

**A QUESTION
OF
RESPONSIBILITY:
THE GENOCIDE
OF THE ARMENIANS
1914-1922**

APRIL 24, 1980



WHY DO WE REMEMBER APRIL 24TH, 1915?

Why do we remember April 24th? It was, after all, a lifetime ago that our fathers and mothers were martyred. It was a lifetime ago that the major portion of the Armenian land disappeared from the face of the earth. We remember because the wound has not healed.

That portion of historic Armenia is still in the hands of the country that murdered us, a country that denies anything ever happened, in the midst of a world that seems deaf. The memory of our holy martyrs is still alive, though, a ghost fluttering over the devastated land. Did they die that we might forget them? Where would we be had they not saved a last drop of water, a last crust of bread, shielded us from the swords with their own bodies?

There might have been no genocide; they all might have lived, had they accepted the religion of the murderer. But this would have been worse than death; it would have been death in life. There can be no Armenia without Christianity. That is why we remember our martyrs—because they are our saints, who watered with their blood the garden of our new life, the Armenia that is alive today, and aware of the sustenance it receives from its Faith in Heaven and from its martyrs in the still unquiet ground.

The Armenian nation stands as the moral barometer of the world. Because we were allowed to die, successive genocides came and the world paid a terrible price for its oblivious complacency. "It is spring, and snow is falling!" (*"Garoon ah, dzoon ah arel"*), cried Komitas Vartabed. History knows that Spring will not be warm again until the snow of death is burnt from our desolate country.

We remember April 24 as we remember the Easter days preceding it, in which Our Lord died and rose from the dead, as we have arisen. We glory in Christ alone, and have thus inherited all the suffering and all the wonder of creation. By the Lord's grace may we forever hold this precious inheritance and never forget.

ARCHBISHOP TORKOM MANOOGIAN, PRIMATE
Diocese of the Armenian Church of America

April 1980

Dear Friend,

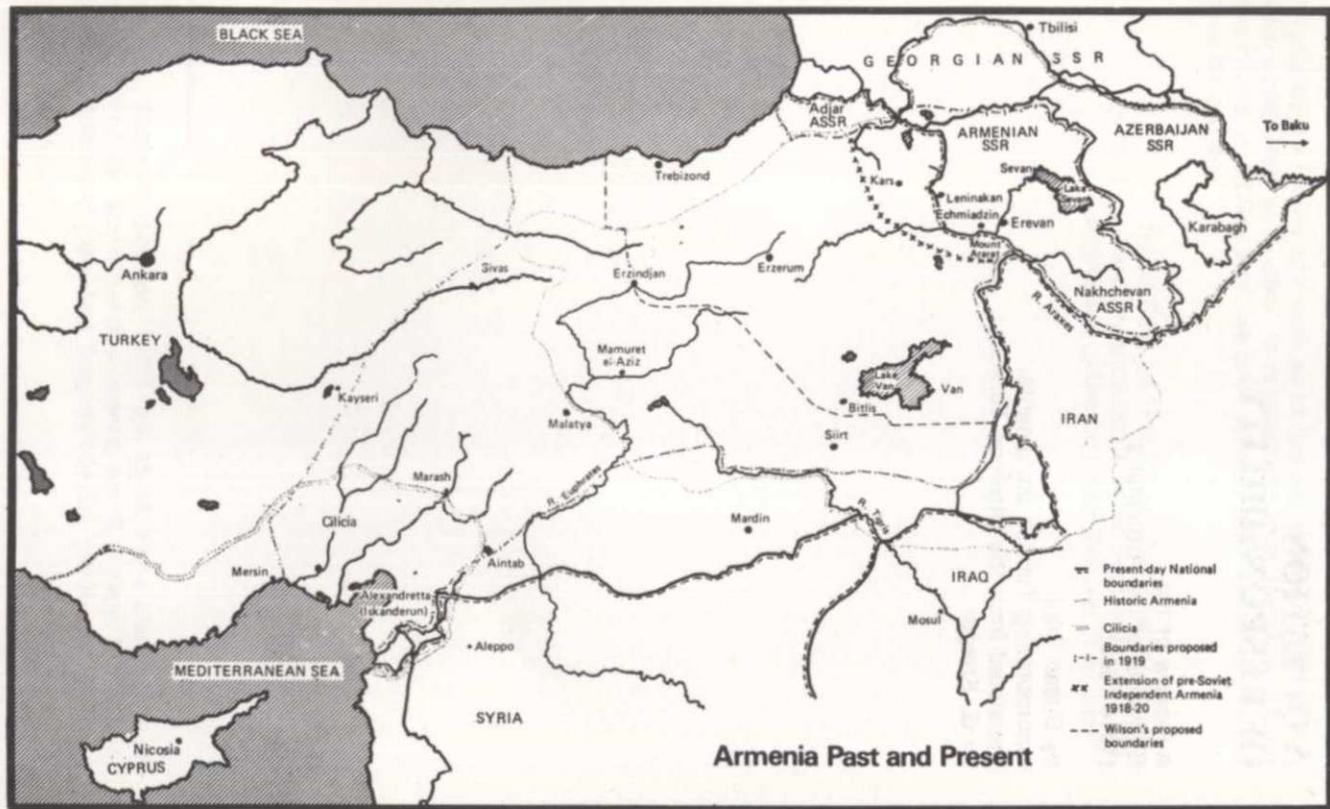
In making this publication available to the public, on this the 65th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, Armenian Rights Council of America once again endorses the proposition that the most frightful crime ever recorded in the history of mankind should be told over and over again and be read and re-read whenever or whenever free people gather.

ARCA rejects the suggestion that commemoration of the Armenian martyrdom is utilized to vent unbridled hatred toward the Turk. All the marches, demonstrations and protests are held to demand our RIGHTS, and the minutest details of our massacre are told and retold so that they may be etched in the minds of humankind and their ugly and painful impact help interdict future genocides.

It is understandable what the Turk wants....polite, public silence from the Armenians. What ARCA wants is the Rights that have been denied the Armenian... the restitution of his lands, his possessions and his home. To ARCA, this symbolizes the beauty of the aspiration, hope and vision of every Armenian and continues to remain his faith, his worship and his communion.

ARCA is deeply indebted to His Eminence Archbishop Torkom Manoogian, Primate of the Diocese of the Armenian Church of America for the inspiring message which appears in this publication, and to Mr. Souren Fesdjian, ardent believer in Armenian Rights, humanitarian, philanthropist and great Armenian for underwriting the expense of its preparation and printing.

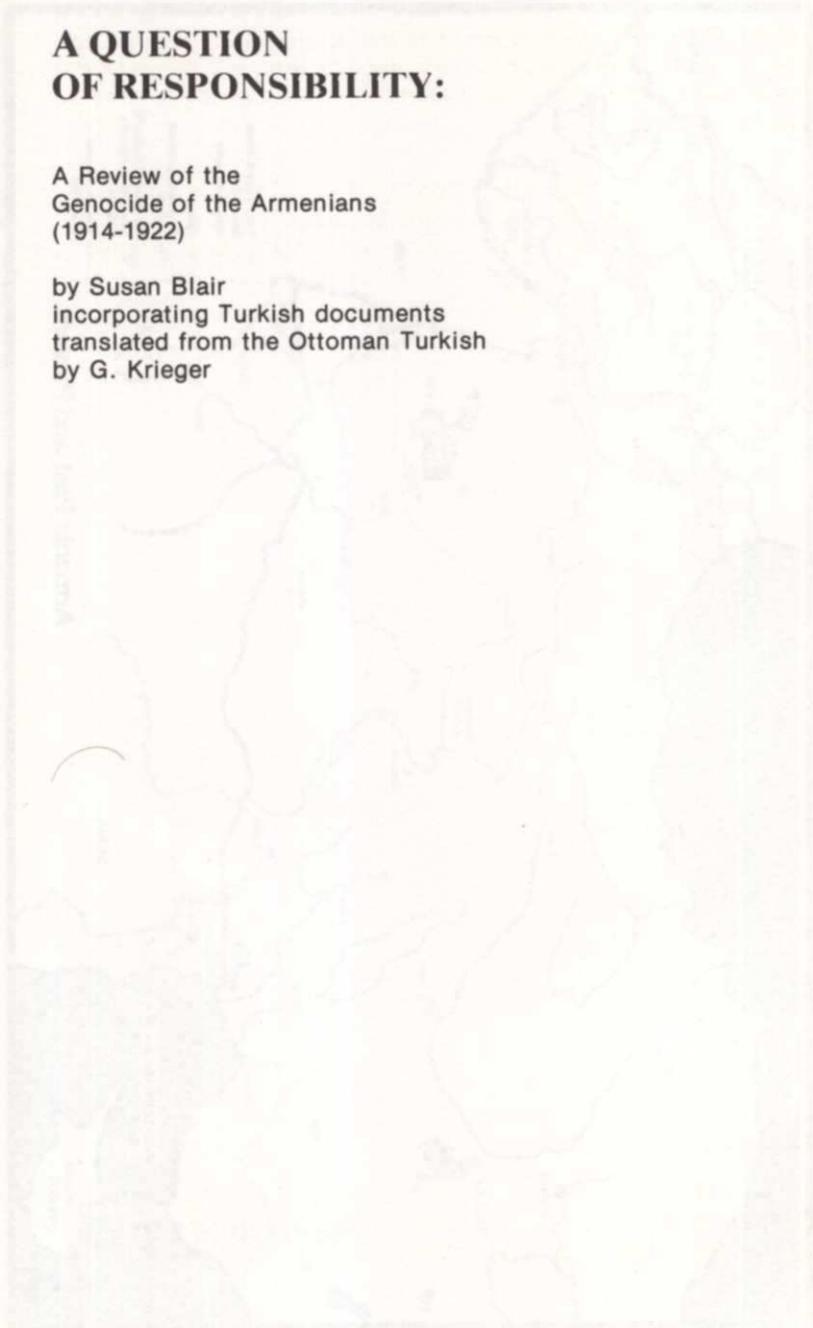
NUBAR DORIAN, Co-Chairman
Armenian Rights Council of America



A QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY:

A Review of the
Genocide of the Armenians
(1914-1922)

by Susan Blair
incorporating Turkish documents
translated from the Ottoman Turkish
by G. Krieger



"All rights of the Armenians such as to live and work on Turkish soil have been completely abrogated. In reference to this, the Government assumes all responsibility and has ordered that even babes in cradles are not to be spared."

Talaat Bey, Turkish Minister of Internal Affairs,
in confidential correspondence dated September 9, 1915,
addressed to the Governor General of Aleppo ¹.

¹ Naim bey, *Memoirs* (London, 1920), pp. 15-16. For a discussion of the authenticity of this and other documents, see G. Krieger's article in the volume *In Memory of the Great Tragedy* (Beirut, 1965), pp. 221-258.



Foreign relief workers collected thousands of children such as this one and placed them in orphanages.

A QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY

In writing of the massacres and forced deportations of the Armenians, the Armenian physicist Dr. V. L. Parsegian, echoing the sentiments of Armenians around the world, stated, "Armenians cannot easily forget those earlier horrors of this century, or accept denial of the realities of history on the part of the Turkish government. For in that continued denial there persists a threat to all minorities."

Since the contemporary ruling powers in Turkey continue to deny their nation's past history, a reiteration of that chapter from 1914-1922, when some 1.5 million Armenians were massacred under the cover of World War I and the Kemalist revolution, becomes increasingly important.

On April 24, 1980, the world observes the sixty-fifth anniversary of that genocide, called the first in the twentieth century. Armenians have chosen April 24 as the symbolic day of remembrance, for on that night in 1915, 192 Armenian intellectuals, including the leading writers and the Armenian members of Turkish Parliament, were arrested and promptly deported to the Turkish interior. Most were murdered. Some, such as the Armenian composer Komitas Vartapet, were driven insane by the horrors which they witnessed. The elimination of these leaders left the pathetic remnant of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire without spokesmen to plead their cause and protest their treatment.

But the forced deportations and massacres of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire had begun months before, and did not end until years later.

In modern times, the Armenians and their ancestral homeland were divided between the Czarist Russian and Ottoman Turkish Empires. Within the Ottoman Empire, life was oppressive for the non-Turkish minorities, who were derisively labeled *giaours*, or infidels. They were subject to special forms of taxation, and were not given equal protection under the law. (A Moslem who murdered a non-Moslem was not, for example, liable to death for a crime which carried the death penalty if the victim were a Moslem.) Nonetheless, the Armenians had prospered, excelling in trade and commerce.

During the nineteenth century, as the Balkan peoples began to gain independence from Ottoman rule, the Turks began to fear that the Armenians, too, would seek independence. Czarist Russia became the outspoken champion of Armenian rights within the Ottoman Empire — not without ulterior motive.

In 1908, the Union and Progress, or Young Turk Party, seized power in the Ottoman Empire, making the sultan a mere figurehead. Believing the Young Turk slogans calling for brotherhood and progress, certain Armenians collaborated with the new leaders, welcoming the downfall of the old regime. Their hopes for equal treatment under the law were

soon shattered when the Young Turk revolution degenerated into fanatic chauvinism. Enflamed by extreme nationalism, the new regime resolved to Turkify their empire, and instituted a policy of "Pan-Turanism" to unite the Turkish peoples of Turkey and Central Asia.

The non-Turkish peoples of the Ottoman Empire were suspect, particularly the Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians, Arabs and Jews. The Armenians became the primary target. In 1909, over 21,000 Armenians were massacred in one of the eastern provinces. In 1914, 300,000 Greeks were killed. The Young Turk leaders then concentrated more fully on the Armenians, implementing a plan which they had first drafted in 1909.

As the Turkish armed forces were mobilized for war, the Young Turk leaders simultaneously began the implementation of their plan for the elimination of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire. A special organization, called the *Teshkileti Mahsusa*, comprised of bands of Turkish criminals who were released from prison, was formed to effect this project.¹

On August 17, 1914, the massacre actually began in Diarbekir, in northern Mesopotamia. The *Teshkileti Mahsusa* bands proved insufficiently organized at that juncture, and the local Turkish citizenry was reluctant to carry out the task, so the massacre in that region was postponed.

In September, 1914, Jelal Bey, Vali of Aleppo, received the telegraph order from the Ministry of Internal Affairs instructing him to "deport" the Armenians of the region of Zeitun. Jelal Bey refused. Talaat Pasha, Minister of Internal Affairs, then separated the largely Armenian regions of Zeitun and Marash from Jelal Bey's jurisdiction, and charged more obedient officials with the deportation of the Armenians from those regions.

As part of the master plan, the 200,000 Armenian men who were drafted into the Turkish army were disarmed and organized into labor battalions in December, 1914. As these loyal soldiers collapsed from exhaustion or starvation, they were shot outright. Others were taken out to rural areas and killed.

In the meantime, a thorough search of Armenian homes took from the rest of the people any arms that they still retained from the brief period in 1908 when they were allowed to possess them for self-defense.

A pattern in the evacuation of Armenians from their homes soon emerged. Viscount James Bryce, at one time Great Britain's Ambassador to the United States, described the process in an account published in the New York Times on September 21, 1915:

¹ *Takvim-i Vakayi, Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi Muhakemat-ı Zabıt Ceridesi (Istanbul, 1919), No. 3540, pp 4-5.*

Accounts from different sources agree that over the whole of Eastern and Northern Asia Minor and Armenia the Christian population is being deliberately exterminated, the men of military age being killed and the younger women seized for Turkish harems, compelled to become Mohammedans, and kept, with the children, in virtual slavery. The rest of the inhabitants, old women, men, and children, have been driven under convoy of Turkish soldiers into unhealthy parts of Asia Minor, some to the desert regions beyond the Euphrates. Many die or are murdered en route, and all perish sooner or later.

In Trebizond City, where the Armenians numbered over 10,000, orders came from Constantinople to seize all Armenians. Troops hunted them, drove them to the shore, took them to sea, threw them overboard, and drowned them all — men, women, and children. This was seen and described by the Italian Consul.²

U.S. Ambassador to Turkey Henry Morgenthau and other European and American witnesses have described mutilated bodies cast into the sea, dismembering of children in front of their mothers' eyes, women and children thrown alive into wells, mass rapes, scalpings, and forms of murder too horrible for the human imagination to invent without having seen the lengths to which the Turks went to destroy the Armenians.

On April 19, 1915, when the Armenians in the city of Van were ordered to pack their belongings for relocation, they had already learned that "deportation" meant murder. The Armenians rebelled, and successfully defended themselves until the Russian army occupied Van in May.

The rebellion in Van provided the Turkish government, — headed by a triumvirate composed of Talaat Pasha; Enver Pasha, Minister of War; and Jemal Pasha, Minister of the Navy — with a pretext for exterminating the Armenians of Istanbul. The Armenians in what was then the capital of the Ottoman Empire had been spared because the Turks hesitated to alarm the foreign ambassadors there. April 24 was the Young Turks' answer to the rebellion in self-defense in Van.

Even Turkish sources admit the magnitude of the atrocities committed against the Armenians. Official Turkish statistics from the period give the number of Armenians deported as 1,326,250; massacred and deceased from starvation, 1,056,558; escaped to the Caucasus, 287,979 (tens of thousands of those who escaped later died of starvation); conversions to Islam, 276,762; survivors, 269,792. Armenians of Istanbul and Smyrna not subject to deportation were

² "Bryce Asks U.S. to Aid Armenia," *New York Times*, *New York*, September 21, 1915.

numbered at 183,337.³

Other statistics help to give an even clearer picture of the losses in terms of life and property. Prior to World War I, there were 2,200 Armenian churches in Turkey. Today, only 57 remain. 221 Armenian monasteries and 1,439 Armenian-operated schools were destroyed. The effect on the Turkish economy was equally devastating. Of the 166 import companies doing business in Turkey at the outbreak of World War I, 141 were operated by Armenians, as were 127 of the 150 export companies. 32 out of 37 bankers in business in Istanbul were Armenian. Of the 9,800 shops on record in Asia Minor in 1914, 6,800 were owned by Armenians.⁴

After the Armistice, when the Turkish government was reorganized, the new government voted to establish the Extraordinary Court Martial in Istanbul, and similar courts martial in the provinces, to try the perpetrators of the genocide of the Armenians. During the course of the ensuing trials, hundreds of official documents pertaining to the deportation and massacre of the Armenians were released. These documents, along with the proceedings of the Extraordinary Court Martial, were published in an official Turkish government publication, *Takvim-i Vakayi, Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi Muhakemat-ı Zabıt Ceridesi*. This material proves irrefutably that the elimination of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire was the official policy of the Young Turk government of Turkey during World War I.

Why, then, has the modern Turkish government continued to rationalize the crimes of an old regime? A partial answer may be provided by the fact that during the Kemalist revolution, Armenians were again massacred. In January-February, 1920, an estimated 13,000 to 20,000 Armenians were killed in the city of Marash alone.⁵ In a report on the events in Marash during that period, Dr. Crathern of the Young Men's Christian Association, then serving in Marash, wrote:

*I have read much, and heard more, of the atrocities the Armenians have suffered in the past, but I never expected to witness first hand the barbarities that are a disgrace to civilisation and a stain on the escutcheons of the Great Powers that can permit such a Government to exist.*⁶

The Kemalists began their rise to power with more massacres, and ultimately sought to erase memory of the wrongs of the past to consolidate their power. Turkish history books thus attempt to

3 As quoted in *La Renaissance (Istanbul, Friday, December 13, 1918)*.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *File E1775/3/4, Foreign Office Archives of Great Britain, Public Record Office.*

6 *Op. cit., File E1784/3/44.*

minimize the number of Armenians killed, if the question is ever discussed at all. Armenians are accused of disloyalty in a time of war, but how that accusation would justify the murder of women and children is never answered. The proceedings of the Court Martial are never cited as references by Turkish historians.

Within the last year, however, Turkish intellectuals have shown signs of curiosity, and have indicated a willingness to read non-Turkish sources on the subject. In an article published in the February 28 issue of the New York Times, the paper's Ankara correspondent Marvin Howe quoted a "senior civil servant" as stating, "It was a war and there are always two sides of a story, but Turkish history is one-sided."

The fact that Turkish documents pertaining to the genocide of the Armenians are all written in the old Ottoman script which utilized Arabic letters, makes them inaccessible to most modern Turkish intellectuals, even if they are interested in learning more about their history.

Until that history is accepted by modern Turkey, the possibility that a nation can carry out mass exterminations of its subjects on the basis of race, religion, or political beliefs, and rationalize that policy before world tribunals remains a discomfoting reality.

New York, New York, 1980

APPENDIX

Decoding the Intragovernmental Communications of the Ittihad ve Terraki Government in the Ottoman Empire

by G. KRIEGER
with SUSAN BLAIR

The Union and Progress, or Young Turk Government in power in the Ottoman Empire from 1908-1918, evolved four cipher code systems utilizing Arabic numerals which enabled officials to transmit confidential and classified communications by telegraph.

Numerous examples of such telegrams have been preserved, and certified copies of many have been entered as evidence into the proceedings of the Extraordinary Court Martial to try the authors of the Armenian Genocide in 1919.

A message, in cipher code, would be transmitted via telegraph, and received at a local telegraph office. The telegraph clerk would record the message as received in cipher, and affix the date of receipt. The message, still in cipher code, would then be delivered locally to the official designated as the recipient.

The recipient official would then decode the message himself, or have a trusted subordinate do so. Due to a paper shortage, the Ottoman Turkish letters corresponding in meaning to the ciphers in the code usually were recorded in one of the two following manners:

1. The letters were written directly above the corresponding line of ciphers in the coded message, or

2. The letters were written on the bottom or the back of the sheet of paper on which the coded message was delivered.

The recipient official would then affix his seal. He would often make notes on the same sheet of paper as to how he planned to carry out the orders, or respond to the message, contained in the telegram. Notations were frequently made about directives given to subordinates in response to the telegram.

Arabic numerals, with the Westernized equivalent, are as follows:

1	١	2	٢
3	٣	4	٤
5	٥	6	٦
7	٧	8	٨
9	٩	10	١٠
20	٢٠	30	٣٠

etc.

An example of a telegram transmitted and received in cipher code, then decoded by the recipient on the reverse side of the sheet of paper on which the telegram was recorded, follows:

واخيه نورا راجه بنو...
 در دسترو از فرا...
 درونان اخاصه اين اراميه...
 سخنان بانه...
 سامر در فخر بروج...
 بيد...

Coded telegram dispatched by Abdul Ahad Nuri Bey to Jemal Bey, Chairman, Constantinople.

The decoding of the telegram is in verso of the page as there is no room at the end of the page.

The original is preserved in the Bibliotheque Nubar, Paris, Square Alboni.

No. 31

To the Chairman of the General Committee
for the Settlement of Tribes and Deportees.

Reply to the telegram of November 19, 1915.

There are more than four hundred boys in the orphanage. They will be joined with the caravan and driven to the place of destination.

Signature/ Deputy Chairman of the General
Committee for the Settlement of Tribes and deportees:
Abdul Ahad Nuri.

November 26, 1915

1. To be driven to the place of destination means that they will be killed on the highway.

Coded telegram dispatched to the Chairman Jemal Bey at Constantinople by Abdul Ahad Nuri Bey, Deputy Chairman for the Settlement of Tribes and Deportees in Aleppo, Syria.

The decoding of the coded telegram is at the end of the page.

The original is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nubar, Paris, Square Alboni.

No. 51

To the Chairman of the General Committee
for the Settlement of Tribes and Deportees.

It was ordered by two telegrams of September 9 and November 20, 1915, dispatched by the Minister of Internal Affairs, that certain persons, namely Hapet Aramian, Garabed Antunian, Arsen Shahbazian, be arrested.

Having ascertained that they are in Ras-UI-Ain, we inform you that the orders issued have been carried¹ out by an official sent especially from here; he reports that the provincial authorities (of Aleppo) reported the fact to the Ministry.

Signature/ Deputy Chairman of the General
Committee for the Settlement of Tribes and Deportees:
Abudl Ahad Nuri.

December 13, 1915

In discussing the body of telegrams transmitted in cipher code, many authors have made the error of assuming that the signature affixed to the messages were actually those of the officials who sent the telegrams. Since handwriting could not be transmitted via telegraph, such conclusions are absurd. Rather, their authenticity has been revealed through the handwritten notes and official seals of the recipients.

1. The persons were killed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Richard G. Hovannisian, Professor of History at the University of California at Los Angeles, compiled an excellent bibliography of non-Armenian sources on the Armenian genocide for the booklet, "Human Rights and Genocide, 1975" published by the Diocese of the Armenian Church.

The following additions to Dr. Hovannisian's bibliography, some of them recently declassified, should prove helpful to the serious student.

Great Britain/ Foreign Office Archives/ Public Record Office
Class 371/ Political/ General Correspondence for 1920
Add the following files

2/44	88/44	551/44
9075/44	1282/44	1656/244

La Renaissance/ Istanbul/ 1918-1919.

Takvim-i Vakayi/ Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi Muhakemat-ı Zabıt Ceridesi/
Istanbul/1919.

Dr. Hovannisian's Bibliography is reproduced below.

THE DEPORTATION AND MASSACRES
OF THE ARMENIAN POPULATION
OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
1915-1922

A Bibliography of Non-Armenian Sources
Compiled by Richard G. Hovannisian, Professor of History,
University of California, Los Angeles, California

The bibliography provides only an introduction to the relevant publications and archival materials in English, French, German, Russian, Italian, Norwegian, Dutch, Romanian, Spanish, and Persian. The many thousands of accounts and reports in journals, newspapers and other periodic publications have not been included nor have the even more extensive publications of Armenian researchers and survivors. Moreover, the broad category of documents and descriptions pertaining to the dislocation and massacres of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire during the period from 1878 to 1909 has been omitted from this bibliography.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

A. United States of America/Public and Private Papers

1. Library of Congress/Division of Manuscripts/The Papers of

- a. Tasker H. Bliss
- b. Mark L. Bristol
- c. Bainbridge Colby
- d. James G. Harbord
- e. Charles E. Hughes
- f. Henry Morgenthau, Sr. (The Morgenthau Papers include hundreds of reports and documents about the massacres and the Ambassador's futile attempts to intercede.)
- g. Elihu Root
- h. Henry White
- i. John S. Williams
- j. T. Woodrow Wilson

2. University and Foundation Libraries/The Papers of

- a. Cleveland H. Dodge (Princeton)
- b. Edward M. House (Yale)
- c. Henry C. King (Oberlin)
- d. Henry Cabot Lodge (Massachusetts Historical Society)
- e. Albert H. Lybyer (Illinois)
- f. Frank L. Polk (Yale)
- g. Walter George Smith (American Catholic Historical Society)

3. Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions/Houghton Library (Harvard). Extensive materials and reports on the deportations and massacres are in the following files:

- a. File 3.1 Reports and Correspondence of Missionaries Abroad
- b. File 3.2 Correspondence of the American Board, including the papers of James L. Barton
- c. File 16.5 Near Eastern Papers
- d. File 16.9 Materials on Conditions in the Ottoman Empire

B. The United States/The National Archives/Washington, D.C.

Thousands of documents relating to the plight of the Armenians and to political and economic measures to assist the survivors are distributed primarily among the following Record Groups:

Record Group

- | | |
|----|--|
| 4 | United States Food Administration |
| 5 | United States Grain Corporation |
| 38 | Office of Naval Intelligence |
| 43 | United States Participation in International Conference, Commissions and Expositions |
| 46 | Records of the United States Senate |
| 59 | General Records of the Department of State (detailed separately below) |

- 80 General Records of the Department of Navy
 - 84 Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State (detailed separately below)
 - 165 War Department General Staff
 - 233 Records of the United States House of Representatives
 - 256 Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (detailed separately below)
- C. The United States/The National Archives/Record Group 59
This Record Group, General Records of the Department of State, holds the largest number of relevant documents in the National Archives. The following files, all except one of which are available as microfilm publications, are especially relevant:
1. Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1910-1929 (Microfilm Publication 353:88 reels)
 - a. 867.00 Political Affairs (reels 4-19)
 - b. 867.01 Government (reel 21)
 - c. 867.03 Legislative Branch, including Parliament, 1911-1916 (reel 23)
 - d. 867.4016 Race Problems (reels 43-48)
 - Reel 43: 1911-1915: Persecution and Massacres of Armenians and Albanians, 1911-1915; Bedouin Massacres of Noncombatants, 1915.
 - Reel 44: 1915-1919: Expulsion of Armenians from Turkey; Relief for Jews and Armenians; Armenian Refugees in the Caucasus; Appeals by the Department of State to the German Government to influence Turkey to desist from Armenian persecutions.
 - Reel 45: 1916-1917: Massacres and Deportations of the Armenian Population; Protection of Armenians in Persia.
 - Reel 46: 1917-1922: Syrian and Armenian Massacres; Persecution of Greeks; Alleged Turkish Policy of Exterminating Christian Minorities in Asia Minor.
 - Reel 47: 1922: Investigations into Turkish Atrocities; Evacuation of Christians from Anatolia and Constantinople.
 - Reel 48: 1922-1929: Deportation of Christian Population from Anatolia; Atrocities against Greeks and Armenians in Asia Minor; Movement for an Armenian National Home.
 - e. 867.404 Religion. Includes Regulations about Armenian Patriarchate, 1916; Expulsion of the Greek Patriarch, 1922 (reel 49)
 - f. 867.48 Calamities and Disasters, 1912-1927 (reels 51-55)

- g. 867.52 Lands. Includes Sale of Property belonging to Deported Christians; Prohibitions against Sale of Properties by Greeks and Armenians (reel 62)
- h. 867.9111 Anti-United States and anti-Armenian Comment in the Turkish Press (reel 72 for 1919-1924)
- 2. Political Relations between the United States and Turkey, 1910-1929 (Microfilm Publication 365:8 reels)
 - a. 711.67 General (reel 2)
 - b. 711.672 Lausanne Conference; Protests and Nonratification (reels 3-7)
- 3. Political Relations between Turkey and Other States, 1910-1929 (Microfilm Publication 363: 29 reels)
 - a. 767.68 Greece (reels 3-6)
 - b. 767.68119 Termination of War and Lausanne Conference (reels 7-25)
 - c. 767.90c Azerbaijan (reel 28)
 - d. 767.90d Syria (reel 28)
- 4. Internal Affairs of Persia, 1910-1929 (Microfilm Publication 715: 37 rolls)
 - a. 891.00 Political Affairs, 1912-1922 (reels 4-5)
 - b. 891.4016 Racial Problems. Includes Armenians of Persia; Turkish and Kurdish Atrocities against Assyrian Christians, 1915; Urmia Massacres; Massacres of Assyrians and Armenians, 1919 (reel 13)
 - c. 891.48 Calamities and Disasters. Includes Commission for Armenian and Syrian Relief; Aid to Refugees (reels 14-15)
- 5. Internal Affairs of Asia, 1910-1929 (Microfilm Publication 722: 28 reels)
 - a. 890c.00 Azerbaijan (reel 8)
 - b. 890 d.4016 Syria. Racial Disturbances and Calamities 890d.48 (reel 14)
 - c. 890g.48 Mesopotamia (Iraq). Includes relief measures (reel 22)
- 6. Relations between Russia and the Soviet Union and Other States, 1910-1929 (Microfilm Publication 340: 20 rolls)
 - 761.67 Russia and Turkey (reels 7-8)
- 7. Internal Affairs of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1910-1929 (Microfilm Publication 316: 177 reels)
 - a. 861.00 Political Affairs, 1910-1920 (reels 7-36)
 - b. 861.4016 Race Problems (reel 93)
 - c. 861.48 Calamities and Disasters. Includes Relief and Aid to Refugees (reels 97-105)
- 8. World War I and Its Termination, 1914-1929 (Microfilm Publication 367:518 reels). Relevant documents are scattered through the following files.
 - a. 763.72 The War 1914-1919 (reels 18-140)
 - b. 763.72115 Civilian Prisoners and Noncombatants (reels 332-

355)

- c. 763.72116 Illegal and Inhumane Warfare (reels 356-365)
- d. 763.72119 Termination of the War (reels 371-518)
- 9. The following files are open for use in the National Archives but not yet available as Microfilm Publications:
 - a. 701.60j Diplomatic Representation of Armenia
 - b. 702.60j Consular Representation of Armenia
 - c. 760j.00 Armenia: Political Affairs
 - d. 760j.61 Armenia and Russia
 - e. 760j.67 Armenia and Turkey
 - f. 760j.90c Armenia and Azerbaijan
 - g. 760g.605 Georgia and Armenia
 - h. 760g.67 Georgia and Turkey
 - i. 760g.90c Georgia and Azerbaijan
 - j. 860j.00 Armenia: Political Affairs
 - k. 860j.01 Armenia: Government
 - l. 860j.4016 Armenia: Race Relations
 - m. 860j.48 Armenia: Calamities and Disasters
 - n. 860j.50,51 Armenia: Economic and Financial
 - o. 860g.4016,48 Georgia: Race Problems and Calamities
 - p. 890c.4016,48 Azerbaijan: Race Problems and Calamities
- D. The United States/The National Archives/Record Group 84
Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State.
The records and dispatches of the following posts are of particular relevance:
 - 1. Alexandria
 - 2. Aleppo
 - 3. Bagdad
 - 4. Batum
 - 5. Beirut
 - 6. Constantinople
 - 7. Damascus
 - 8. Erzerum
 - 9. Harput
 - 10. Mersina
 - 11. Samson
 - 12. Sivas
 - 13. Smyrna
 - 14. Tehran
 - 15. Tiflis
 - 16. Trebizond
- E. The United States/The National Archives/Record Group 256
Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (Paris Peace Conference). This collection of 537 volumes of documents is available as Publication 820: 563 reels. Several thousand docu-

ments relate directly to the problem of the wartime decimation of the Armenian population, the question of restitution and repatriation, and of removing Turkish rule from the Armenian provinces. Reels 1-26 provide a key to the use of the records and the purport lists of all documents included in the Record Group.

The following files are of particular relevance.

1. 103.97 The American Relief Administration (reels 35-43)
2. 180 all classes Deliberations and Decisions of Peace Conference Committees and Councils (reels 50-139)
3. 181.94 Inter-Allied Mission (Haskell) to Armenia (reel 194)
4. 183.9 Armenian Delegation (reel 197)
5. 184.016 American Mission (Riggs) to South Russia and Transcaucasia (reel 223)
6. 184.021 American Military Mission (Harbord) to Armenia (reels 229-234)
7. 184.611 Bulletins of the American Mission, including summaries and documents relating to the Armenian question (reels 285-306)
8. 185.5 Turkish Peace Treaty, including boundary questions with Armenia (reels 407-413)
9. 867.00 Turkey: Political Affairs and Race Relations
867.4016 (reels 435-439)
10. 867b. all classes Armenia (reels 540-542)

F. Great Britain/Private Papers

1. The Papers of Arthur James Balfour (British Museum)
2. The Correspondence and Papers of Lord Edgar Algernon Robert Cecil (British Museum)
3. The Private Papers of Lord George Nathaniel Curzon (Public Record Office)
4. The Private Papers of David Lloyd George (Beaverbrook Library)
5. The Papers of Sir Alfred Milner (Bodleian Library, Oxford)

G. Great Britain/Cabinet Office Archives/Public Record Office

1. Cabinet 1 Miscellaneous Records: Especially files entitled Policy toward Turkey; Situation in Asia Minor; Pan-Turkish Political Aims.
2. Cabinet 17 Committee of Imperial Defence: Correspondence and Miscellaneous, 1902-1918.
3. Cabinet 21 Registered Files, 1916-1922.
4. Cabinet 23 Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, 1916-1922.
5. Cabinet 24 War Cabinet and Cabinet Memoranda, 1915-1922. Especially files entitled "G" War Series, 1915-1920; "G.T." Series, 1917-1919; Eastern Reports, 1917-1919; Eastern and General Records, 1917-1919.
6. Cabinet 25 Supreme War Council, 1917-1919; Especially files entitled Pan-Turanian Movement and Turkey in Asia;

Near Eastern Situation Reports; Ottoman Empire and Transcaucasia.

7. Cabinet 27 Cabinet Committees: General Series, 1915-1922: Especially Eastern Committee, volumes 23-39.
 8. Cabinet 28 Allied War Conference, 1915-1919.
 9. Cabinet 29 Peace Conference and Other Conferences, 1916-1922.
- H. Great Britain/Foreign Office Archives/Public Record Office
1. Class 371/Political/General Correspondence.

Files in class 44 for 1915-1918 include thousands of despatches and reports on the Armenian massacres, statements of Allied leaders holding Turkish officials personally responsible for the excesses, and diplomatic correspondence on the general subject. For 1919-1920, the following files are relevant in class 44 (Turkey and Ottoman Empire) and in class 58 (Caucasus):

- 3/44 Asiatic Provinces
- 11/44 Kurds and Kurdish-Armenian Relations
- 27/44 Relief of Armenians in Turkey
- 37/44 Young Turks
- 262/44 Intelligence Reports
- 1214/44 Cilicia, including Armenian repatriation
- 1/58 Caucasus (1920)
- 34/58 Press Reports
- 36/58 Press Extracts
- 134/58 Armenia (1920)
- 512/58 Armenia (1919)
- 1015/58 Caucasus (1919)

2. Class 608/Peace Conference, 1919-1920, Correspondence. Especially the following files:

- a. 342/1/5 Outrages on Armenians in Turkey
- b. 342/1/9 Relief Expedition
- c. 342/1/16 Young Turk Menace
- d. 342/4/1 Refugees in Egypt
- e. 349/1/1 International Commissions for Armenia and Constantinople
- f. 349/1/2 International Commission for Development of Armenia
- g. 349/1/3 Inter-Allied Commission to Middle East
- h. 349/1/4 Inter-Allied Relief
- i. 349/1/5 Armenian-Persian Relief
- j. 362/2/1 Turkish Indemnities to Armenians and Syrians
- k. 374/1/1 Outrages by Turks in Asia Minor
- l. 378/3/2 Reports: Turkey
- m. 385/1/4 Individual Punishment for Outrages
- n. 385/1/7 Reparations and Restitution
- o. 385/1/12 Repatriation

- p. 385/1/21 Outrages
- q. 385/1/25 Committee of Union and Progress
- r. 1782/1/2 Arrest of Turks for Misdeeds during the War
- s. 1789/3/1 Court Martials relating to Armenian Atrocities
- t. 1809/1/1 Turkish Massacres
- u. 1825/1/2 Trial of Djemal Pasha

3. Class 96/Miscellea, Series II: Includes the Toynbee papers and documents on the treatment of Armenian and Assyrian Christians by the Turks, 1915-1916; A part of these papers has been published in the Parliamentary Blue Book entitled *The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*. 1916.

I. France

1. *Foreign Ministry Archives (Quai d'Orsay)*, Paris/Nouvelle Series, volumes 89-90.
2. *War Ministry Archives (Chateau de Vincennes)*
 - a. Class 16N. Grand Quartier General. Especially cartons 2953, 3016, 3060-3061, 3180-3186, 3194-3195, 3198-3199, 3203-3206.
 - b. Class 17N. Missions Militaires Francaises. Especially cartons 589-590.
 - c. Class 20N. Front Oriental. Especially cartons 139-141, 145-146, 845-866, 887-895.

J. Germany

1. *Foreign Ministry/Akten des Auswartiges Amt* (Bonn). Especially the following files from Abteilung 1A:
 - a. 97a Russisch-Asien: Kaukasus
 - b. 152 Eisenbahnen in der asiatischen Turkei
 - c. 161 Turkische Ministerien
 - d. 183 Armenien
 - e. 198 Die Jungturken
2. *Central Archives/Deutsches Zentralarchiv* (Potsdam). Kriegsakten, File 22, Turkei.

K. Austro-Hungary

Foreign Ministry Archives/Staatsarchiv (Vienna). Especially the following files from *Politisches Archiv XII*:

1. Turkei XLVII/3-Die Armenier-Verfolgungen 1915-1918, in carton 463.
2. Turkei XLVII/4-Unsere Massnahmen zum Schutz der katholischen Armenier, 1915-1918, in carton 464.

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