the borders of the Caucasus. In mid July 1915, he prepared and wrote a sixteen page report to his Government and in the middle of the report he declared explicitly, "I can no longer remain silent. I have to inform my Government as to what is transpiring in this area, it is my duty."

Colonel Stange said that, the Commander of the Turkish Third Army, General Mahmoud Kamil, was the arch organizer of the Armenian Genocide. This is

very important. Here is a German Colonel, part and parcel of the Ottoman Turkish Third Army, informing the German Government for the first time that the Commander of the Third Army was a key figure in the organization of the Armenian Genocide in the Six Armenian Provinces of Harput, Erzerum, Diyarbekir, Van, Bitlis and Sivas.

On page twelve of the sixteen page document he says, "The treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during the War was the result of deliberations prior to the War, long time before the War." In German "Eine lang gehekten plan." Here's an eye witness of the Armenian Genocide in close co-operation with the Turkish Commander, informing the German Government that the application of measures against the Armenians was pre-meditated long before the War using key words meaning 'pre-meditation.'

I think the most pungent Turkish evidence of Genocidal intent comes from the successor of General Mahmoud Kamil. General Mahmoud Kamil completed the extermination of the Armenian population of the Six Provinces and was recalled by Interior Minister Talaat to the War Ministry to his old duties. He was replaced by General Vehip Pasha. This appointment between Mahmoud Kamil and Vehip Pasha is in itself very instructive about the role of the Central Committee of the Young Turk Ittihad Party, in terms of organization of the Armenian Genocide.

In February, 1915, the War Minister Enver Pasha had appointed his classmate, Vehip Pasha, as the Commander in Chief of the Third Army. As soon as the organisers of the Armenian Genocide - namely Talaat, and the two physicians Dr. Nazim and Dr. Bahaedding Shakir - learned of the appointment, they prevailed on the War Minister Enver, saying that they wanted Mahmoud Kamil Pasha instead of Vehip Pasha. The War Minister Enver yielded to these three civilian people, the arch organizers of the Armenian Genocide.

The Commander in Chief of the Second Army, General Izzet Pasha, who after the Armistice became the first post-war Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) of the Ottoman Government, in his memoirs made a fantastic revelation, a disclosure regarding the Third Army. He said that as soon as Mahmoud Kamil Pasha became the Commander in Chief of the Third Army for the Six Armenian Provinces, he despatched to the War Minister Enver, several telegrams, in which he requested and demanded authority to expel and deport the entire Armenian population of the Six Provinces. Clearly a pre-arrangement. However, Enver Pasha had naively appointed him classmate Vehip Pasha as Commander of the Third Army, but the organizers of the Armenian Genocide had other plans, of which the War Ministry was probably not aware. That is why Enver was prevailed upon to make Mahmoud Kamil the Commander in Chief of the Third Army. We have ample documentation that when he came to Erzerum to take up his command, he organized the entire Genocide.

According to German documentation, General Mahmoud Kamil convened two conferences, in which all the Governor Generals of the Six Armenian Provinces were invited to Erzerum for secret deliberations. When his task was finished, he went back to the War Ministry and Vehip Pasha, the original Commander of the Third Army was re-appointed.

Vehip Pasha produced an affidavit at the end of the First World War for the Turkish Military Tribunal, dated 6th December 1918. In that affidavit, Vehip Pasha made tremendous disclosures. He said "I came to my post to take command of the Third Army and what did I see? The entire Armenian

population had vanished. Hundreds and thousands of Armenian people no more. Being a General I could not intervene and launch an investigation in civilian matters. Therefore I waited for a propitious moment to find out what happened to the Armenians."

The moment came in February, 1916. A labour battalion of 2,500 disarmed Armenian soldiers had been carrying out manual labour duties for the army. There was a request from the Commander of the Fourth Army in Adana requesting Armenian labourers for important construction work. An order was issued for the transfer of this 2,500 strong Armenian labour battalion to be sent from Sivas to Adana. Two days later Adana wired to General Vehip Pasha saying "where are they?" Vehip Pasha replied saying "I ordered the 2,500 Armenian labour battalion to be sent." Then he investigated and found that within eight hours of their departure from Sivas to Adana, they were taken to a remote place, had their arms and legs bound, bayoneted and thrown off a precipice, all massacred and killed. Vehip Pasha instantly launched a military court martial and hanged the two gendarmerie Commanders who were complicit in the murders.

At the end of the First World War, on 6th December, 1918, Vehip Pasha produced a twelve page affidavit for the Turkish Court Martial. In this document, Vehip Pasha concluded as follows, - and I'm quoting verbatim - "in conclusion, the deportation and the massacre of the Armenian population of Turkey was the result of a decision of the Central Committee of the Young Turk Ittihad Party." Then he used two critical words that indicate Genocidal intent. He said that the extermination of the Armenian Population was "deliberate" using the Turkish word "kasten," meaning a deliberate act with prior intent. Then adding another key word for the fact that this was centrally organized, he said "under the auspices of our Central Government." In original Turkish "heukumettin tahte altinda."

Here it is, a Turkish army Commander informing the Turkish Court Martial that there was deliberate intent to destroy the Armenian population of Turkey and that it happened under the auspices of the Central Government.

### **The Role of Young Turk Ittihad Party Functionaries**

I don't have time to go into detail about the organization of the Armenian Genocide. The Turkish Court Martial found a fascinating document, whereby the Genocide of the Armenian people was replicated by the Nazis in terms of procedure. The Turkish Court Martial, after accumulating evidence decided that the functionaries of the party deserved special trials. The party functionaries were the executioners of the Armenian Genocide. In their verdict it says, "The organization and supervision of the extermination of the Armenian people was handled by the functionaries of the Young Turk Ittihad Party." Very interesting, the supervision and implementation of the details of the Genocide was entrusted not to governmental officials but to secret commissars, functionaries of the party and they were all of them former military officers, who had resigned from the military to become available to perform secret missions for the party.

I'll give you an example of how these commissars who had no governmental function but were party functionaries performed their task in the details of the Genocide. The Greek Bishop of Trabizon had approached the Governor General pleading for the sick and old Armenians, pregnant women and children to have their deportation delayed. This was agreed but as soon as a

functionary of the Young Turk Ittihad Party, Yeni Bahceli Nail learned of this arrangement, he immediately scolded the Governor General, vetoed his decision and said all Armenians without exception were to be subject to deportation.

Think of it, the highest civilian authority, the Governor General of the entire Province was overruled by a man who had no governmental authority, but represented the highest organs of the Party.

The second example is that the Governor of Erzerum, Tahsin, was very humane and said he would allow old people and children to be exempt from deportation. As soon as the Party functionary called Hilmi learned of this, he vetoed the decision of the Governor and here I have to tell you a great irony about these two men.

In Ankara in 1926, Mustafa Kemal, founder of the Turkish Republic hanged Batman Yeni Bahceli Nail as well as Hilmi among others, for different reasons. There was rivalry between the Kemalists and Ittihadists, who were trying to overthrow the Kemalist regime and regain power. Kemal cleared them all up. In Izmir and Ankara, Kemal hanged almost twelve of them, the chief architects of the Armenian Genocide.

### **Unparalleled Methods of Cruelty: Death by Mutilation**

Finally in the implementation and execution of the Armenian Genocide, we see something unprecedented in the annals of human history. The Turkish Court Martial demonstrated with ample documentation that the methods employed for the elimination of the Armenian people were unparalleled in recorded human history.

There were three major procedures used in the elimination process.

Firstly, as Ambassador Morgenthau points out, in order to spare shell and powder, the Turkish government decided to use blunt instruments to massacre the Armenian people. Here we see the harrowing method of mass murder: Death by mutilation. Blunt instruments, daggers swords, hammers, axes all kinds of things with which Armenian people were bludgeoned to death, protracting the agony of death.

Secondly, there were massive drowning operations in the Black Sea and the Euphrates River. There were so many people bayoneted and killed in the river that the river changed course for a hundred metres.

Thirdly, thousands and thousands of people were burned alive in hay lofts. In Mush, Taron and Bitlis, 100,000 Armenian people from forty five to fifty villages were murdered by the Kurdish population.

In his affidavit to the Turkish Court Martial, General Mehmet Vehip Pasha, the Commander of the Third Army stated that he went to the Armenian village of Chourig (meaning little water in Armenian) where he found all the houses packed with burnt human skeletons, so tightly packed all were standing upright. General Vehip said, "In all the history of Islam, it is not possible to find any parallel to such savagery." This was the evidence of a Turkish army Commander, an arch Ittihadist. He was so shocked by the savagery that ending his affidavit he said, "Divine justice may be delayed, but it will not fail." In Turkish, "Adaleti Allahiyede imhal var ihmal yok dur."

## Theoretical Suggestions

The most distinguishing feature of the Armenian Genocide has been the sustained impunity of the crimes. Firstly the Abdul Hamid massacres of 1894-1896, of the Armenian population of Ottoman Turkey; Secondly, the 1909 Adana massacres and finally the 1915 Armenian Genocide. Had these been punished, it is possible that the Jewish Holocaust may never have been contemplated by the Nazis of World War II.

Impunity is the alpha and omega of the Armenian Genocide and the extraordinary significance of the power of a monolithic political party that gained control of functions of the State subverted and finally criminalised the State for Party objective and ideology.

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*Transcribed by Nvart Palamoudian from tape recording and notes taken, with minor adjustments to syntax.*

*Sub-Headings & explanatory phrases in brackets added for clarity.*

*There may be variation in spelling of names and places.*

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### Brief Biography of Vahakn N. Dadrian

January 2006 Revision

Vahakn N. Dadrian received his undergraduate and graduate education in Europe at the University of Berlin (mathematics), the University of Vienna (history) and the University of Zürich (international law). His training in the United States was in the social sciences, culminating with a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago.

Vahakn N. Dadrian received his undergraduate education in Europe at the University of Berlin (mathematics), the University of Vienna (history) and the University of Zürich (international law). He received his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago.

His academic background includes affiliations with Harvard University as a Research Fellow, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a Guest Professor and Duke University as a Visiting Professor.

In the last twenty years he has lectured extensively in French, English and German in such European institutions as the Free University of Berlin and the Universities of Munich, Parma, Torino, Zürich, Uppsala, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne, Bochum, Münster, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Geneva, Brussels and UNESCO's Paris center.

Professor Dadrian was the first Armenian scholar invited in 1995 to the British Parliament, House of Commons, to deliver a lecture commemorating the 80th anniversary of the Armenian genocide. In 1998, in a special ceremony, he was inducted into the ranks of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia.

At the same time, he was decorated by that republic's president with the Khorenatzi Medal, Armenia's highest cultural award.

His groundbreaking research has been supported by two large grants from the National Science Foundation, resulting in the publication of two separate monographs by the Yale Journal of International Law.

One of them is a legal analysis of the Armenian genocide from the perspective of international law; the other, published in 1998, examines within the same perspective the comparative aspects of the Armenian and Jewish cases of genocide.

Following a series of specifically arranged lectures in Armenia in April 2005 commemorating the 90th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, Prof. Dadrian was declared Honorary Professor by four universities in Armenia. Additionally, he received three gold medals, one of which was presented by the Rector of Yerevan State University, and the other by the President of Yerevan's Law School—both of them being the highest awards of these institutions.

In the United States, the International Association of Genocide Scholars, during its Sixth Biennial Conference, June 4-7, 2005, bestowed on him its Lifetime Achievement Award—the first ever granted. In May 2005, he was chosen as a recipient of the Ellis Island Medal of Honor.

After serving as Professor of Sociology at the State University of New York from 1970 to 1991, Professor Dadrian shifted his academic career to conducting research full-time on the Armenian genocide. For several years he was engaged as Director of a large Genocide Study Project sponsored by the H.F. Guggenheim Foundation. The project's first major achievement was the publication, now in its seventh printing, of an extensive volume titled ***The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*** (Oxford & Providence, RI, 1995). This work has appeared in French (Paris, 2nd printing), in Italian (Rome), in Russian (Moscow), and in Greek (Athens). Professor Dadrian's other major work, ***German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of Historical Evidence of German Complicity***, was published in 1996 (Cambridge, MA) and is now in its third edition. His third book, ***Warrant for Genocide: The Key Elements of the Turko-Armenian Conflict***, appeared in 1999 (London and New Brunswick, NJ). His latest work is entitled ***Key Elements of the Turkish Denial of the Armenian Genocide*** (Cambridge, MA, 1999)

"In the 1970s, Vahakn N. Dadrian helped to create the field of the Comparative Study of Genocide, bringing to his work an interdisciplinary perspective that joined sociology, history and law, enriched further by his ability to draw upon half a dozen languages. He is also the foremost scholar of the Armenian Genocide, having devoted more than 30 years to research on virtually every aspect of it.

"The culmination of his work is the book published in 1995 on The History of the Armenian Genocide. It is a rare work, over 20 years in the making, that is at once fascinating to read, comprehensive in scope, and unsurpassed in the documentation of the events it describes."

Roger W. Smith  
Professor of Government  
College of William and Mary  
Williamsburg, Virginia

