





A lot has been written about the Genocide, and much continues to be written. The list of publications includes scientific documents, archival records, historical monographs, eyewitness memoirs, analytical articles and fiction.

The issue of the Genocide is by nature a difficult one, and reading anything on this topic is not a pleasant activity by any means. Anyone picking up a book about the Genocide must have a convincing reason to justify to himself why he keeps turning the pages to read horrifying descriptions of death camps, why he keeps following the fate of orphans condemned to a certain death, and why each eyewitness memoir causes him to mentally place himself or his family at the center of those ominous events.

Perhaps the most important reason is that in a universal tragedy, there is no individual pain. Misfortune does not embrace one person alone. All the deprivations and bitterness are shared, nothing is individual.

When a person reads a book, whether it is fiction or a historical record, he is mentally transported to the time period being described or recreated. At the center of those terrible events, the reader becomes an eyewitness to crimes and a judge of the era.

Today, we are obliged to read some of the narratives that the victims of the Genocide have experienced first-hand. Sharing their suffering in this way is the very least we can do. If only through silent reading, we must accompany those who were alone and rejected as they made their way to a certain death. They do not need this. *We* do.



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# who why when

what is the Armenian Genocide?

The mass annihilation of the Armenians which occurred from 1915 to 1923 in the Ottoman Empire and neighboring regions is called the Armenian Genocide. In Armenian, the Genocide is also called the Metz Yeghern ("Great Tragedy") or Aghet ("Catastrophe"). The Armenian Genocide was planned and implemented by the Young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire. The first international reaction to the Armenian Genocide was a joint declaration by France, Russia and Great Britain on 24 May 1915, when the violence against the Armenian people was defined as a "crime against humanity and civilization." The countries making the declaration considered the Turkish government responsible for this crime.

why was the Armenian Genocide carried out?

In an attempt to hold together the weakened Ottoman Empire, the Young Turk government had

adopted a policy of pan-Turkism even before the First World War. That program aimed at creating an immense Turkish empire, which would extend all the way to China, including the Caucasus and all the peoples speaking Turkic languages in Central Asia. The policy also assumed the turkification of all the ethnic minorities on this territory. The Armenian population proved the main obstacle in the implementation of this program and the First World War offered a wonderful opportunity to eliminate them. On the other hand, the Ottoman constitution, reinstated after the 1908 revolution, promised equal rights to all of the Empire's citizens. The Armenians had welcomed this move enthusiastically. This potential change in the status of subjects who were previously unprotected increased the animosity the Turks held towards the Christians, particularly the Armenians. That animosity had taken shape much earlier because, despite their lack of rights, the Armenian population of the Empire had been the engine of unprecedented social, cultural and

# What When Where Why

economic development. The Genocide was a means to stop this ascent and seize the wealth that the Armenians had built through decades of work. Although the Armenian Genocide had been planned as early as 1911-12, the Young Turks used the opportunity provided by the start of the First World War to carry it out.

how many people died  
in the Armenian Genocide?

Before the First World War, there were more than two million Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. Around one and a half million Armenians were killed between 1915 and 1923, and the remaining were either forced to convert to Islam or fled to find shelter in other countries.

when was April 24 first marked  
as a day of mourning?

The decision to mark April 24 as an official day of mourning was taken in 1921, after writer and socio-

political activist Vrtanes Papazyan presented his proposal in a letter to the government of the First Republic. "I don't think you have forgotten April 24, 25 and 26. These were the days when Constantinople and other villages of Armenia witnessed the monstrous plan to arrest and murder hundreds of Armenian intellectuals. 760 martyrs fell on these bloodied streets of ours, hostage to our small, scraggly independence. We will naturally grow, see good days and then look back on these 760 representatives of our intellectual power. We want April 25 or 26 to be designated as a national day of mourning. All institutions should be closed, especially educational ones, so that the young generation can hear and realize the price these victims paid for us to enjoy our independence today." The Parliament decided to mark April 24 as a day of mourning. After this, the Catholicos of All Armenians sent a special pastoral decree to the Armenian patriarch in Constantinople, informing him of the decision to designate April 24 as a national day of mourning. 🕯

# press documentation

One of the undeniable proofs of the Armenian Genocide was the nearly immediate reaction to the unfolding events by the press of various countries. Many renowned newspapers were sounding the alarm on their front pages about the horrible massacres in Turkey. They are important testimonies today which serve as primary sources of evidence.



**Le Petit Parisien** January 2, 1919, Paris

"The little Parisian" reacts to the Armenian massacres. One and a half million victims. The guilty – Enver, Talaat, Jemal, Liman von Sanders





In order to achieve the recognition of the Armenian Genocide, it is first necessary to make it a part of European memory. We should speak with the world and organize serious events to make it a part of American memory as well, not just European. We should succeed in introducing the Armenian Genocide in American and European schoolbooks. We should take steps to increase the role of the intelligentsia in the recognition efforts of the Armenian Genocide.

Harutyun Marutyan

Leading Researcher, Modern National Movements Department, Institute of Archeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia



- 1
- 2

1. **Le Petit Journal** "The Massacres of the Armenians," May 2, 1909, Paris, cover page,  
 2. **The New York Times** "Tales of Armenian Horrors Confirmed," September 27, 1915.

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des Aventures de Terre et de Mer



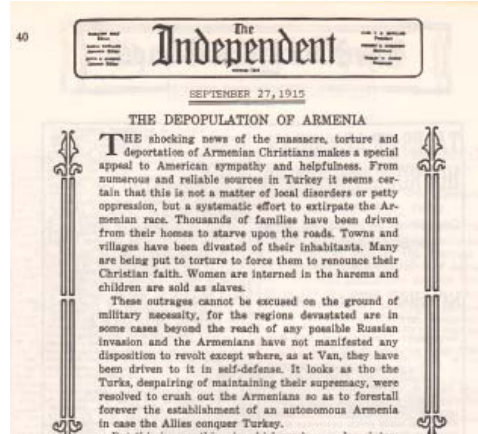
## Les Massacres ☞ ☞ ☞ ☞ d'Asie Mineure

Une noble femme druze ayant recueilli quelques survivants dans sa demeure, les Musulmans entourèrent la maison de la protectrice et menacèrent de la prendre d'assaut.

N° 659 (Deuxième série.)

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1. Армянскій ВѢстникъ "The Sale of Armenian Women and Children in Mesopotamia," Moscow. Issue 28, August 7, 1916, cover page, 2. The Independent "The Depopulation of Armenia," September 27, 1915, 3. The New York Times "Armenian Horrors Grow," August 6, 1915, The New York Times "Armenians are Sent to Perish in Desert," August 18, 1915, 4. The Sun "500,000 Armenians Slain in Six Months," September 27, 1915.



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| 1 | 1. The Independent "The Assassination of a Race," October 18, 1915, 2. Армянский Вѣстникъ "A ruined street in the Armenian district of Yeznka," Moscow, Issue 8, February 19, 1917, cover page, |
| 2 | 3. Il Secolo Illustrato November 17, 1895, Rome, cover page.  |

My activism and politicization came from the hypocrisy of the denial in the US of the Armenian Genocide. Even with the genocide convention at the UN, and all these different committees and sub-committees designed to tackle genocide, it is still a modern human disease that's not fully looked after by the international community. We have to take a stand against this modern disease called "genocide."



## Serj Tankian

Renowned American-Armenian musician, lead vocalist of band System of a Down. He has his own recording studio, which is called Serjical Strike. Tankian often gives speeches condemning injustice and cruelty.

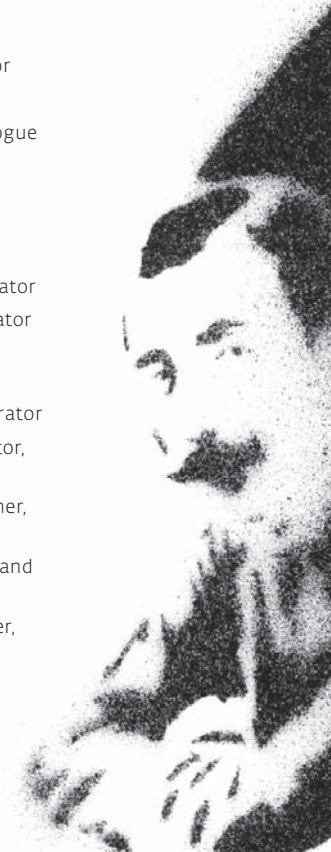
Tankian has partnered with Tom Morello to create the Axis of Justice, which is an organization that aims to support young people in protecting their political rights. They have organized numerous charity drives and put in a lot of effort to force the United States and Turkey to recognize and accept the Armenian Genocide.



# on the night before april 25

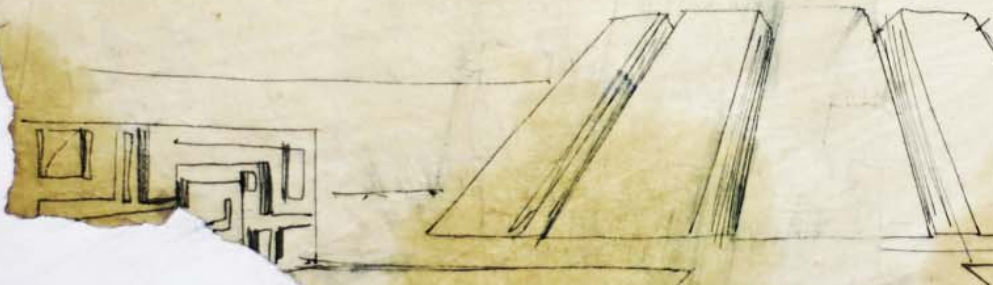
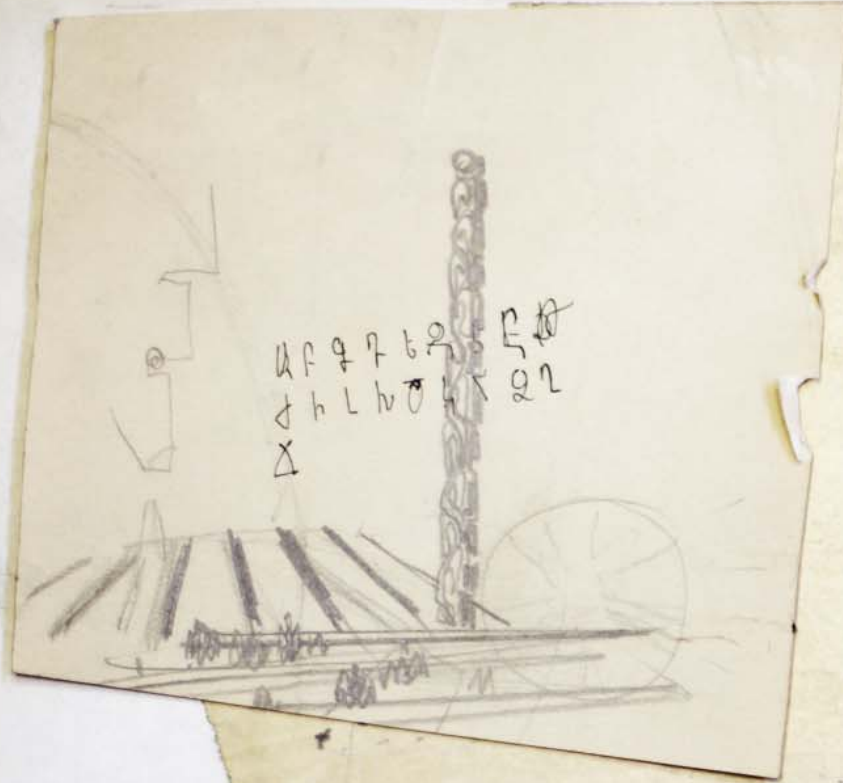
On April 24, 25 and 26, 1915, around 800 Armenian intellectuals were arrested and exiled. The majority were murdered in varying circumstances. The foremost aim of the Young Turks was to deprive the Armenian people of an intellectual center and the mental resources of a leadership. Literary figures made up the vast majority of the murdered intellectuals – writers, translators, literature experts, editors... Unfortunately, the public knows the names of only a few of them, even though they were all enlightened people of their time, and each of them made their own contribution to the development of Western Armenian literature and literary life.

**Krikor Zohrab** (1861 - 1915), writer, political scientist, lawyer  
**Siamanto** (*Atom Yarjanyan*) (1878 - 1915), poet  
**Daniel Varoujan** (*Chbugkyaryan*) (1884 - 1915), poet  
**Ruben Zardaryan** (1874 - 1915), writer, translator, editor, social-political activist  
**Ruben Sevak** (*Chilingaryan*) (1885 - 1915), poet, prose writer, doctor  
**Smbat Byurat** (*Ter-Ghazaryants*) (1862 - 1915), prose writer, orator  
**Levon Larents** (*Kirishchyan*) (1882 - 1915), poet, translator  
**Barsegh Shahbaz** (1883 - 1915), orator, editor  
**Artashes Harutyunyan** (1873 - 1915), poet, philologist, translator  
**Grigor Torosyan** (1884 - 1915), editor, publisher  
**Gegham Barseghyan** (1883 - 1915), prosewriter, poet  
**Tigran Chyokyuryan** (1884 - 1915), writer, literary critic  
**Mihran Tabagyan** (1878 - 1915), literary critic  
**Tigran Otyan** (1880 - 1915), writer, editor  
**Yerukhan** (*Yervand Srmakeshkanlyan*) (1870 - 1915), writer, orator, translator and pedagogue  
**Tilkatintsi** (*Hovhannes Harutyunyan*) (1860 - 1915), prose writer, poet, playwright, pedagogue, social activist  
**Gagik Ozanyan** (1882 - 1915), writer, pedagogue  
**Ashugh Shahnazar** (18..-1915), bard, poet  
**Mkhitar Abroyan** (1880 - 1915), orator, editor  
**Levon Aghababyan** (1887 - 1915), editor, pedagogue  
**Hovhannes Gazanchyan** (1870 - 1915), linguist, literary critic  
**Petros Galfayan** (1868 - 1915), cultural figure  
**Gegham Gushakyan** (1894 - 1915), poet  
**Nerses Zakaryan** (1883 - 1915), turkologist, editor  
**Hakob Terzyan** (1879 - 1915), orator, philologist  
**Garnik Tughlachyan** (1888 - 1915), editor, pedagogue  
**Aris Israelyan** (*Tkhruni*) (1885 - 1915), translator, Armenian orator  
**Garegin Khajak** (*Chakalyan*) (1867 - 1915), orator, social-political activist  
**Tovmas Ketikyan** (1876 - 1915), philologist, translator  
**Melkon Kyurjyan** (*Hrant*) (1859 - 1915), writer, orator  
**Garegin Kozikyan** (1878 - 1915), orator, editor, social-political activist  
**Hambardzum Hambardzumyan** (1890 - 1915), orator  
**Khachatur Malumyan** (*Aknuni*) (1863 - 1915), orator, social-political activist  
**Sargis Minasyan** (1873 - 1915), editor, lexicographer, educational figure  
**Mari Peyleryan** (1880 - 1915), editor, pedagogue and social activist  
**Jag Sayapalyan** (*Paylak*) (1880 - 1915), prose writer, poet, translator  
**Stepannos Saryan** (1865 - 1915), theologian, philologist, journalist

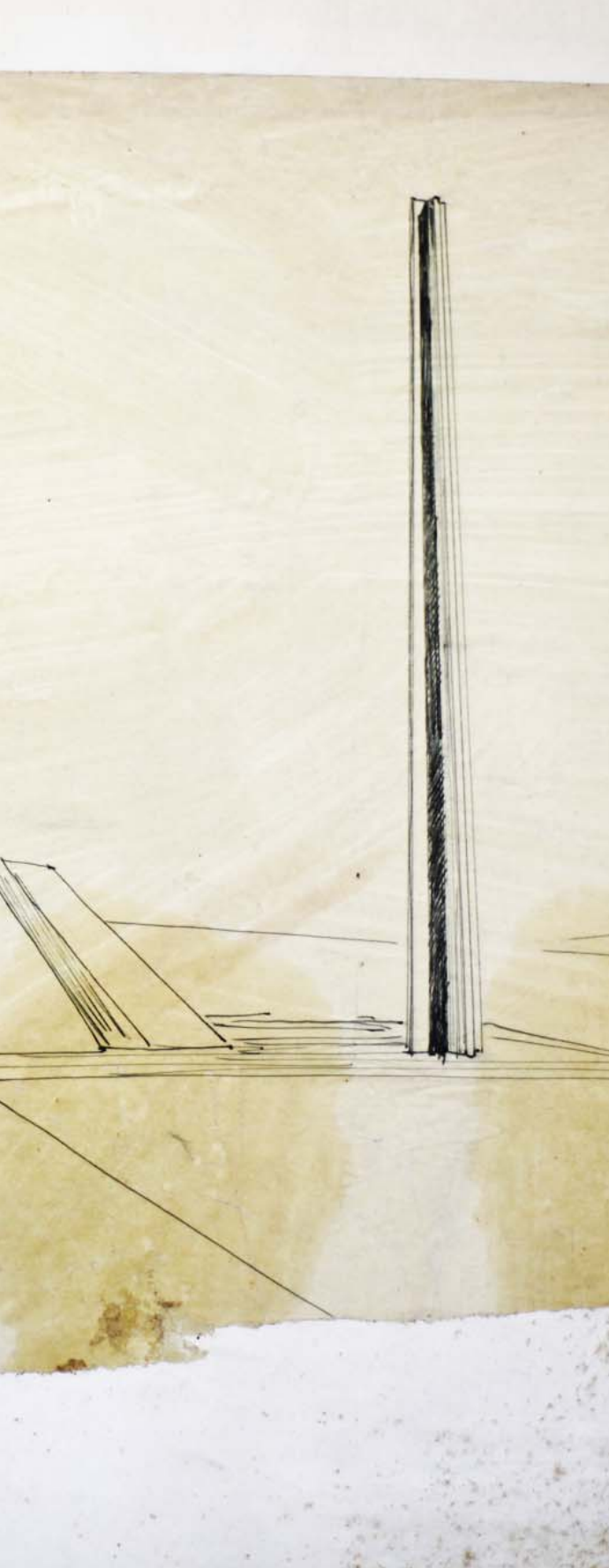




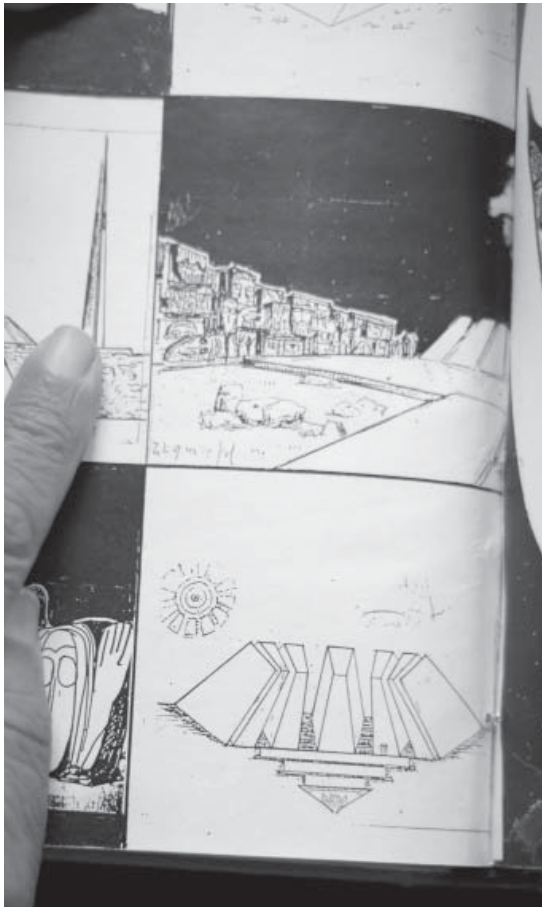




**tsitsernakaberd.**  
an unfamiliar monument



It is simply a folk legend. The 44-meter spire that rises upwards at Tsitsernakaberd does not symbolize the large and small peaks of Mt. Ararat, Eastern and Western Armenia, or the Armenian and Russian nations. Nor do the 12 huge slanted stones set around a circle 30 meters in diameter represent the 12 Turkish vilayets – there could have been 6 or 9 them instead. The Wall of Mourning was erected because there were houses on the left side of the Genocide Memorial. The long wall was simply used to separate them from the monument complex dedicated to the victims of the Armenian Genocide. In reality, the designers had completely different symbols in mind...



Early sketches of the memorial complex



### **How and why was the decision made to build a memorial complex to the victims of the Genocide?**

*The name of the Dashnaks was used to convince Moscow*

The need for a Genocide memorial complex had already become the subject of discussion in the early 60s, when Yakov Zarobyan became the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. He was from Ardvin by birth and when the Turks occupied it in 1914, he and his family migrated to Ukraine. Karlen Dallakyan, Head of the International Relations Sub-section in the AgitProp Section of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist

Party narrates in his memoirs how Zarobyan met Lebanese-Armenian social activist Andranik Tzarukyan in 1962 and discussed the issue of constructing a memorial complex. "The plans for building a memorial complex are not subject to publication yet. The Central Committee is not against the idea in principle, but is cautious, and is trying to find methods that will not impact the foreign policy of the USSR." (Karlen Dallakyan, *Memoirs: People, Events, Thoughts*, Yerevan, 1998, page 62).

On July 16, 1964, a top secret letter was sent to the Presidium of the Armenian Communist Party about marking the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the





Early sketches of the memorial complex



First Model of the Memorial Complex



Model of the Vardan Mamikonyan Monument

Genocide. The letter bore the signatures of T. Aghayan, the Director of the Armenian branch of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, H. Inchikyan, the Director of the Oriental Studies Sector of the National Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, and John Kirakosyan, Deputy Head of the Ideology Section of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. This document presents the details of the genocide against the Armenians perpetrated in Ottoman Turkey and the policy of extermination of the Armenians. It then notes that the Armenians deported from their motherland are preparing to mark the fiftieth anniversary of this occasion widely abroad.

“The anti-revolutionary, nationalist Dashnak-tsutyun party is preparing to use the issue in every way possible in order to foment anti-Soviet feelings. With their main argument being the fact that the mass slaughter of the Armenians is not marked in Soviet Armenia, the Dashnaks are insisting that people are indifferent in our country to the cause of the hundreds of thousands of our innocent compatriots who were killed at the hands of the Turkish monsters. They present this as an objective justification of the policy of genocide. We think that maintaining silence on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the mass slaughter of Armenians



# 53

DAYS WAS THE AMOUNT OF TIME THAT THE RESIDENTS OF THE ARMENIAN VILLAGES AROUND MUSA DAGH DEFENDED THEMSELVES AGAINST TURKISH REGULAR AND IRREGULAR FORCES

# 600.000

ARMENIANS WERE FORCED TO MIGRATE AS A RESULT OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

is not in our political interests.” (Armenian National Archive, F. 1, L. 44, B. 54, Pgs. 66-73, original in Russian).

In the same letter, the authors propose to mark the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide through a number of events, including an exhibition on the topic of the “Reborn Armenian people as part of the fraternal family of Soviet nations.” Along with the proposal to organize scientific sessions, the 8<sup>th</sup> point of the letter proposes “to use the people’s resources to construct a memorial to the Armenians who died in the First World War. It must symbolize the rebirth of the Armenian people.”





Sketches of the memorial complex and the wall of mourning




**Arto Tarkhanyan**

ASSR Honored Architect (1972), ASSR People's Architect (1987), Honorary Member of the Moscow Branch of the International Academy of Architecture (1992), Honorary Member of the AAA (1996).

Two years later, on December 13, 1964, Zarobyan sent a report letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where he notes the necessity as well as the political and ideological significance of marking the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide in Yerevan and building a monument. "We consider it suitable for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of that year to occur as a demonstration of the complete victory of the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the immense achievements of the reborn Armenian nation in the fields of economy, culture and science. This should all be organized in a way which does not

negatively impact the policy of improving relations with neighboring countries, particularly Turkey, and in a way which seeks to rule out the recurrence of a similar tragedy in the peoples' history." The program for the event appears at the end of the letter, including "the construction of a monument to the Armenian martyrs who died during the First World War." (ANA, F. 1, L. 44, B. 54, Pgs. 170-174).

On 16 March 1965, the Council of Ministers of the ASSR passed a decision on "the construction of a monument to immortalize the memory of the victims of the 1915 tragedy" (ANA, F. 133, L. 96, B. 88, P. 2). This was the first case when a decision was passed in Armenian.

*Memorial to the Fallen Victims, or Monument to the Reborn Armenian People*

In April 1965, a nationwide competition was announced for the best monument design. The announcement said the following – “The monument must embody the life of the creative Armenian people, rife with struggle, their inexhaustible vitality and desire to survive and progress, their present and future through the immortalization of the memory of the millions of martyrs who sacrificed their lives in the Metz Yeghern of 1915.”

Architect Van Khachatur says, “It was 1964. I was working on issues of synthesizing art and architecture. I was at the design institutes often. One day, the academician and director of the architectural workshop Samvel Safaryan called me and said that a design competition for the Genocide memorial had been announced in secret. He proposed that I work with young architects Arthur Tarkhanyan and Sashur Kalashyan from his workshop, and enter the competition with a joint design proposal. We got together and started to work.”

The members of the participating groups were called and provided top secret photographs taken during the days of the Genocide, so that the architects could design the monument.

“Our first option was like a cemetery. In the same spot, on the platform, there was a huge cross with a depth of 9 meters – the people had to go down some stairs and descend into the cross. We imagined a huge grave, with a bell tower on top. Near the entrance, as a symbol of revenge, we put the statue of Vardan Mamikonyan,” narrates Sashur Kalashyan, one of the architects of the memorial monument.

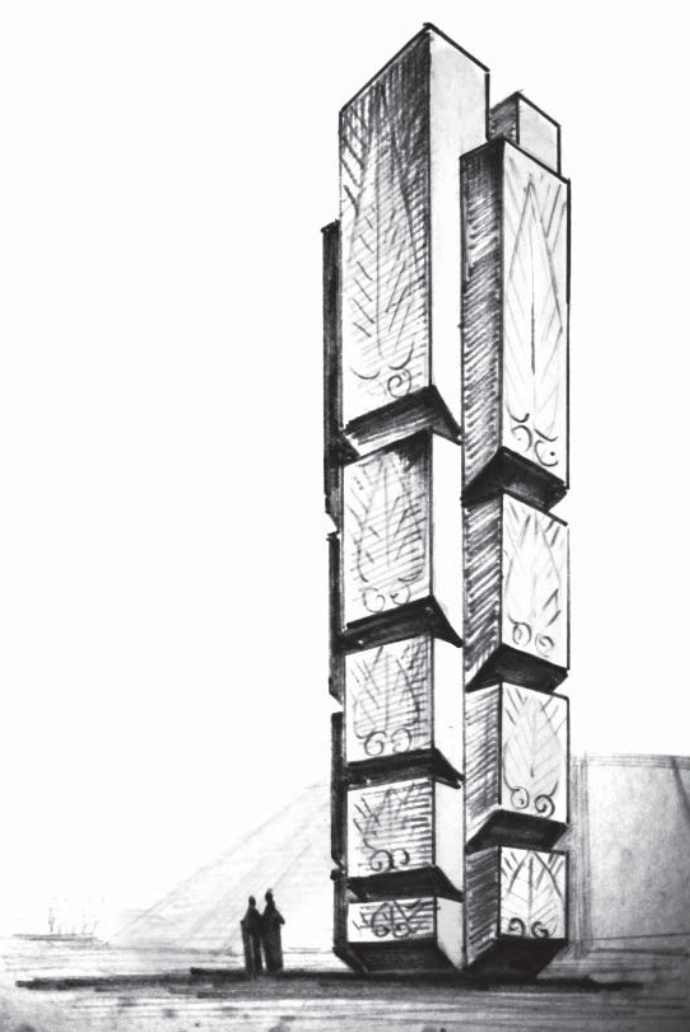
Van Khachatur adds that they also aimed to imitate the desert at Der Zor. “We had proposed that the whole surface of the monument should be covered in oil, so that no plants would grow later, and then rusty shards of stone should be filled on the hill of Tsitsernakaberd, to emphasize the feeling of solitude and terror in the Der-Zor desert. We had decided to dig the main element—the cross—into the ground. The walls



The Armenian Genocide, considering the effective use of the implementation methods as well as the bureaucratic apparatus, is the first modern genocide. The Armenian Genocide issue is a problem for Ankara today, which considers it better to deny than to solve it. It is promising that discussions have begun in Turkish society on the topic of the Armenian Genocide. The Turkish government refuses to recognize the annihilation of the 1.5 million Armenians who lived in their historic Fatherland and censors the history of the Armenian Genocide, doing everything to prevent its recognition. They want to blame the victims for the past, while they fake that same past.

**Peter Balakian**

American author, co-founder of the Graham House Review journal, author of *Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*.



Sketches of the memorial complex

were supposed to be completely covered in crosses. People were supposed to go down stairs into the cross, with candles in their hands. The main concept was that of a crucified nation. But that version was rejected. The Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers L. Stepanyan told me that we would drive our nation crazy with that piece – a monument should not evoke powerful emotions and a need for revenge. It was clear that they wanted a memorial to rebirth, not Genocide. We began to work on a new version. Tarkhanyan made a proposal, "Let's prepare something that will be approved, then we will change it." Our second version was similar to

the monument we have today, and it won the competition."

After the first unsuccessful attempt, the special commission decided to run the competition in two stages. 78 designs (with code names such as "The Cliff," "Phoenix," "Mush," "The Sounding," "Fire," "Red Flower" and others) authored by both local architects as well as those from the Diaspora, were submitted to compete. Only four of these went on to the commission for the final voting stage. But none of them fulfilled the requirements of the panel of judges. Yakov Zarobyan, the First Secretary of the ASSR Central Committee, and Anton Kochinyan, the



#### **Sashur Kalashyan**

Former head architect of the city of Gyumri, RA  
Honorable Architect,  
co-designer of the  
Tsitsernakaberd  
monument.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers, were also present at that meeting of the panel of judges. They requested Varazdat Harutyunyan, the chairman of the panel of judges, to express his opinion on the designs that had made it to the final stage.

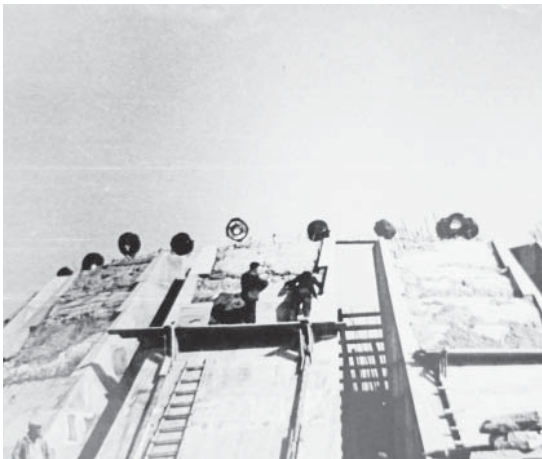
“Harutyunyan said that though he did not like any of them, he would give preference to the design named “ASSR Flag,” Amatuni Virabyan, ANA Director, recalls.

At the next meeting, the design codenamed “ASSR Flag” was selected. Decree N 292 issued on September 25, 1965 by the Armenian State Design Institute appointed artist and sculptor

Vanik Khachatryan (Van Khachatur) as the head of the architectural team constructing the Genocide memorial complex. The team consisted of architects Sashur Kalashyan and Arthur Tarkhanyan.

“There was some discord around this second version which had been approved,” Van Khachatur clarifies, “There were supposed to be towers that were larger in proportion to the radius of the gallery, and they were to have less of an incline. In this case, the gallery would be larger and the ground would be at a lower level. We don’t have towers now, we have concrete structures with slabs of stone, so it is not a





Construction work at the Genocide memorial complex, 1966

tectonic stone shape. It is a structure made of concrete, not stone.”

Sashur Kalashyan notes that although they had originally decided that each of the angled large slabs would consist of a single piece of stone, they were unable to find 12 such large pieces.

“In order not to waste time, we decided to make each slab using four pieces, such that their intersection would form a cross of sorts. But that didn’t work out either – everyone was in a hurry. So we ended up with what we have now – concrete with numerous stone tiles on it.”



According to Van Khachatur, the gallery should have consisted of three rings, each gradually lowering into the other. The bronze receptacle with the eternal flame was not planned to be outside as it is now, with a depth of 1.5 meters – it was supposed to be dug into the ground.

The memorial complex consisted of three main compositional elements – a round, open vault next to the flame and surrounded by walls, the elongated Wall of Mourning covered in decorative bas-relief and a spire symbolizing the two halves of the Armenian nation.



# 800

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARMENIAN CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ELITE AS WELL AS THE CLERGY WERE ARRESTED ON APRIL 24, 1915 AND THE FOLLOWING DAYS, IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

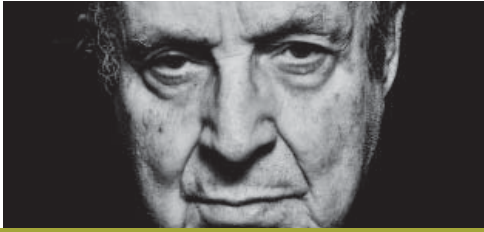
# 27.05.1915

THE OTTOMAN PARLIAMENT PASSED THE LAW ON GENOCIDE, WHICH WOULD LEGALIZE THE FORCED DEPORTATION OF THE ARMENIAN POPULATION—MAINLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN — FROM THEIR HOMELAND TO THE DESERTS OF MESOPOTAMIA.

### **The Construction and Inauguration of the Memorial Complex Dedicated to the Victims of the Genocide**

April 24, 1965. This day saw the beginning of the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide. Armenians in Soviet Armenia marked the Memorial Day to the victims of the Genocide for the first time.

There were numerous and seemingly unsurmountable issues linked to the commemoration of a day of national spirit under the Soviet authorities. It is sufficient to say that when the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party wrote to Moscow



The fact that more than 20 countries have recognized the Armenian Genocide is a misconception, because it has been the parliaments that have given recognition, not the governments. A parliament does not have any authority in foreign policy. Only France has seen both the legislative and the executive state bodies give recognition, even Russia has recognized it only on the parliamentary level. So we should not fool ourselves, there is no universal recognition. Nothing will change as long as Turkey is still a NATO member. If someone were to ask me what conclusion I have come to after studying the issue of Genocide recognition, I would say that there are two important factors which are decisive – strength and power.

**Vahakn Dadrian**

Professor, internationally recognized expert on the Armenian Genocide, Movses Khorenatsi medal bearer

for permission to mark the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide, the USSR Central Politburo formed a special commission—consisting of M. Suslov, N. Podgorniy and A. Gromiko—to discuss the issue. After considerably long deliberation, the commission agreed to allow the commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide, but through a top secret and meticulous protocol. On March 9, 1965 the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party approved the detailed plan and 15-point program of “events preparing for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian massacres” (ANA, F. 1, L. 45, B. 18, P. 8-10). All of the components of the program—conferences, a commemorative session at the Opera and Ballet Theater, exhibitions and speeches—took place, with the exception of the construction on Tsitsernakaberd hill of the memorial complex to the victims of the Genocide. After long discussions, the ASSR Central Committee finally confirmed the decision to construct the memorial complex. 600,000 rubles were allocated. In the Soviet Union in 1965, it was possible to construct an average-class 30-apartment building with that kind of money, but it was an insignificant sum for a memorial complex.

“Even a sum like that was considered too much for such a purpose in those years,” recalls architect Sashur Kalashyan. “We put down 300,000 as the cost for the spire only, and said that we would use the other half to improve the surrounding garden.

“A large task had to be completed with a small sum of money. The architects and builders were helped by those who had been forced for many years to stay silent about the things that they had seen. Every Saturday and Sunday, people would come in buses from the various villages and regions of Armenia on their own initiative. They would say, “We are from such-and-such village, our forefathers are from such-and-such province of Western Armenia. We want to help you, tell us what to do.” There was a lot of work and they were happy to roll up their sleeves and move stones or take away the construction rubble. When there was nothing to do, they would sing patriotic songs.



Construction work at the Genocide memorial complex, 1966



**Van Khachatur**

Artist and sculptor, architect, poet, scientist, Candidate of Art Studies, Doctor of Architecture, academician at the Armenian Technology Academy. Founder of modern Armenian monumental art.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers Anton Kochinyan would visit the construction site once a month. He would always say to us "Hurry up, everyone. If Moscow suddenly blows the whistle, we will not be able to do anything." We were even ready to inaugurate the memorial complex without a completed platform. The central authorities could stop the program at any moment."

Artist and sculptor Van Khachatur recalls the numerous problems that arose during the construction of the complex. "We would prepare the laborers' plans. First Secretary of the Central Committee Anton Kochinyan was overseeing

the work and the person directly responsible for it was Karen Demirchyan, then the Second Secretary of the Yerevan City Committee. Things were progressing very slowly, and when it was time for the Wall of Mourning, work was suspended. Kochinyan insisted on relief work that symbolized a rebirth, I wanted to sculpt scenes of Genocide."

The sculptor worked for a long time on the wall relief. In his vision, the wall had to symbolize the journey to the desert of Der Zor, where our forefathers had been driven and massacred. The relief symbolized the unending path to pain and suffering.



# 77.000

ARMENIAN CHILDREN FOUND SHELTER THANKS TO ORPHAN GATHERING ACTIVITIES FROM 1918 TO 1921

# 1919

SAW THE APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST HOLLYWOOD MOVIE ABOUT THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE – THE SILENT MOVIE “RAVISHED ARMENIA”

# \$110.000.000

NEAR EAST RELIEF RAISED THIS AMOUNT OVER 15 YEARS IN ORDER TO SAVE THE ARMENIAN MIGRANTS AND ORPHANS

The memorial complex was built in record time – in two years. However, in contrast with other “overachievements in planning,” this one was not publicized. On November 29, 1967, the 47<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Sovietization of Armenia, the official inauguration took place of the Genocide monument at the Tsitsernakaberd in Yerevan.

This was publicly discussed for the first time on November 30, 1967. The newspaper Soviet Armenia dedicated the whole of its third page to “Comrade A. Y. Kochinyan’s speech” and the event that preceded it, “the inauguration of the structure immortalizing the memory of the victims of the 1915 Genocide.”



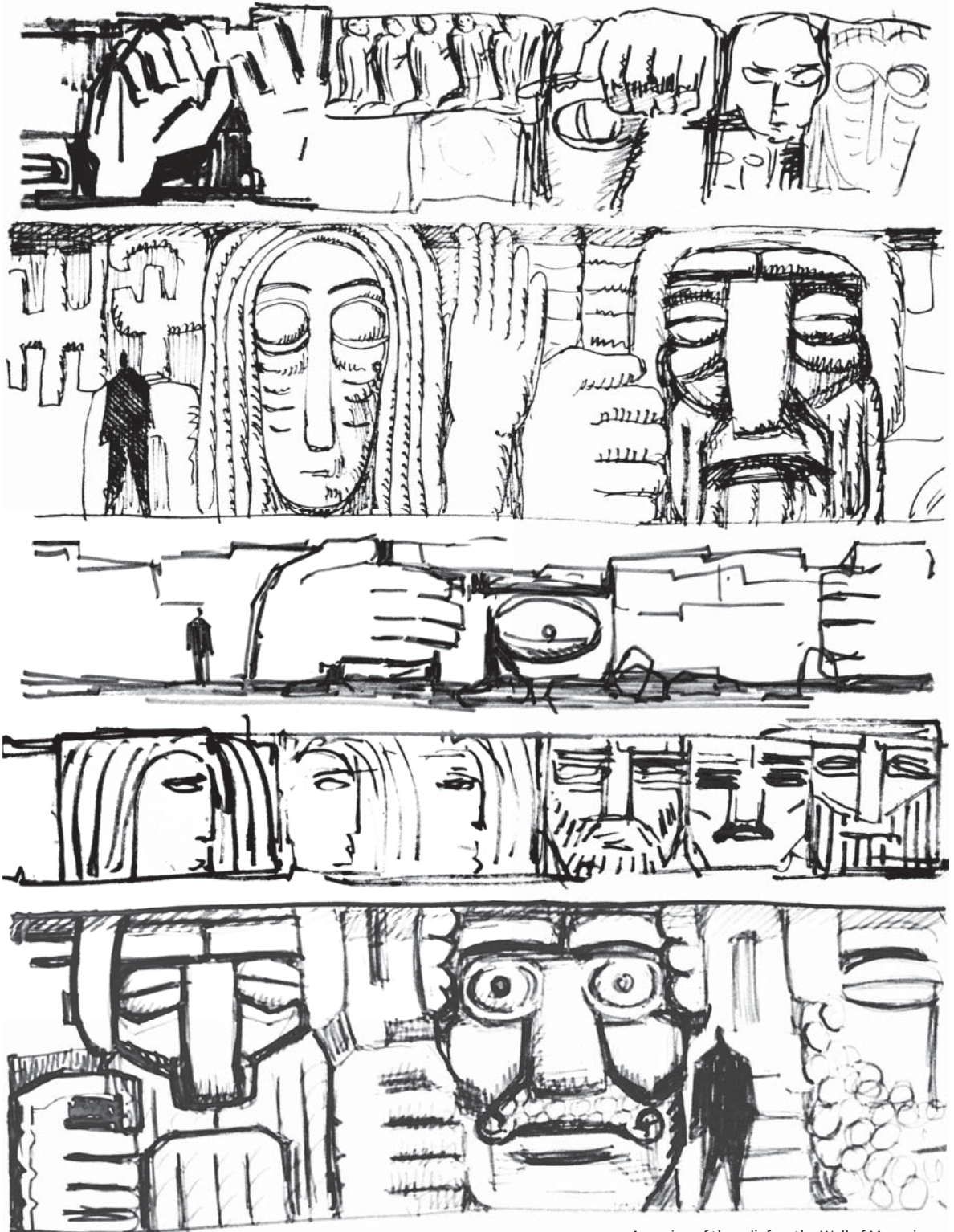
Van Khachatur’s models for the mother and child sculptures

*The Memorial Complex does not Contain Numeric Symbols*

The memorial complex occupies a space of 4-500 square meters. It consists mainly of three structures – the vault-shrine of eternity, the spire and the memorial wall.

The pathway leading up to the memorial complex now goes past the 100-meter memorial wall, lined with pieces of polished stone, with the names of large Armenian-populated regions of the Ottoman Empire, the people of which ended up becoming the victims of this Turkish crime.

The “Armenia Reborn” memorial spire is a 44-meter high styloid structure. It consists of



A version of the relief on the Wall of Mourning





two parts—a large spire and a small one—which symbolize the concepts of continuity of life and rebirth of a nation. The vault-shrine of eternity is made of 12 massive walls of stone slanted towards the inner center. The 12 large stones, arranged in a circle 30 meters in diameter have nothing to do with the 12 vilayets in Turkey. They could have been fewer in number – say 6, or 9.

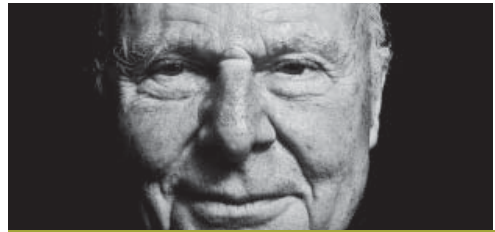
Architect Sashur Kalashyan notes that the number was simply an esthetic solution. “We tried options with 4, 6, 8, 12 and 16 stones in our design. We picked the one with 12, because it was a better solution from an architectural point of view. As it were, we did not consider these stones to be bowing – instead, they were an opening. It was an open wound on the heart, which would not close. The large spire was simply a sapling that had broken through the soil and rock.”

*The Memorial Complex was Constructed and Inaugurated without the Relief on the Wall of Mourning*

“We proposed a number of options, but Kochinyan would reject each one, saying that we needed the relief to show a reborn Armenian nation. I decided not to tell a story with the sculpture,” narrates Van Khachatur, “That is, not to use a row of sculptures to show what happened, what things are like now and what they will become. I used the motifs of Ravel’s “Bolero” to prepare a single sculpture, repeated 111 times across the wall. I had to sculpt the mother, bowing over her child, in the negative—etched into the rock, as if a shadow of herself, she was not present—while the child had to be the symbol of a living nation. 111 is a special number that symbolizes infinity – it does not have a beginning or an end.”

The sculptor showed this version to Kochinyan and explained that the child was the reborn Armenia that he wanted to see. They finally came to an agreement. This version of the relief on the Wall of Mourning was approved finally in a decision taken on August 19, 1971 by the Architectural Committee of the Yerevan City Council Planning Department.

Van Khachatur first created a real-size clay model of the Mother and Child sculpture, 3.60 x 0.90

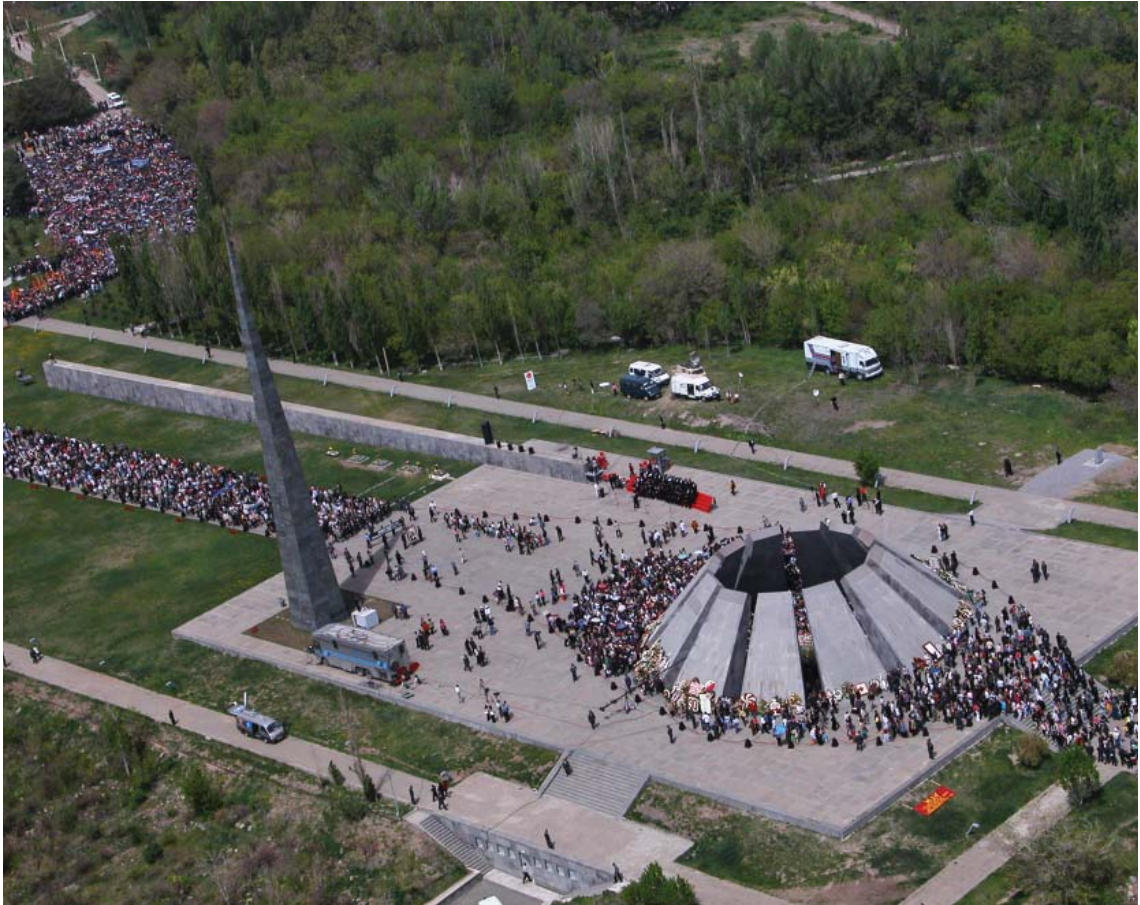


As a surgeon, I was concerned by the disgusting experiments conducted by Nazi doctors during the Second World War. I discovered that they were closely connected with the phenomenon of Genocide – the Holocaust of the Jews. I began to study that issue. After working with my friend Socrates Helman for 10 years, I expanded my research and moved into the Armenian issue. I say “issue” because I was not sure at the time that this was a genocide. I then tried to place the issue of defining a genocide in the context of the carnage of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was clear that these two incidents (involving the Jews and the Armenians), as well as the occurrences involving the Tutsis of Rwanda, are immediately and inarguably defined as genocide.

**Yves Ternon**

Politician, Member of Mouvement  
Reformateur





The 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide at Tsitsernakaberd

meters, which was approved by the Art Council of the Art Foundation of Armenia on May 4, 1972. Van Khachatur made three samples in gypsum and moved them to Tsitsernakaberd, where they began to work on them. But this, too, was never completed. Moscow was closely watching the construction of the memorial complex. Central Committee Second Secretary Anisimov arrived in Yerevan.

“We had been working with the artisans on the sculptures for two days and had etched in the part of the mother in two places,” Van Khachatur recalls, “when Anisimov came to see the memorial complex. As soon as he saw

the sculptures, he ordered us to stop working immediately.”

The sculptures remained that way for a long time, up to 2003. “It was the fall of 2003 when I was told that heavy machinery had been used to remove the sculptures and replace it with stones,” says sculptor Van Khachatur, “Even today, if you approach the 8<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> stones, you can see the traces of those sculptures there.”

This, then, is the real story of the construction of the Tsitsernakaberd memorial complex, released from its cocoon of numerous legends. 🕊

Genocide is a troublesome word. It troubles me as well, and what I am about to say now might make some Armenians turn their backs on me, but I do not think that is important. If the Turks have the honesty to say that what troubles them is the word "Genocide," we can find another word for it, as long as they open the border and the Turkish government thinks about starting a dialogue with us. When you kill 2 children, 1.5 million Armenians or 6 million Jews, it is the same thing. It is murder – there was a desire to kill, that is what matters. I ask the Turks – if that is not genocide, how would you name the annihilation of an entire nation?



## Charles Aznavour

Charles Aznavour achieved international acclaim in 1956, after a successful performance in the Olympia hall in Paris. "France has been Aznavoured," the French press wrote then. He has written around a thousand songs, including several international hits. Aznavour is proud of his Armenian origin and is a constant source of support to Armenia. His songs which are related to Armenia include "Pour toi, Arménie," "Ils sont tombés" (on the occasion of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide), "Autobiographie" and "Delicate Armenia." With his daughter, Seda Aznavour, he has performed the Armenian song "In this world, you are mine" by Sayat Nova. Immediately after the 1988 earthquake, he established the Aznavour for Armenia Foundation. He is Armenia's permanent ambassador to UNESCO.

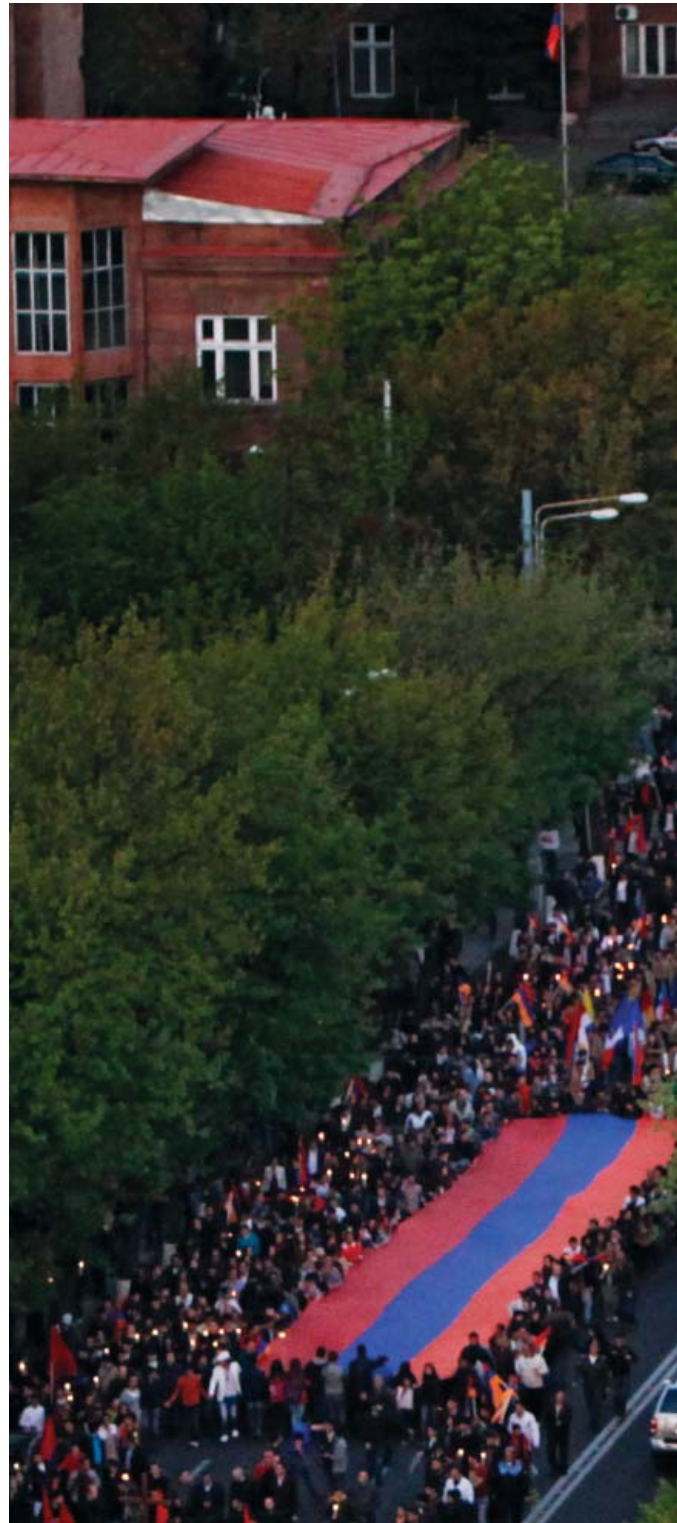
# march with torches

For many years, a march with torches towards the Tsitsernakaberd memorial monument has been organized on the eve of April 24, with the torches being a symbol of the struggle and resulting victory. The first march was organized in 1999 and had only 200-300 participants. The number of people marching in recent years has reached 10-12,000. On 23 April 2015, the eve of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the number of marchers exceeded 50,000.

The march was first organized by the ARF Nikol Aghbalyan Student Union, but the event lost its political affiliation over the years. The banner of "Condemnation, Recognition, Reparation" now unites young and old, irrespective of their political views or party membership.

The march traditionally ends at around 11 pm or midnight. It is followed by a night of vigil. The participants form a ring near the memorial and light a fire, trying to make their voice of dissent heard to Turkey and the whole world.

Marches with torches are also organized in the cities of the Diaspora as well as other locations in Armenia such as Ijevan, Gyumri, Vanadzor, Sissian, Kapan and so on.



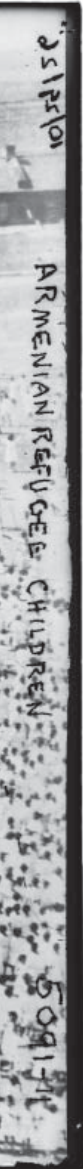


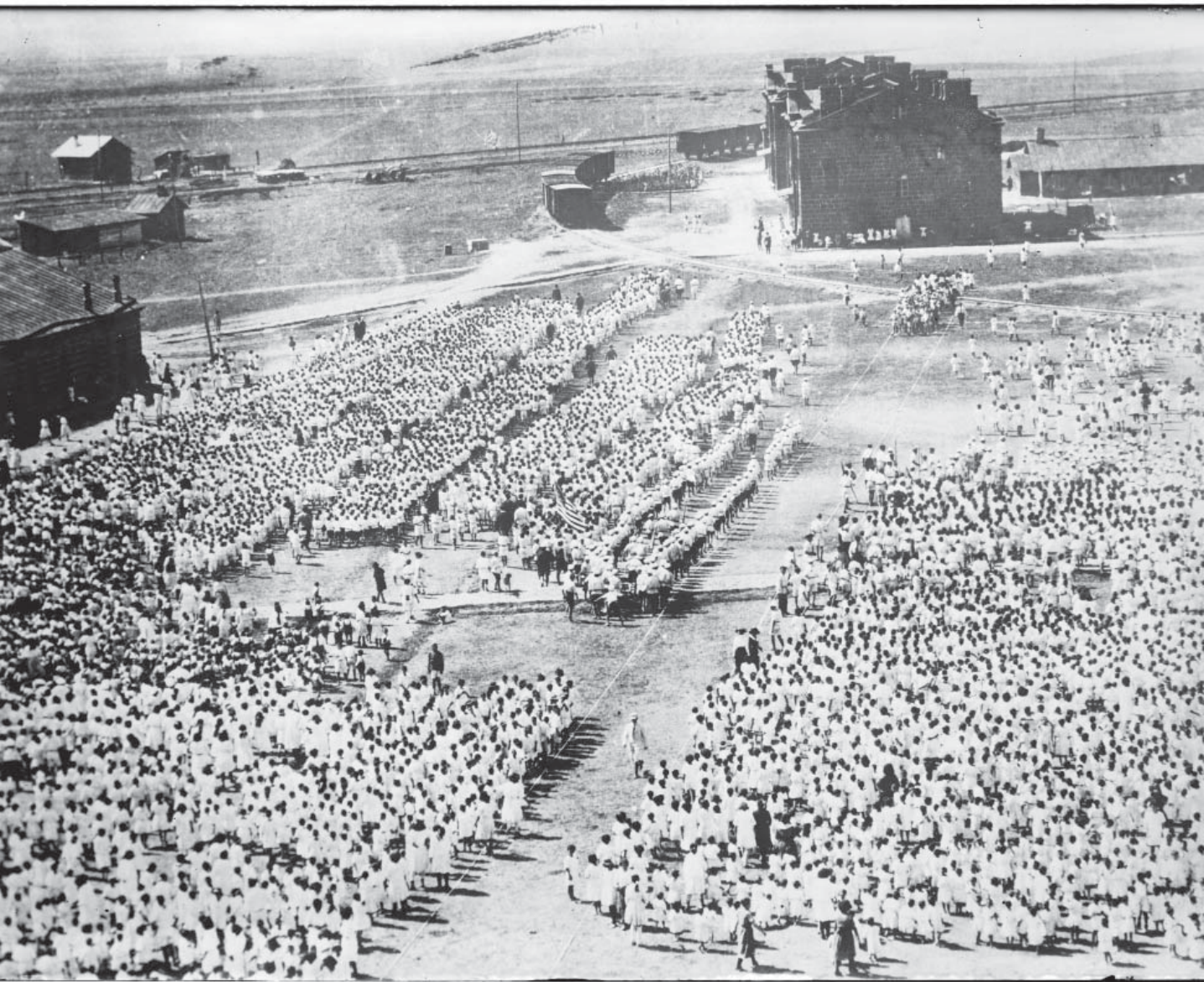




# turkish գեոյցիշա

The Turkish denialism in issues related to the Armenian Genocide sometimes reaches absurd levels. As a result of consistent propaganda and the impact of fraudulent versions of history, Turkish society sometimes seems able to present “counter-evidence” during debates on the topic. These might seem to be more impressive if one of the two sides in the debate does not know at least the important part of the massive body of undeniable evidence in favor of the Armenian Genocide. Unfortunately, the knowledge that many Armenians have about the Genocide is often limited to “the year 1915” and “1.5 million victims.” In such a situation, any debate is doomed to failure. What are the important facts and information that one should know in order to counter Turkish denialism? What are the probable questions and “facts” that the Turkish side can present and how does one answer them?





Title: Armenian refugee children

Creator(s): Bain News Service, publisher

Date Created/Published: (no date recorded on caption card)

Medium: 1 negative : glass ; 5 x 7 in. or smaller.

Reproduction Number: LC-DIG-ggbain-29847 (digital file from original negative)



– **Birçok bilimadamı Ermeni soykırımının olmadığını ispatlamışlardır** (*Several serious researchers have established that there has not been an Armenian Genocide per se. [Turkish translation]*)

– **Ermenilerin imhası ile ilgili yazılı belge bulunmamaktadır.** (*There has been no written documentation of the order or program to annihilate the Armenians. [Turkish translation]*)

– **Aynı dönemde Türklerde katledilmişlerdir.** (*Numerous Turks were also killed in the same time period. [Turkish translation]*)

## Turkish Denialism

Denialism accompanies all genocides. The policy to conceal and deny the committed crime is common to all perpetrators of genocide and Turkey is, naturally, a clear example of this. Denialism in Turkey is implemented at the state

level. The Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes against Humanity calls the denial of the Armenian Genocide “the most patent example of a state’s denial of its past.” All the organizations studying history in Turkey today as well as the largest newspapers, television and radio are involved in that policy.

The creation of a “parallel” history that denies the Armenian Genocide and has little to do with reality has become the main mission of a number of Turk researchers, as well as foreigners being funded by the Turkish government.

In April 2001, the Institute for Armenian Research was established in Ankara, the main objective of which is to transfer the conversation around the Armenian Genocide to academic circles. Besides this, the Turkish government provides all kinds of support to renowned universities in the world so that they can set up departments studying



**Title:** General view of Moush (ie. Mus) with mountains of Sasoun (ie. Sason)  
**Date Created/Published:** c1923.  
**Medium:** 1 photographic print.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-USZ62-126768 (b&w film copy neg.)

Turkish history and culture, where their role in the policy of denial will be very big.

For example, the documents ordering the annihilation of the Jews have not been preserved, and Holocaust deniers consider this to be proof that the genocide of the Jews was not planned in advance. The same mechanism is being applied in the case of the Armenian Genocide. Turkey insists that there is no written documentation of the order or program to annihilate the Armenians.

One may cast doubt on the publication by Aram Antonyan in London in 1920 of the secret papers issued by Talaat, Minister of the Interior in the Young Turk Government, ordering the deportation and elimination of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire. These documents had been given to Antonyan by Nayim Bey, the General Secretary of the Committee for Deportation of the Armenians in Aleppo. Even without this evidence, the fact that the Armenian Genocide was planned and programmed can be seen through a massive body of proof that is undeniable.

These include the official documents kept in the archives of Germany and Austria-Hungary, both allies of Turkey during the First World War, as well as the reports sent by the ambassadors and consuls of these countries, the telegrams written by the US Ambassador in Constantinople Henry



**Suren Manukyan**

Candidate of Historical Sciences, Deputy Director of the RA NAS Armenian Genocide Museum, 2013  
Fulbright Scholar at Rutgers University, USA,  
author of academic articles on the genocide studies.

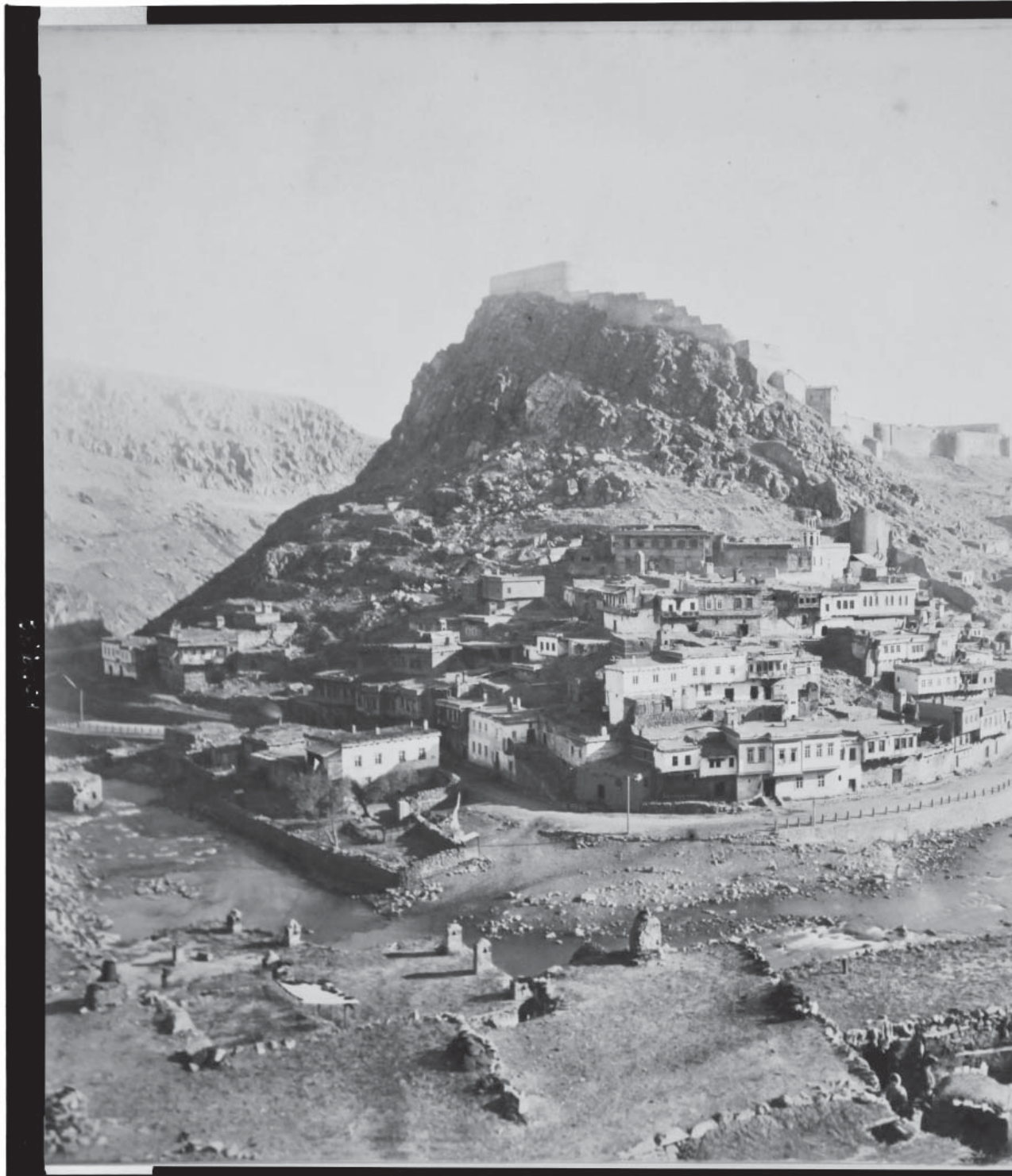


**Title:** (Armenian monks and boys with throne of King Senekerim-Hovhannes of Vaspurakan, at Varagavank Monastery, Van, Turkey)  
**Date Created/Published:** (between 1880 and 1892)  
**Medium:** 1 photographic print: albumen.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-DIG-ppmsca-04450 (digital file from original)



**Title:** (Armenian monastery of Surb Karapet (the Holy Precursor, St. John the Baptist) in Mush (Mus 111), Turkey)  
**Date Created/Published:** c1923.  
**Medium:** 1 photographic print.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-USZ62-86871 (b&w film copy neg.)







**Title:** General view of Kars  
**Date Created/Published:** (1919)  
**Medium:** 1 photographic print.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-USZ62-93056 (b&w film copy neg.)  
**Call Number:** LOT 5675 <item> (P&P)



Morgenthau, the testimonials of numerous foreign eyewitnesses, and finally, the verdicts, accusatory charges and eyewitness accounts directed against the Young Turk leaders by the Turks themselves in Constantinople.

There have also been attempts to discredit this last and most powerful piece of evidence. People declare that the trial of the Young Turks occurred under pressure from the large states that emerged victorious after the First World War. This is a pointless argument because it suggests that the results of the Nuremberg Trial should also be cast in doubt because it too occurred under the supervision of the victorious states. The Turks themselves accept these verdicts unreservedly.

It was a deportation, not a massacre, according to the version that the events were part of a civil war. Turkish historians say that the disappearance of Armenians from their areas of residence occurred simply as a result of the transportation of part of the Armenian population from the battlefield, not a planned mass extermination. This was done because the Christian Armenians were an unreliable element in the war against Russia. According to the Turks, an insignificant number of the deportees died during their journey due to hunger, disease and other causes, including attacks by bandits

running territories that had been rendered lawless in a country preoccupied with war. A new thesis has also come into being in recent years – murdered Turks are mentioned alongside the slain Armenians, the version of a civil war is being given more prominence with the suggestion that the Armenians were rebelling.

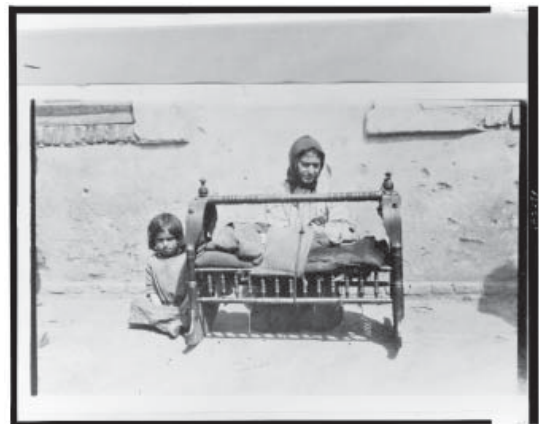
But these theses do not hold up against any kind of discussion. The forced deportation of the Armenians did not just occur in “Eastern Anatolia” (Western Armenia), part of which was a theater in the ongoing war. They were deported from the whole of Anatolia, including locations that were very far from the battlefield.

The version of rebellion does not match reality at all. Reports by Turkish commanders during the war are full of statements of the Armenians’ fidelity. The self-defense of Van, which is mentioned most often as an attempt at rebellion, occurred in April 1915, while the order for the deportations was issued in March and the massacres had already begun.

Nearly all the contemporaries—both Armenian and foreign, both Turkey’s allies and opponents, Christians, Muslims and Jews—describe scenes of slaughter, and mention the definite participation of state officials and the army. A large body of



**Title:** Akdamar Monastery (i.e., Sourp Khatch, Church of the Holy Cross) in Van  
**Date Created/Published:** c1923 Oct. 15.  
**Medium:** 1 photographic print.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-USZ62-130935 (b&w film copy neg.)



**Title:** Cradles have no sides, a wide cloth band drawn tight keeping the baby from falling out  
**Date Created/Published:** (between 1915 and 1923)  
**Medium:** 1 photographic print.  
**Summary:** Armenian woman with baby in cradle, another child sits beside her.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-USZ62-130740 (b&w film copy neg.)

photographic evidence documents how the pretext of deportation was used to organize the extermination of a nation.

— **Osmanlı Türkiye'sinde 1,500,000 Ermeni yaşamadığı halde o kadarı öldürülebilirmiydi?** (*How could 1,500,000 Armenians have been killed if there were not so many of them living in the Ottoman Empire? [Turkish translation]*)

— **Savaş şartlarında 10,000 kişinin ölümü soykırımdır?** (*The death of 10,000 people in conditions of war is not a genocide, is it? [Turkish translation]*)

## Fake Numbers

The debate run by the Turkish side maintains a strong focus on the number of Armenians killed. The denialists cast doubt on the number of one and a half million victims. Because it is simply impossible to absolutely deny the mass murders of the Armenians, an attempt is made to foment doubt on this particular aspect of it and then disseminate that doubt over the whole issue. One of the well-known deniers of the Armenian Genocide, Justin McCartney, based on controversial studies, says that only one and a half million people lived in the Empire up to 1915. According to the former President of the Turkish Historical Society Yusuf Halaçoğlu, the number of Armenians who died was 56,000, of whom only 10,000 were killed.

The use of this approach is, to put it mildly, strange. Those responsible for the slaughter at Srebrenica in Bosnia have been found guilty by the International Court of Justice in The Hague as perpetrators of genocide, even though the number of people killed there was “only” 7000.

But even if we look at the debate from this angle, the strongest evidence consists of the official numbers that come from Turkey. After the collapse of the Young Turk party, in December 1918, the Minister of the Interior Mustafa Arif formed a commission that was charged with studying this issue. They worked for three months and presented their results to public judgment during the period when Cemal Bey was the new Interior Minister, on March 14, 1919. Based on those data, the number of Armenians killed between 1914 and 1918 was 800,000.



There is the opinion that in 2015, that is 100 years after the well-known events in Ottoman Turkey, the issue can be taken off the agenda. Let me state that no such law exists wherein there is a statute of limitations of 100 years for such issues. The law says that the relevance of specific legal claims may diminish after a certain period of time has passed. So in that sense, I cannot say anything specific about the Armenian issue. However, I can state with certainty that there is no law which limits the legal right to state these claims after 100 years.

**William Schabas**

Chairman, Center for Human Rights  
at the National University of Ireland

# 200.000

ARMENIAN CHILDREN WERE ORPHANED AS A  
RESULT OF THE GENOCIDE FROM 1915 TO 1923



13436

4- FRONT VIEW OF ST. CROSS MONASTERY OF VARAK, IN VAN.  
ՎԱՐԱԿԻՆՈ ՎԱՆԵՐԸ ՏԱՎԱԾԻՆ





**Title:** Front view of St. Cross Monastery of Varak (i.e. Varagavank), in Van  
**Date Created/Published:** (between 1910 and 1915), c1923 Oct. 15.  
**Medium:** 1 photographic print.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-USZ62-130936 (b&w film copy neg.)

**Notes:**

Copyright by Vartan A. Hampikian, New York.

Title also in Armenian.

No. 4.

**Subjects:**

Armenians--Spiritual life--Turkey--Van Ili--1910-1920.

Monasteries--Turkey--Van Ili--1910-1920.

**Format:**

Photographic prints--1920-1930.

– Soykırım ile ilgili resmi belgeler Ermeniler tarafından yazılmıştır. (The Armenians created the documents related to the genocide [Turkish translation]).

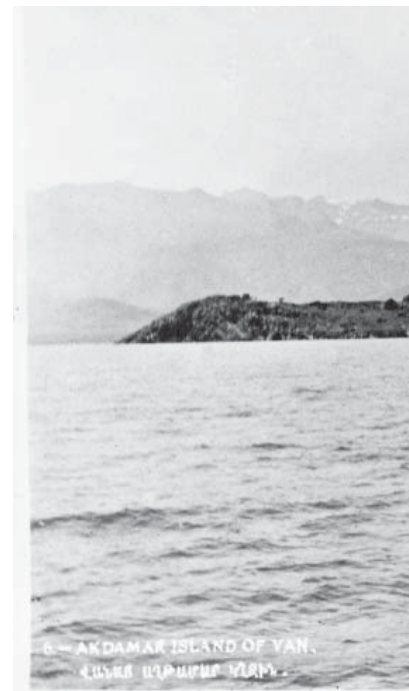
## The Myth of the Ottoman Archives

The denialists insist that several pieces of evidence, documents and testimonials have been created by the Armenians themselves. This insistence is accompanied by the propaganda disseminated about the opening of the Ottoman archives.

The Ottoman archives contain an immense amount of information not just about the Turks but also on the history of the peoples ruled by the Ottoman yoke. Even in the 1960s, Ankara had perceived the threat that these documents posed to Turkey and allowed only a handful of individuals access to the Ottoman archives. Over a number of years, İsmet Miroğlu, Director

General of the Turkish State Archives, oversaw an operation to select and systematize the archive documents. On May 16, 1989, the Turkish government officially declared the intention to open the Ottoman archives. These included the documents related to the Armenians, but only 10,000 were opened of the 7 million documents classified by a special commission. This was declared to be an unprecedented move, and was aimed to ensure silence about the fact that a large number of documents had simply been burned after the 1980 military coup.

However, even if the Ottoman archives had not been sterilized, it would probably not have been possible to find an order about the annihilation of the Armenians there, or even more minor related commands. The decision was taken by a very small circle of the Young Turk elite – the commands were mainly verbal and top secret.



**Title:** Armenian Orphans deported  
**Creator(s):** Bain News Service, publisher  
**Date Created/Published:** (no date recorded on caption card)  
**Medium:** 1 negative : glass ; 5 x 7 in. or smaller.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-DIG-ggbain-35449  
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## The Reasons for Denialism

Why don't the Turks accept the fact of the Genocide? After all, weren't the leaders of the Union and Progress Party once found guilty in court for the mass murder of Armenians, among their other crimes?

Even Kemal Atatürk has spoken on this topic on a number of occasions and condemned the massacre, calling it "a shameful act" and demanding that the guilty be punished. So, theoretically, one could accept the annihilation of the Armenians and explain that it was a crime committed by the Ottoman Empire, with no relation to the current Turkish republic. In reality, the Turkish state machine and society rabidly deny their own guilt, and there are a number of compelling reasons for this. Several researchers have covered this topic, identifying three main fear factors –

a) The fear of reparations. From a cultural point of view, the Armenians were one of the most developed

and economically powerful communities in the Ottoman Empire. After the Genocide, that massive wealth ended up in the hands of the organizers of the slaughter and the murderers themselves. Some of the largest Turkish trading families and economic players have Armenian traces in the story of how they accumulated their wealth. These very powers fear that a recognition of the genocide will lead to a demand for reparations. The massive size of those reparations means that they can be transformed into territorial claims, if the Turkish state ends up unable to pay the necessary restitution.

b) The fear of defaming heroes. A large number of former Young Turk communist members had joined the Kemalist movement after they had been condemned by the government for various reasons, including the crimes against the Armenians. Joining the Turkish nationalist and revolutionary movement had been the only way they could avoid responsibility



**Title:** Akdamar Island of Van  
**Date Created/Published:** c1923 Oct. 15.  
**Medium:** 1 photographic print.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-DIG-ppmsca-32150  
**(digital file from original item)** LC-USZ62-130934 (b&w film copy neg.)



**Title:** Armenian refugees  
**Creator(s):** Bain News Service, publisher  
**Date Created/Published:** (1920 Dec. 3)  
**Medium:** 1 negative : glass ; 5 x 7 in. or smaller.  
**Reproduction Number:** LC-DIG-ggbain-27083 (digital file from original negative)





**Title:** Armenian volunteer soldier, with gun

**Creator(s):** Bain News Service, publisher

**Date Created/Published:** (no date recorded on caption card)

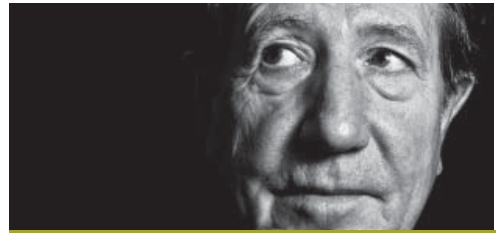
**Medium:** 1 negative : glass ; 5 x 7 in. or smaller.

**Reproduction Number:** LC-DIG-ggbain-C3952 (digital file from original neg.)

for their acts. Later, some of them received very important posts in the new Turkish republic and, more importantly, became part of the gallery of new heroes that was taking shape. For example, Şükrü Kaya was the General Secretary of the Republican People's Party founded by Kemal, and Minister of the Interior. He was also one of the primary people responsible for the deportation of the Armenians and had declared to German consuls on a number of occasions, "We have to eliminate the Armenians." Mustafa Abdülhalik Renda, Speaker of the Parliament in the republican period, had immolated thousands of Armenians in Mush. If the real history were to be revealed, the founders of the republic would be exposed as murderers and criminals.

c) The fear of an identity crisis. One of the main obstacles for a public discussion of the issue is the loss of the collective memory of modern Turkish society. When Atatürk set about creating a new republic, he replaced the real history with a new official version, where military defeats and bloody crimes committed against ethnic and religious minorities were simply erased, and thus removed from public discussion.

One could say that by eliminating the Armenians, the Ottoman leaders were taking revenge on the European powers for the humiliation they had been caused and trying to deal with their own psychological complexes. Not only did the Kemalist leaders deal with that trauma, they rewrote history and carved out a new national identity. And from that moment onwards, the Turkish state has suppressed any initiatives to reveal that "forbidden history." The recognition of the Armenian Genocide would destroy all the foundations on which the history of the Turkish republic is based. In this case, the anti-imperialist war would be seen as a conflict with the Armenian and Greek minorities. The National Forces or Kuva-yi Milliye, which are presented as freedom fighters, would be reduced to bandits who grew wealthy at the expense of the victims of the Armenian Genocide. Mustafa Kemal would not have led a national freedom movement and established the Republic of Turkey. He would simply have carried out the Young Turks' Plan B and held together parts of the collapsing empire by annihilating the Armenians and the Greeks. 🐾



The Armenian Genocide is an undeniable fact and its recognition is not only the issue of the Armenian people, but of the whole world. Besides establishing peace in the region, recognition by the international community will also lay the foundation for the resolution of the Karabakh conflict, taking the threats by Azerbaijan into consideration.

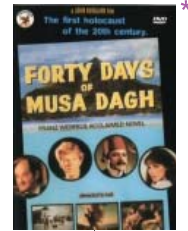
**Leandro Despui**

Human rights defender, diplomat

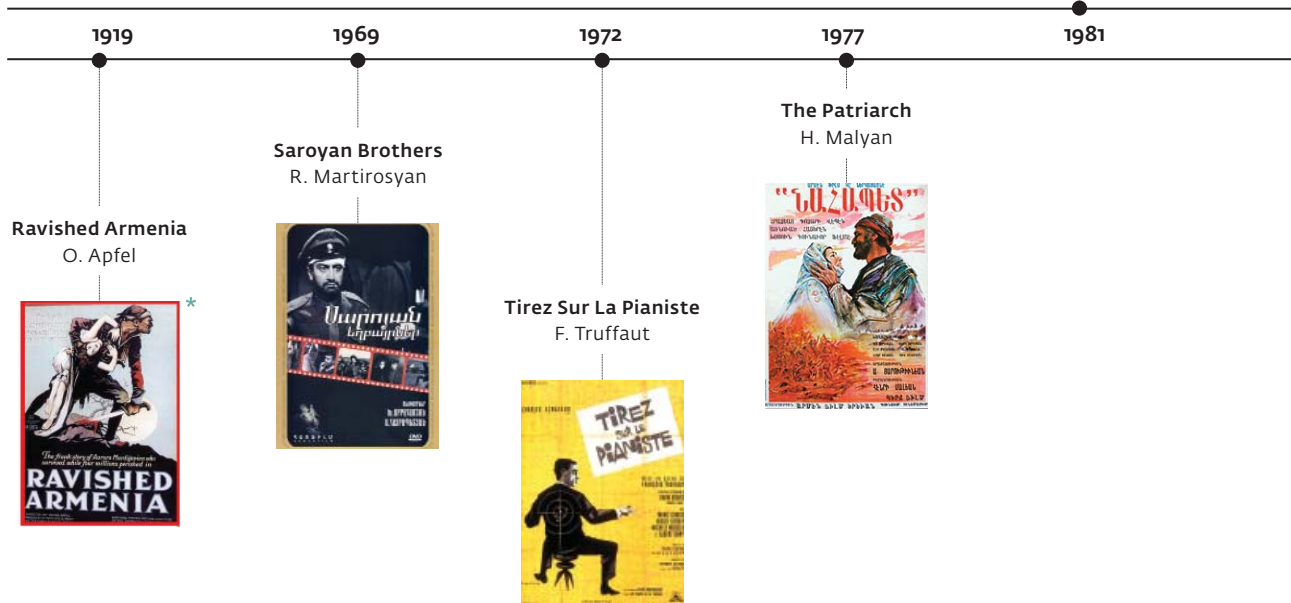
# 25.05.1915

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE POWERS—FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIAN—CONDEMNED THE MASS MURDERS OF THE ARMENIANS IN A JOINT STATEMENT, CALLING THEM A "CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY"

# mayrig, the patriarch, ararat and the remaining 66 movies



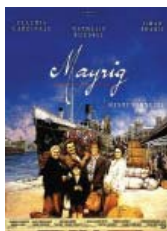
Forty Days of Musa Dagh  
J. Kurkjian



## feature films

1915 **Bloody East**, dir. A. Arkadov / 1915 **Under the Rule of the Kurds** (The Tragedy of Turkish Armenia), dir. A. Minervin / 1919 **Ravished Armenia**, dir. O. Apfel / 1928 **Andranik** dir. A. Shakhkhatuni / 1960 **Northern Rainbow**, dir. A. HayArtyan / 1963 **America, America**, dir. Elia Kazan / 1969 **Saroyan Brothers**, dir. R. Martirosyan / 1970 **It is Spring, It has Snowed**, dir. G. MelikAvagyan / 1970 **The Life and Songs of Komitas Vardapet**, dir. J. Elmanyanyan / 1972 **Tirez Sur La Pianiste**, dir. F. Truffaut / 1974 **Duvar**, dir. Y. Güney / 1975 **Midnight Express**, dir. A. Parker / 1977 **ThePatriarch**, dir. H. Malyan / 1977 **Birth**, dir. F. Dovlatyan / 1977 **Valley of Stones**, dir. A. Mkrtchyan / 1979 **Miro of the Valley**, dir. J. Avetisyan / 1981 **Trip to the Sanatorium**, dir. A. Hayrapetyan / 1981 **The Forty Days of Musa Dagh**, dir. J. Kurkjian / 1982 **The Forty Days of Musa Dagh**, dir. Sarky Mouradian / 1982 **Mission to Berlin**, dir. H. Tukhanyan / 1983 **Fire Flickering at Night**, dir. R. Gevorgyants, G. Kevorkov / 1985 **April**, dir. V. Chaldrianian / 1985 **Diary of an Armenian**, group of directors / 1986 **The Victim**, dir. H. Linder / 1988 **Five Farewell Letters**, dir. Y. Yerznkyan / 1988 **Musa Dagh – 88. Year of the Dragon**, dir. A. Vahuni / 1988 **March**, dir. E. Isahakyan / 1988 **Komitas**, dir. D. Askaryan / 1990 **Longing**, dir. F. Dovlatyan / 1991 **Mayrig**, dir. Henri Verneuil / 2000 **Ararat**, dir. A. Egoyan / 2007 **La Masseria del Allodole**, dir. Vittorio and Paulo Taviani / 2010 **Barking Island**, dir. S. Avedikian / 2011 **Dawn on the Sea of Van**, dir. Artak Igityan, Vahan Stepanyan / 2014 **The Cut**, dir. Fatih Akin / 2015 **1915**, dir. Garin Hovannisian, Alec Mouhibian





**Mayrig**  
Henri Verneuil



**La Masseria del Allodole**  
Vittorio and Paulo Taviani

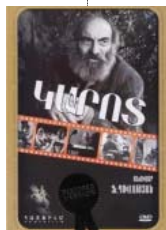
1990

1991

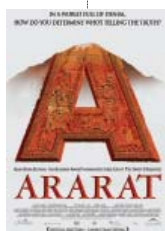
2002

2007

**Longing**  
F. Dovlatyan



**Ararat**  
A. Egoyan



### \* Ravished Armenia

In 1919, O. Apfel made the first feature movie about the Genocide, based on A. Mardiganian's book of the same name. It depicts the terrible scenes of the Armenian Genocide.

### Andranik

This movie has played a large role in immortalizing the story of the great general in the national freedom movement.

### \* The Forty Days of Musa Dagh

In 1935, renowned movie director R. Mamulian tried to bring F. Werfel's novel "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh" to the screen in the USA, but shooting was suspended in 1936 as a result of strong protests by the Turkish government. In 1981, the same novel was made into a movie in the USA by director and producer J. Kurkjian. 450 actors and actresses were shot in the movie, most of whom were not Armenians.

### \* Mayrig

This movie tells the story of a family that moved to Marseille in 1921, at the time of the Armenian Genocide. The story of the family is brought to life through the eyes of a six-year old child surrounded by love and care. Azat Zakaryan goes down to the harbor with his parents and two aunts. The adults of the family sacrifice everything for the child to receive a good education.

## documentary

1945 **Fatherland**, dir. G. Balasanyan, L. Isahakyan and G. Zardaryan / 1964 **Where Are My People**, dir. Mikayel Hakobyan / 1967 **Seven Songs about Armenia**, dir. G. MelikAvagyan / 1967 **We**, dir. A. Peleshyan / 1971 **The Heart of the Nation**, dir. S. Tukhanyan / 1974 **Path**, dir. V. Güney / 1975 **The Forgotten Genocide**, dir. Mikayel Hakobyan / 1975 **Family Tree**, dir. A. Vahuni / 1975 **Pray with the Armenians**, dir. D. ChiljianTonoyan / 1980 **Night through the Sunset**, dir. V. Grigoryan / 1983 **Assignment Berlin**, dir. Hrayr Tukhanyan / 1983 **The Appreciation of Sacrifice**, dir. V. Atanesyan / 1988 **An Armenian Journey**, dir. Theodore Bogosian / 1988 **Back to Ararat**, dir. Suzanne Khardalian / 1988 **Artsakh**, dir. A. Manaryan / 1988 **Yervand Setyan – 82 Springs**, dir. A. Mnatsakanyan / 1988 **Armenian Massacres**, dir. M. Ross / 1988 **Genocide**, dir. S. Sevan / 1992 **Secret History: The Hidden Holocaust**, dir. Michael Johns / 2000 **I Will Not Be Sad in This World**, dir. Karina Epperlein / 2000 **Destination Nowhere: The Witness**, dir. Mikayel Hakobyan / 2003 **Germany and the Secret Genocide**, dir. Mikayel Hakobyan / 2003 **Voices from the Lake: A Film About the Secret Genocide**, dir. Mikayel Hakobyan / 2003 **Desecration**, dir. Hrayr Khacheryan / 2003 **The Armenian Genocide: A Look Through Our Eyes**, dir. Vache Arabyan / 2004 **My Son Shall be Armenian**, dir. Hagop Goudsouzian / 2006 **The Armenian Genocide**, dir. Andrew Goldberg / 2006 **Screamers**, Carla Garabedian / 2008 **The River Ran Red**, dir. Mikayel Hakobyan / 2010 **Aghet**, dir. Erik Friedler / 2011 **Grandma's Tattoos**, dir. Suzanna Khardalian

# 100 years of silence

Until the 1960s, the men and women miraculously saved from the Genocide avoided narrating anything about the bitterest years of their lives. This was the case both among the migrant families who had found shelter in Soviet Armenia and the Armenian households that had settled across the world, in the Diaspora.

It was not acceptable for an elderly Armenian woman to tell her children how she and the other young girls suffering with her had been assaulted by gangs. An elderly Armenian man could not tell his grandchildren how his parents were humiliated and his sisters violated before his eyes. The survivors preferred to stay silent and take their pain and shame with them to the grave.

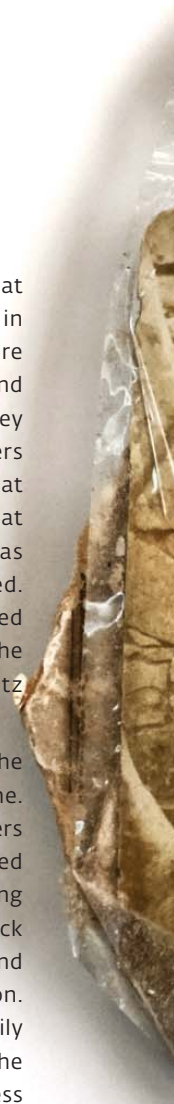
However, after the Second World War, when Jewish mothers began to obligate their children to remember the names of every German responsible for the Holocaust and to carry the spirit of vengeance with them to the death, the Armenian Diaspora communities started to narrate stories that had nearly been forgotten.

In the 1950s and 60s, a new generation had come about in the Diaspora which had been born, raised, educated and ideologically developed in the free world. They simply forced their parents to tell the truth, to confess everything that had happened

to them, no matter how cruel it seemed. At that same time, a new generation had come about in Soviet Armenia as well, which had gained more or less freedom of expression after the “great and small thaws” that followed Stalin’s regime. They began to extract testimonials from their fathers and grandfathers about the tragedy of 1915. That tragedy was simply called the Metz Aghet (“Great Catastrophe”) till the 1960s, because there was no other word to describe what had happened. Using the term “genocide” had not been permitted due to political considerations (which is why the Tsitsernakaberd monument was called the Metz Yeghern memorial).

In the mid-1960s, Armenian society heard the testimonials of Genocide witnesses for the first time. 60-70 year old grandmothers and grandfathers spoke to the world for the first time and narrated what had happened to them. Many young Armenians, voice recorders in hand, began to knock on the doors of survivors in order to document and archive the memoirs of a disappearing generation. And it turned out that there was almost no family in Armenia and the Diaspora that had not felt the blow of the Genocide. What began as a witness testimonial turned into a group confessional by the Armenian nation.

\* The family of Genocide survivor Hripsime Haji Sargsyan, 1911





**Vahan Stepanyan**

Photographer, co-founder of the PAN Photo Agency. Partners with Universal Music, San Francisco Symphony, Palme D'Or and a range of other companies.







## Silvard Atajyan | 01.07.1912, birthplace – Cilicia

My family was among the Armenians of the Suedia region of Cilicia, who had participated in the Musa Dagh resistance in 1915 against the Turkish destroyers. When the local authorities tried to implement the orders of deporting the Armenians, our villagers decided to resist, going up Musa Dagh where there were self-defense battles for 53 days before the attacks of the Turkish army were successfully repelled.

My father and uncle were soldiers in the Turkish army. My uncle was killed and thrown in the river. For that reason, my aunts would not eat fish for years to come. In the meantime, my father managed to escape and return home. He decided to go up the mountain and join the self-defense movement. In 1915, my sister, mother and grandmother went up Musa Dagh. I was three years old at the time.

At night time, the women would go down the mountain, collect figs and grapes, and bake bread. But our strength was running out.

40 days later, we noticed a ship in the ocean and raised a flag. The captain spotted us and sent a small boat to see who we were and what we wanted... The captain said, "Fight, hold out for 8 more days, and we'll rescue you." 8 days later, a small boat arrived, which we used to first transport the children and elderly. The young ones were told, "Stay and fight until we come back for you."

After the resistance, which lasted 53 days, our family reached Egypt on a French ship. 4 years later, we came back to Khdrbek in our homeland. There was a hazelnut tree there which had a base that acted as a stable for a horse and housed three cafes. The water there sprung from the ground – that cold water worked three mills. In 1939, we were forced to migrate again, this time to Aleppo. We grew up in Aleppo. I got married in Aleppo to Hovsep, born in 1911. He was a colonel. We left our house and home there to come to Yerevan in 1947, but we were exiled to Vardenis for five years. I worked as a carpet weaver there. We returned to Yerevan in 1957. We received a plot of land in Malatia-Sebastia and we live there to this day. I have 3 boys, one girl, 7 grandchildren and 12 great-grandchildren.

\* Various photographs of Silvard Atajyan (lower left photo – in the army).







## **Aharon Manukian** | 20.03.1914, birthplace – Van

My grandfather was a clergyman in Van. We were very rich, we used to live in the courtyard of the church. My mother had fond memories of the apple and tilapia fish. She would say that each apple weighed a kilo – their taste and aroma was impossible to describe, the fragrance would fill the whole orchard and spread to the neighboring houses.

I was only a year old when my family was forced to migrate. My mother hid her valuables in Van, at her father's grave, and started the journey to Etchmiatzin on foot. My father was fighting in Andranik's army. He died during the self-defense of Van. My mother carried me as she walked the whole distance – my two brothers, Melikseth and Vahram, were hanging by the edges of her skirt. When they had to cross the river, they saw that it was red, and the water carried corpses downstream. My mother was later forced to beg, in order to feed us. But that ended up not being enough and she gave us over to the orphanage at Alexandropol.

The orphanage belonged to an American couple. They were very kind people. They had lost their only son and dedicated all their love to the orphanage. They gave us milk, sweetbread, halva and dried fruits. It was a true paradise for children who had ended up there after a period of starvation.

When the orphanage was closing, the American lady wanted to take me and one of my brothers to the US, but my mother would not allow it. The lady approached my mother once and offered 40 pieces of gold in exchange for me. She said that I reminded her of the son she had lost. If my mother had allowed it, I would be rich now – they said they had a number of offices in America.

We moved to Yerevan. They gave us an apartment near the circus, on the street that is now called Arshakunyats. My mother worked at a laundromat as a technical manager. She made sure that all of us got a higher education. One of my brothers became a doctor, the other an agriculturist. I graduated from the History Department at Yerevan State University.

\* A photograph of Aharon Manukyan's mother, 1907.



## Margarit Mkhitaryan | 01.07.1915, birthplace – Kars

We were from a village near Kars, I can't recall its name. When the massacres began, my parents took me and my brother, and migrated to Eastern Armenia. I was a few months old at the time. My brother was around 3 years old, blond and very handsome. My mother told us how they rubbed soot on my brother's face and hair, so that the Turks wouldn't take him.

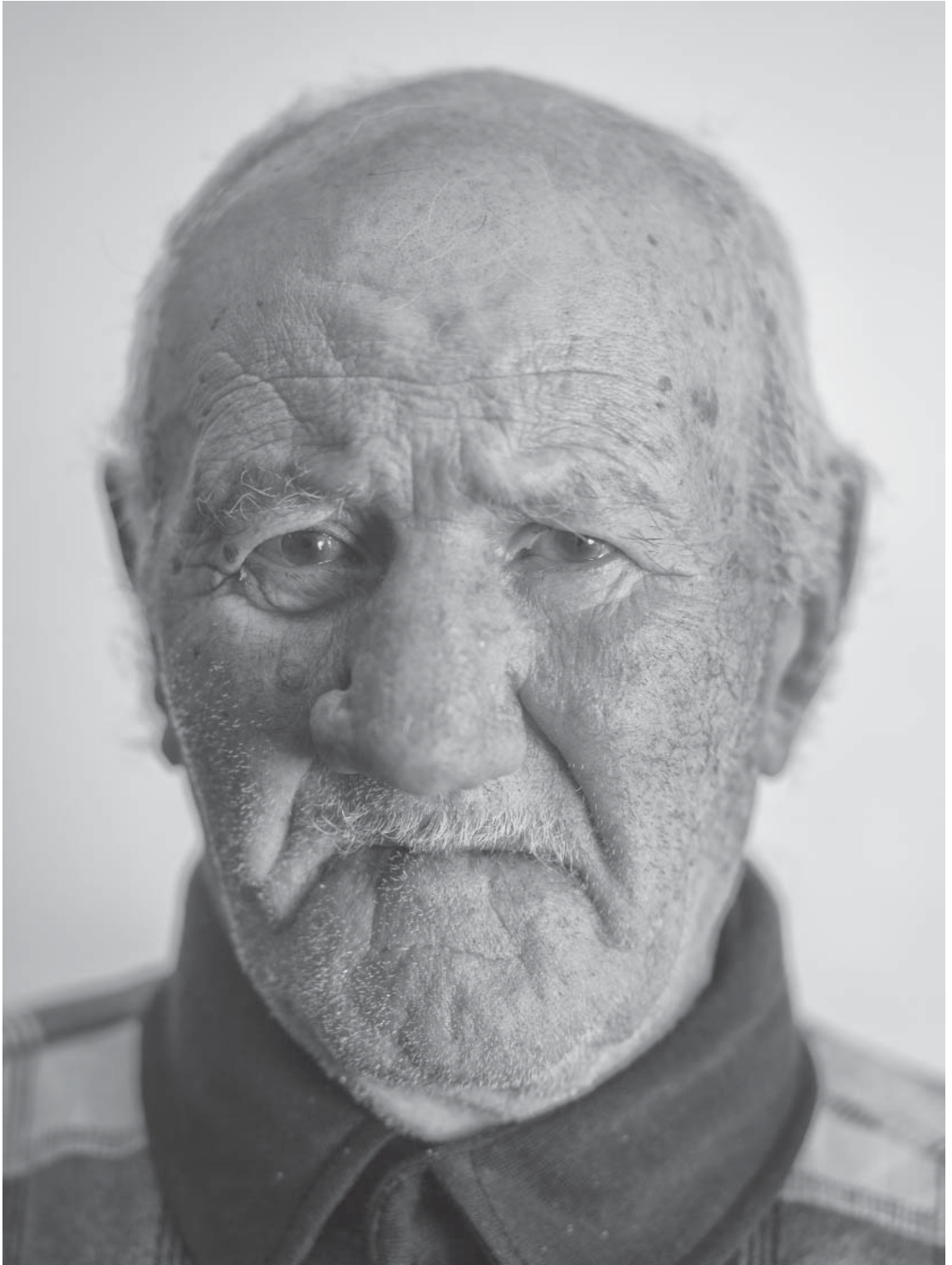
I don't remember our house or lifestyle in Kars, but I remember a prayer that my mother would say – it was a common one among the people there. I remember it to this day.

Flame, truthful flame,  
Honest martyr,  
My dear Christ.  
Christ sat on the horse and mule,  
And went to the just city on high,  
To bring a crown of light.  
The house was there, it was of iron.  
Its roof was fully steel.  
St. Hripsime was asleep,  
St. Karapet was awake,  
Masis was at its brim,  
The brave staff had closed the door,  
The smell of fresh bread emerged,  
Go and take a look - who's there?  
They have come, they have come – three strong horsemen,  
One is Jesus, one the Christ, one – the offering of the Virgin.  
Welcome, all of you.  
My heart will not be scared until the coming of Christ  
May aches of the eye, stomach, head and joints,  
And everyday troubles that may arise  
Stay far, far, far away.



\* Margarit Mkhitaryan and her relatives at Hayrivank, 1960s.







## **Andranik Matevosyan** | 01.07.1912, birthplace – Kars

My mother and father were regular village workers. We had a house in Kars, some land and livestock. I was 6 years old when, in 1918, my family migrated from Kars to Batumi. We were fleeing without knowing where we were going. But if we had not left, the Turks would have killed us. They killed my uncles, my grandmother and grandfather in Kars. My mother would talk about how they had made the decision to flee, but something had held her back halfway and forced her to return home. She went back and remembered that she had not taken her copy of Narek, the holy book of psalms. She only picked that up from home and left again.

On the migration trail, only I managed to survive among my three brothers. Many people ended up unable to carry their children any further and dropped them in the river, hoping that they would somehow stay alive that way.

The Armenians pretended to be Kurds and did not speak the whole journey. My father covered my mother's face using her hair, so that the Turks would not spot her and take her away. The migrants would walk for days without rest. After about a month, my father, mother and I reached Batumi. We sheltered in army barracks there. Many people left for England from there, but we remained.

In 1928, my family emigrated to the city of Maikop in Russia. I married Siranush there and we had a child. We moved back to Armenia after a while – first to Karabakh, then Goris and finally Yerevan. I never got an education, I have been a laborer all my life. I now live in a house I built with my own two hands.

My heart says, "Go and see Kars." But where should I go, how should I go? I don't trust the Turks.

\* A portrait of Andranik Matevosyan's father, 1880s.







## **Hripsime Haji Sargsyan** | 26.02.1911, birthplace – Tavshanli village

I was small when the Turks came. My grandmother and grandfather were at home when a Turk came and killed them right where they were sitting. He had said, "You must leave" and my grandfather replied, "I won't leave. I have a cow, a wife, a grandchild, a family. Where would I go?" The Turk just fired and killed him. His wife ran out asking, "What have you done to my husband?" He then said the same thing to my grandmother – "You must leave." My grandmother had also not agreed, and he killed her. They drove us out of the house, we got on a train and got to the city of Bazarchik in Bulgaria.

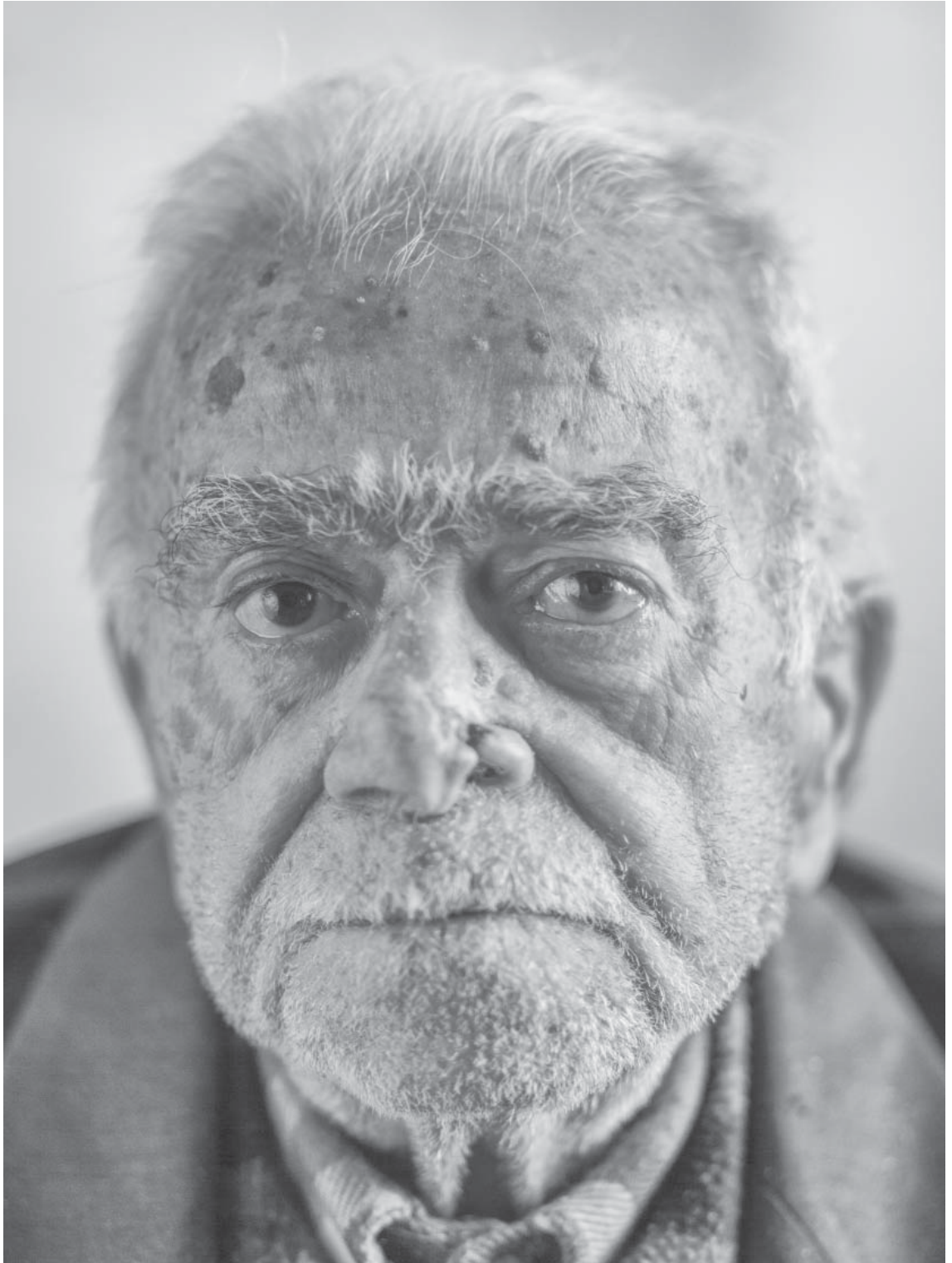
On that journey, we saw thousands of people who had died on the migration trail or lost consciousness, we saw girls who had been tortured...

When we reached Bulgaria, we received news that my father had escaped imprisonment and was in Greece. We went to him and came to Armenia from Greece in 1946.

After my parents died in Greece, my elder brother took care of me. I can't read or write in Armenian because I was educated in Greece. That is where I met my husband Vagharshak. He had nobody, he was an orphan. He saw me and liked me. We got married, lived well and had children.

I have 2 children, 6 grandchildren, 14 great-grandchildren and 3 great-great-grandchildren.

\* A family portrait of Hripsime Haji Sargsyan (first from right), 1930s.





## **Baghdasar Lepejyan** | 01.07.1915, birthplace – Adana

My father, Panos Efendi Lepejyan, was a businessman. He would sell mandarins, boxes, paper – all kinds of things. He would trade with Russia. He would bring oil, sugar and petrol from there to Adana. He was a well-known and respected man. He had many friends and acquaintances. He also had enemies, but they were afraid to approach him. That is the man whose eldest son I am. We were two brothers. A Turk had told my father that something was being planned and advised him to take his family and leave. We escaped that very same day. I was just 40 days old, a baby wrapped in cloth, when we were forced to leave our house.

We managed to get to Aleppo. My father had arranged everything, sold his gold and rented a camel. We got to Aleppo with six other families. My family suffered no losses, but my uncle's family was killed in Adana.

My mother, Mrs. Satenik Lepejyan, was very sensitive – she would often recall all this and suffer. My parents were very close to Soghomon Tehlerian's family. Soghomon would come to our house often and he would talk with my mother for hours.

One day, my mother seated Soghomon on her left side and said, "Listen, Soghomon, you have drunk of my milk. It would be a sin if you evaded the chance for revenge. Even if you kill just one of the people who had been at the top, I will be happy." They would not let me listen to their conversations. They were probably afraid, thinking that I was a child and might blab it out somewhere.

I got married in 1945, came to Armenia in 1947, and had five children. I know many languages – French, Turkish, English, Arabic. I have worked as a French translator, and then held several different jobs. I've worked as a postman for many years.

The Turks are not allowing the Armenian issue to rise up, because everyone has their own interests at heart. I think the Genocide will be recognized, there is a lot of hope. Sooner or later, historic justice will establish itself.

\* Baghdasar Lepejyan at the age of 17, 1932.







## **Arevaluys Amalyan** | 01.07.1913, birthplace – Arabkir

In 1915, the Turks killed my father. They took my mother with them, agreeing to the condition that they would spare us. My brothers, grandfather, aunts, uncles and I were left alive. My mother, who was a very beautiful woman, was forced to marry a Turk. After my mother was taken away, we stayed in Arabkir till 1926, then we went to Batum and took a train to Yerevan. We received a plot of land and built a house. After a few years, I married Sargis, who was a blacksmith and also from Arabkir. He remembered the Genocide. He had been 6 years old. He lived to be 99. He would tell me how the Turks would line up 300-400 Armenians at a time on the banks of the Euphrates. Then they would beat them with sticks, kill them and push them into the river.

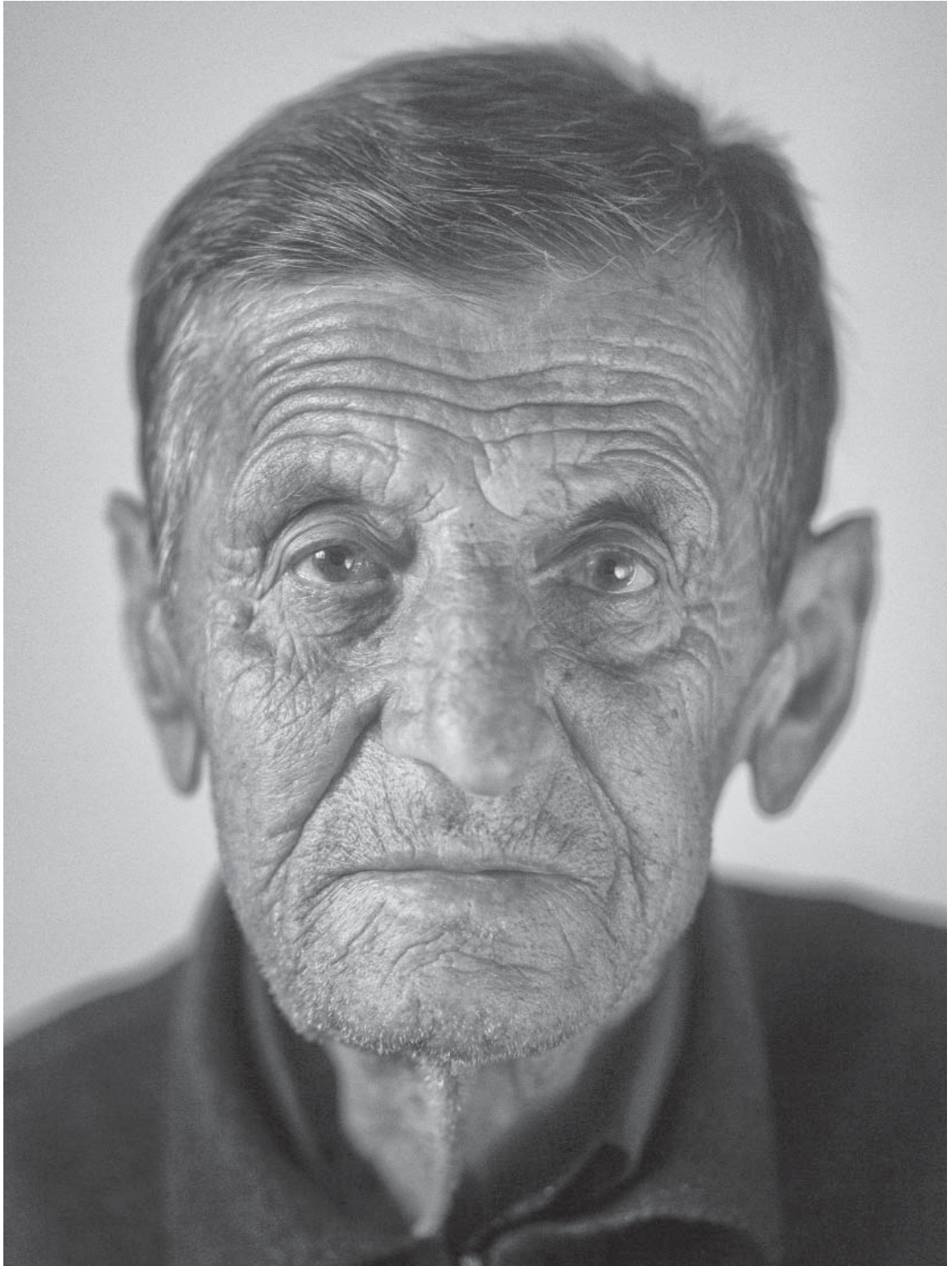
My mother, Vergineh, found my brothers in Syria in the 1980s. She wanted to see me too, but I refused. I said that she should not have gone with a Turk, even if it was to save us. She said that she had lived as a Turk all her life, but wanted to die as an Armenian. They say she lived to be 117. The newspapers had written about how she had met with my brothers.

They say that she had a small nook in her house with Armenian icons and crosses, as if to show everyone that she was an Armenian. When she came to Syria to find her son, her Turk husband had probably already died.

I remember a lot about Arabkir. We would make food using mulberry as an ingredient. We had many mulberry trees. But I don't want to go back.

I have 4 children, my eldest daughter is 82. My grandchildren, great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren together make up 67 people.

\* Photographs from Arevaluys Amalyan's family album (top left photograph – with her husband, 1940s).







\*

## **Azat Sulukyan** | 03.02.1912, birthplace – Musa Dagh

I am from Musa Dagh. I was born in Bitias, which was one of the villages around the mountain. Hakob, my father, worked in sericulture in Musa Dagh. He did the same work in Armenia. The leaves of the mulberry tree are food for the silkworm. My father used to say that in order to get good quality silk, you had to have large mulberry leaves. I learned a lot from him, but worked as a builder. My family stayed in the Fatherland until 1939, then we migrated to Lebanon. Our family did not suffer any losses in the fight with the Turks. There were nine of us – my father, mother, four brothers, two sisters and I. We went to Lebanon on foot. It was a long journey, there was no water, 10-15 people would die every day. On our way, we stayed for two months in the village of Ainjar, right on the border between Syria and Lebanon. Syria lay 51 kilometers to one side, Lebanon was 51 kilometers on the other side. My mother lived a long life – 103 years.

After Lebanon, my family came to Alaverdi in Armenia in 1946. I got married in 1955, and had children.

As for the Turks... there are good foxes and bad foxes, but you can't have a forest without foxes.

\* A photograph from Azat Sulukyan's school years, 1926.





## **Nektar Alatuzyan** | 07.01.1914, birthplace – Musa Dagh, Khdr Bek village

Our land was rich – we had a large house and territory. I planted 30 fig trees with my own hands. It wasn't cold during the New Year – even if it snowed, it didn't last five minutes. We'd pluck pomegranates, figs and grapes from the trees and put them on the New Year table.

My father was the hero of 7 villages, a rebel leader. The people from 7 villages would gather at our house – the rebel meetings would be called at our place. The weapons for the whole group were stored at our house. The Turks betrayed my father. Once, when I was still a small child, I saw them come to our house to take away the weapons. I put the guns under the carpet, placed my toys on them and sat on top, pretending to play. They came in, couldn't find any weapons and couldn't arrest anyone. Before the self-defense battles of Musa Dagh, my father warned everyone that the Turks were coming and said that they should go up the mountain to fight back. He took everyone up the mountain and saved many people – he fought in the self-defense battles from start to finish.

After the fighting, we went to France and returned to Musa Dagh 5 years later, where we stayed till 1938. The Turks tried to arrest my father several times, but they had no evidence. They said that my father had a lover. Finally, the Turks killed her and placed his suit in that house. They eventually sentenced him to 101 years of imprisonment, on charges of murder. I was 13-14 years old then. I had just started going to school. I was forced to leave the first grade to help my mother raise 3 children. My father stayed in jail for 15 years, after which he managed to prove his innocence and regained his freedom.

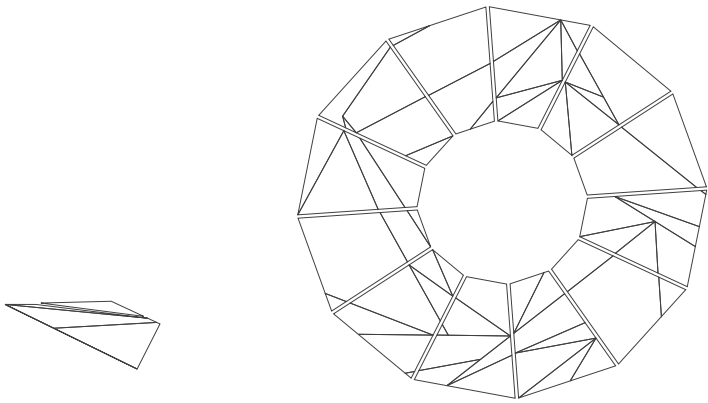
In Musa Dagh, I married Tigran, who had served in the French army. We went on a ship to Beirut in 1938, where I had 3 children. In 1947, we came to Armenia. I had two more children here.

Later, my father and mother came with the remaining children to Armenia. They lived in Yerevan, in Malatia, where they are now buried. My father, Tovmas Abdunuryan, was a real hero. There are a number of books published about him and his picture now hangs in the National Gallery and the Tzitzernagabert Museum.

If I go back to Musa Dagh one day, it'll probably drive me crazy... There is no other place like that land.

\* Nektar Alatuzyan's father, 1913.

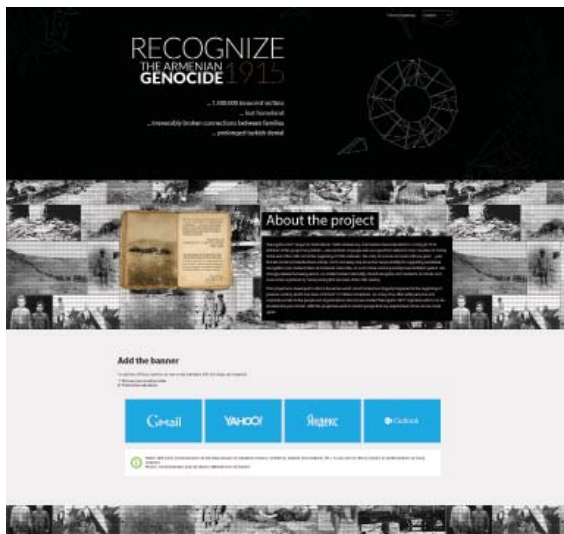




# RECOGNIZE

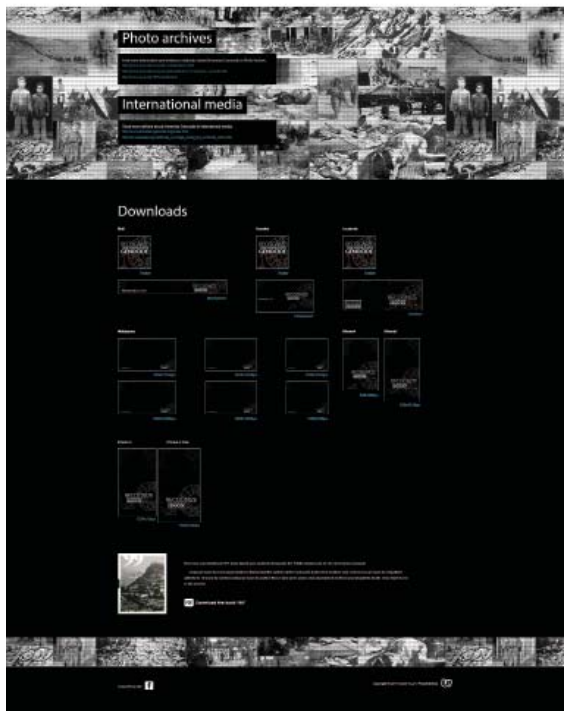
THE ARMENIAN  
**GENOCIDE** 1915

...1.500.000 innocent victims  
...lost Homeland  
...irrevocably lost family ties  
...the continued turkish denial



The Recognize 1915 project is dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, occurring in 2015. The people behind the initiative are patriots who bear in their hearts the grief and pain common to every Armenian, and have also taken on the responsibility of condemning the Armenian Genocide. We believe that each person, irrespective of nationality, must recognize and condemn this crime committed by Turkey in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

With this project, we want to raise global awareness about the Armenian Genocide. This is why we created the Recognize 1915 electronic signature, which one can attach to one's personal or corporate email. We use email to contact hundreds of people and companies every day, both in Armenia and abroad. Through this project, we want to remind people and the world one more time about the Genocide, including the Armenians who will never forget this crime.



# the mechanics of genocide\*

How was the Armenian Genocide carried out? How many stages did the Turkish authorities use to implement this monstrous program? What was special about each stage?



The first stage of the implementation of the Armenian Genocide was the conscription of 60,000 Armenian men to the Ottoman army, followed by the confiscation of their weapons and their murder by the Turkish members of their companies.

The second stage was the series of arrests that occurred on April 25, 1915 (mainly in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople), followed by the elimination of hundreds of Armenian intellectuals and statesmen. Later, Armenians around the world began to mark April 24 as a day of memorial to the victims of the Armenian Genocide.

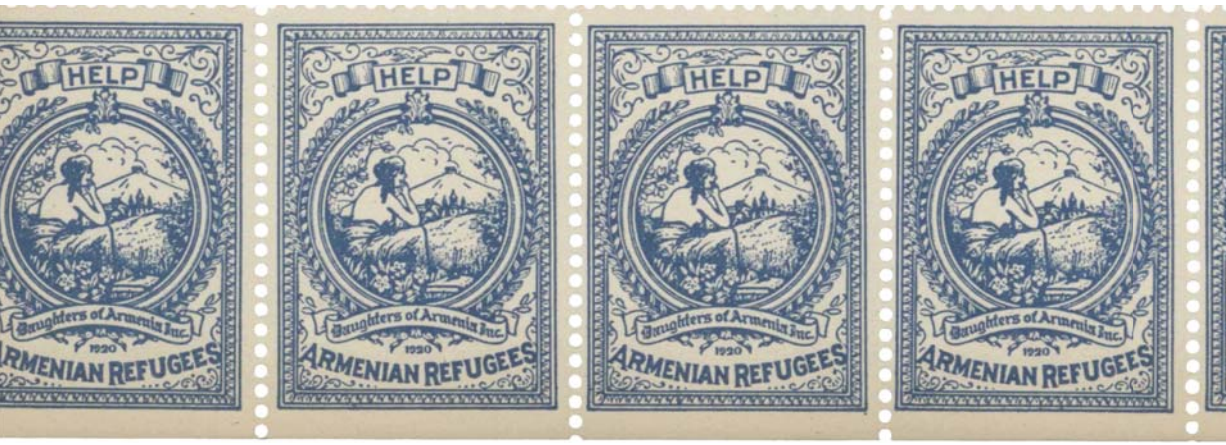


- \* Genocide is the systematic destruction of a group of people with the basic aim of putting an end to their collective existence. Therefore, carrying out a genocide requires a centralized program and an internal mechanism of implementation. This makes genocide a state crime, since only a state has all the resources which are necessary for the implementation of this policy.



The third stage of the Genocide was marked by the murder and deportation into the Syrian desert of women, children and the elderly. During the deportation, hundreds of thousands of people were killed by Turkish soldiers, policemen, and Kurdish bandits, while the others died of starvation and disease. Thousands of women and children were violated. Tens of thousands of people were forced to convert to Islam.

The final stage of the Armenian Genocide is the universal and absolute denial of the mass deportations and genocide committed by the Turkish government against the Armenians in their own homeland. Despite the continuing process of international condemnation of the Armenian Genocide, Turkey continues to fight this recognition using all available means, including cheap modifications of history, propaganda, lobbying activities and other methods.



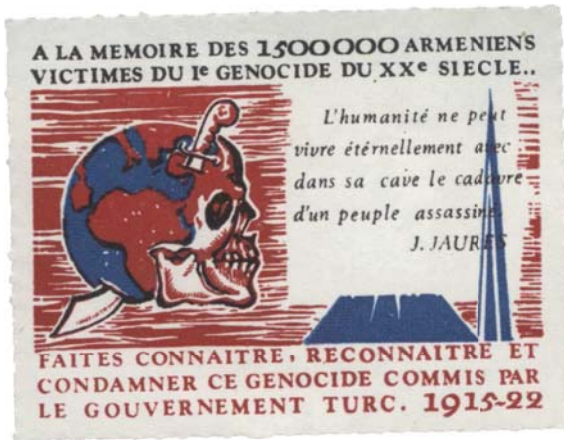
# the genocide postage stamp

Besides the official ones used in the postal system, there are also a number of commemorative stamps available. If you use these to send a letter abroad, the post office will not accept them – or if you manage to drop it off in a post box, the letter will be returned to you later.

Commemorative stamps are usually printed by individuals or private entities, aiming at a philanthropic objective or in order to raise awareness. The latter has been at the focus of the stamps issued to commemorate the Armenian Genocide.







The first stamp commemorating the Armenian Genocide was published in Uruguay in 1986. This was the first country to recognize the Armenian Genocide. Commemorative stamps in Armenia were published in 2005, and then again in 2007.

There are a number of commemorative stamps and attachments dedicated to the Armenian Genocide. They were created by our compatriots living abroad. These commemorative stamps remind people once again about the crime committed in 1915. Issuing such a commemorative stamp or an attachment in Soviet Armenia was impossible. They have mainly been published abroad.

Many people confuse an attachment with an actual stamp. For a long time, there was a common opinion that France has issued a stamp commemorating the Armenian Genocide, but in reality, it was an attachment, and the initiative of an individual. There was even an ink stamp that was created but, naturally, it could not be used instead of the one representing the state.

The rules of the International Council of Philatelists do not allow the attachment to be displayed in philately exhibitions. They can be considered souvenirs which, in this case, are of value mainly to Armenian philatelists. 🙏



“Reacting to the Turkish policy of denial takes up 80 percent of our potential and financial resources, which we could have spent on art and development. Turkey has left us with no choice. Whether we like it or not, we are forced to fight Turkey’s propaganda. And as more information spreads on the Genocide, so does misinformation. Armenian embassies everywhere are weak and passive. If you look at the websites of Turkish embassies, you will immediately find their version of the Genocide – they actively spread their propaganda. They accept that, yes, unfortunately, 200,000 Armenians were killed, but it was during the war. They reduce the number of victims, add the context of the war situation and rebellion by the Armenians, and insist that there never was a desire to eliminate them, while Genocide assumes such a desire.”

Richard Hovhannisian

Head of Armenian Studies  
Department, UCLA







The film “Barking Island” talks indirectly about the Armenian Genocide. It presents historical facts about how the dogs in Constantinople were eliminated in 1910. The government of the Young Turks was responsible. So the film was not about the Armenian Genocide, but the metaphor was well chosen, because the same government was behind the Genocide. I had said this very thing in Turkey, but the local media twisted my words and wrote that my film has nothing to do with the Genocide.



## Serge Avedikian

French-Armenian movie director, actor, screenwriter and producer. Serge Avedikian's family repatriated to Armenia from France in 1947, influenced by Soviet propaganda, and then returned to France in 1970. Avedikian's animated film "Barking Island" is set in Constantinople in 2010. The city is presented as the European capital of culture, but who could recall that thousands of dogs were slaughtered in 1910 in the name of Westernization and progress? From the European center of the city to its distant edges, the variety in opinions paints a picture of society presenting both its progressive side and its internal contradictions. "Barking Island" was awarded the Palme d'Or among short films at the Cannes Film Festival in 2010.



**Sedrak Mkrtychyan**

Journalist, public information expert, graphic designer, blogger, Founding Director of eMedia.am news site, Head of Graphic Design Department at PanArmenian Media Group, photographer at PAN Photo Agency





# on the other side of masis

It is night time. You awake with a start because of a loud noise that has come from the street, as if someone is making strange noises using a microphone. Is it a song? What language is it? Is it a human language? You understand in your state of half-sleep that you are hearing the call to namaz. "What? How can this be namaz? I am in Western Armenia, in Kars, my grandfather's homeland." And at that moment you realize that the connection has been lost between the memories flowing in your blood and the reality of today.

Many of us have a memory whose roots stretch to distant lands with names both familiar and unfamiliar, as if you are looking at them through gauze, wrapping them in both national pride and shame. This is the memory that is constantly palpitating in the souls of our fathers, ourselves and our children.

Each call to namaz is a further step in the disconnect between memory and reality.





Women cutting grass, Kars, Western Armenia. It is common to see women performing tasks of hard labor in the fields, while the city's tea houses are filled with men



A view of the fortress of Kars from the bathhouse located below



Kurdish girls photographed near their house, in the fields of Mush. It is rare to see girls without headscarves, because they are required to wear them everywhere and always



Mt. Ararat, as seen from Igdir. The mountain is strikingly beautiful when seen from Armenia, but the view from Turkey is not particularly attractive

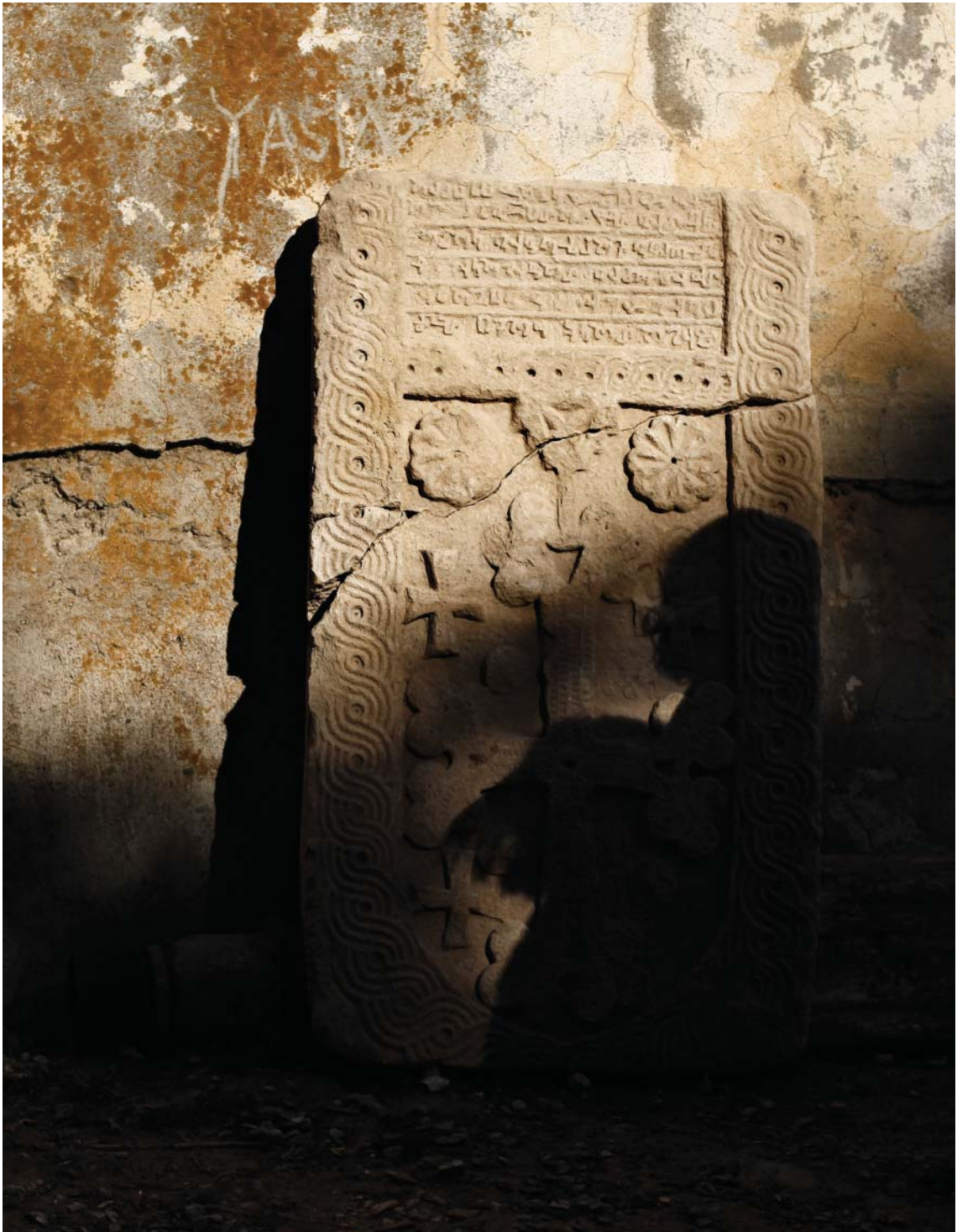
## KARS

The road stretches through a chain of mountains with high peaks, covered in snow even in the warm months of spring. This road through the mountains was closed in early April because of a snowstorm. The drivers were stopped and directed to a village nearby, where they had to wait till the road reopened. When we had asked the policeman to allow us to pass, he clarified the situation with a question – “Ermenistan?” The roadblock was removed and we were allowed to continue.

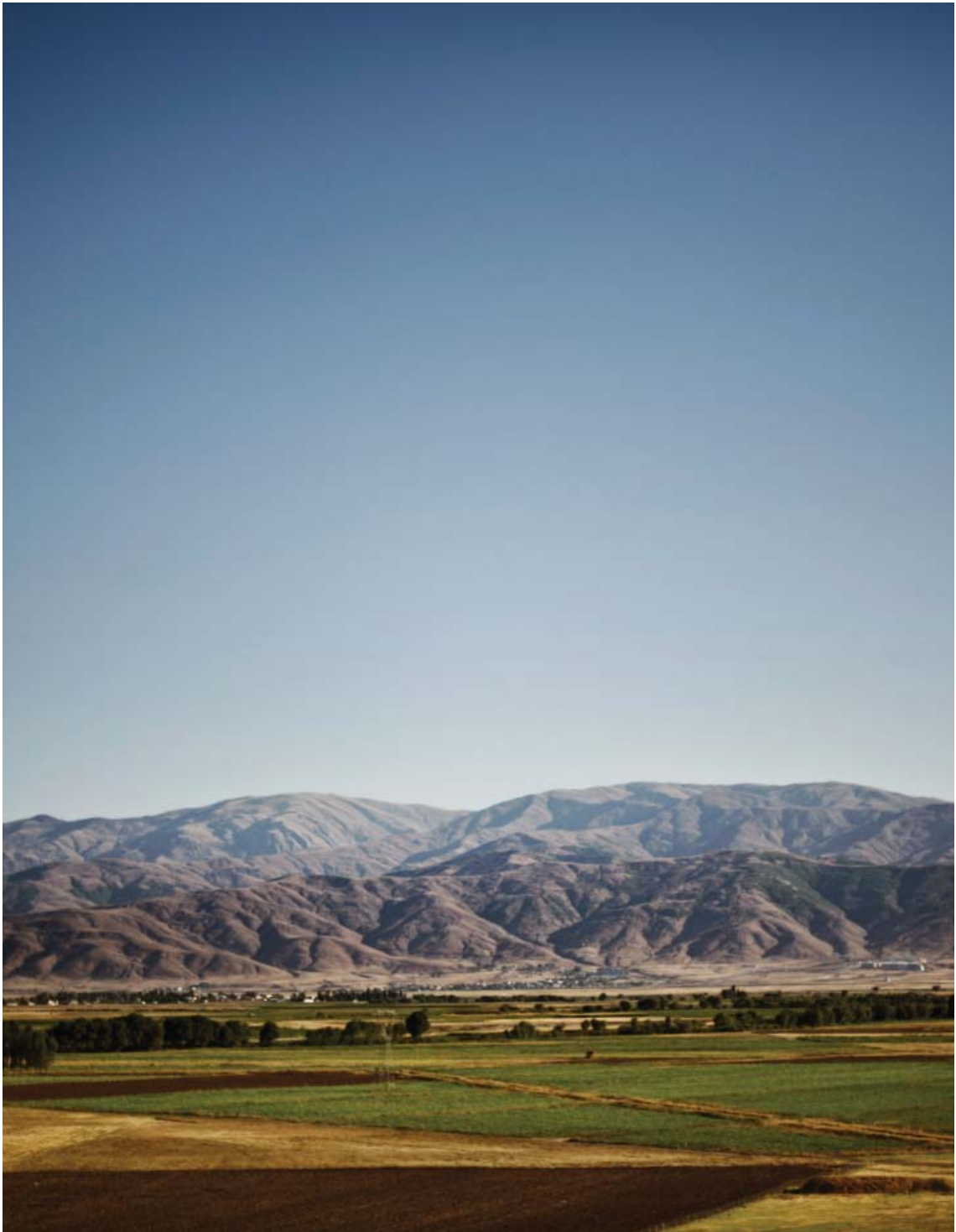
The road winds down from the mountains to lead directly to Kars, which was considered the pearl of the house of Bagratuni. It spreads below the lordly peak. The fortress there had

remained impregnable for centuries. This was the fortress that we lost in 1920 without a shot being fired, abandoning a considerable amount of artillery inside and leaving 8000 Armenian soldiers as prisoners. Now the stairs and rooms of the fortress are visited by tourists from various regions of Turkey, Muslim women with headscarves, children running around and us – the descendants of the Armenians who had built, defended, strengthened and then lost this structure.

The fortress bears the Turkish flag today – the erstwhile Byzantine half-crescent, surrounded by a sea of red. According to legend, the red color symbolizes the blood spilled by Turkey's enemies. Our flag of the Republic of Armenia also has a



A cross-stone, broken and inverted, near the houses of a Kurdish family in the fields of Mush. The local Kurds often find old, Armenian cross-stones from medieval times, which they usually use as building material



The hills of Sassoun, the central stage of the Armenian epic that gave birth to the nation's greatest heroes





A women in a hijab on the streets of Erzurum. Erzurum is the largest city in the region, with a population of around 300,000 Turks and Azerbaijanis



The bathhouses of Kars. Bearing a typical Byzantine style, the bathhouses were located in the lower part of the fortress, near the river. They are in a state of neglect today, filled with rubbish

band of red – this one symbolizes the blood that we have spilled.

One can see typical Armenian architecture in various parts of the city – 19<sup>th</sup> century structures and half-ruined buildings with Armenian letters carved into them. Next to these buildings with exquisite carved designs, there are typically a number of tall, identical, rectangular residential blocks of concrete, which look awkward next to these delicate antiques and distort the city's architectural style. There is no difference, it seems, for the residents of Kars today, what kind of building they walk past. An old and delicate building can end up covered in commercial posters, which hide its architecture and its warm, grey tuff stones.



Did the Armenian Genocide end in 1918 after the War, or the 1923 Peace Conference? No, unfortunately, this is not the case. The destruction of cultural values is a continuation of the Armenian Genocide. The Turks have rid the Armenian homeland of any Armenian names, and they are now driving the Armenians and their traces from the history textbooks. The destruction of cultural values means deleting the memory of the people who created them. The Armenians have left their material wealth in today's Turkey, which experts have estimated to be more than 100 billion dollars. The Turkish authorities have not only written laws to grab all that, they have also destroyed archive documents, which testify that Armenians were born and lived in specific parts of the territory.

**Dickran Kouymjian**

Director of Armenian Studies  
Program, California State University

But there is a truth which you do not realize the first time that you visit Kars. This is the only city in Western Armenia where you can still see the Armenian past on its streets. The main structure, with its strength and typical Armenian nature, which does not allow the Armenian biography of this city to be completely forgotten, is the Arakelots Monastery of Kars. I do not give in to my feelings and cover up my emotions, but it is very difficult to accept the fact that you have to take off your shoes before you enter the church and that there are carpets on the floor inside. The bell tower had collapsed years ago. The church functions as a mosque, but two newer mosques have also been built right next to the Arakelots Monastery, each bigger than the other, as if holding this Armenian jewel in their arms. The Arakelots Monastery is an imprisoned giant today, surrounded by mosques, lying beneath the shadow of the Turkish flag flying above the fortress.

One can visit the local history museum in the city, next to which tourists are shown the famous Kars train wagon, where the future of the Kars region was decided in 1921. This is where Askanaz Mravian and Poghos Makintsian, who represented the Armenian SSR, lost Kars, Ardahan, Ardvin, Oltin, Sarighamish, Surmalu and Nakhijevan forever. In exchange, Turkey gave Batumi to Georgia.

The house of Yeghishe Charents is still standing in Kars, but it has no caretaker and is in a state of half-ruin. There are several versions about where Charents' house is located. This one is the most probable, but I think it does not really matter which of the half-ruined Armenian houses is the real one. The whole Armenian city is half-ruined. The Turkish Kars is new and strong, the erstwhile Armenian capital is virtually non-existent.

#### **ERZRUM**

This is the largest city in the region with a population of 300,000. In contrast to Kars, there are many women in hijabs and headscarves in Erzurum. The city has long streets, completely filled with short tables and the unemployed men who occupy them. According to statistics, there are





The Urartian fortress of Van, near the present location of the city of Van. The foot of the fortress used to host a large Armenian district called Aygestan, which has now been completely eliminated



# 25

ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION MEMBERS OCCUPIED THE OTTOMAN BANK IN CONSTANTINOPLE ON AUGUST 14/26, 1896. THEY WANTED TO RAISE AWARENESS ABOUT THE ONGOING MASSACRES OF THE ARMENIANS IN THE COUNTRY, AND DEMANDED REFORMS IN THE ARMENIAN VILAYETS.

also many Azerbaijanis from Nakhijevan here, who mainly migrate to Igdir, Kars and Erzurum.

The fortress of Erzurum is the city's main tourist spot. It holds yet another carpeted church that has fallen victim to the crescent.

I continue to search for the answer to one question – what does a Muslim feel when a Christian church is converted into a mosque? What does a Muslim feel when he enters a Christian temple to pray? Is it possible to build your own sanctity on the ruins of the sanctity of others? Is it possible to snatch the achievements of others and consider that to be a good deed? The answer hides itself from me, but I need to find it so that I can understand where I am and what is happening around me.



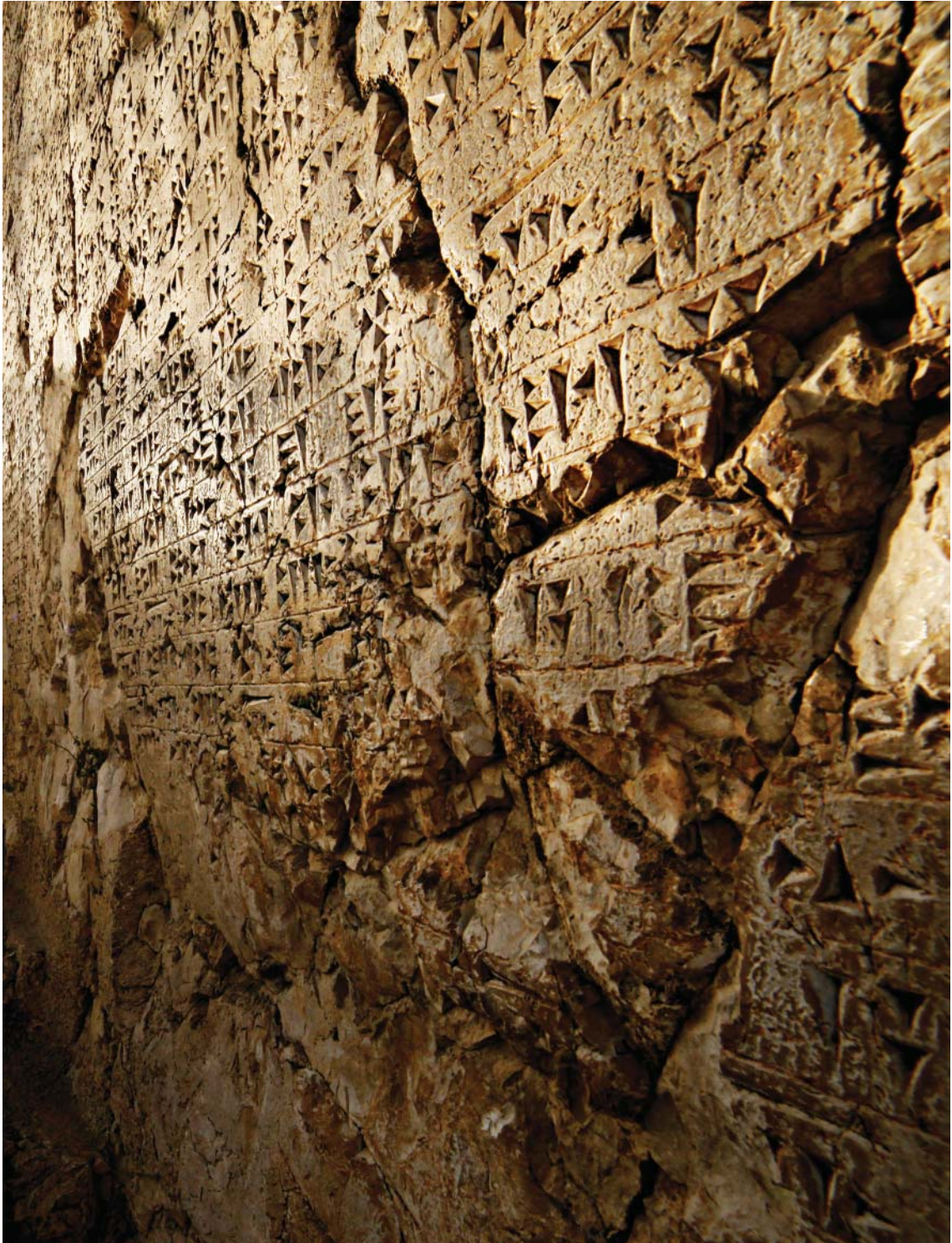
A painter sells his work on the shore of Lake Van. Tourists often visit this region and buy souvenirs from the locals



Aghtamar island, with the Church of the Holy Cross

## KURDISTAN

We move south from Erzurum and soon end up in the pride of the Armenians, the fields of Mush. The soil is fertile and covered today almost completely by Kurdish villages. As we cross the villages, I realize that Kop, the homeland of my paternal grandfather, was now behind us. Ahead of us lay Mush, the homeland of my maternal grandfather. Baghesh, now known as Bitlis, the Armenian epic land of Sassoun and Diarbekir all await me. The Kurds believe that all these lands make up the northern frontiers of their future state. There are many kurdified Armenians in their population, who do not have a major desire to remember their Christian past.



Writing on the wall at the entrance of the tomb of King Sarduri





A village in Igdir, which is considered one of the poorest regions in modern Turkey





“Did you Kurds know that my father was from here? His grandfather was from here too. His grandfather is one of the Bagrevands of Erzurum. This where they were born, lived, built, created, prayed and died. Their fathers are buried in this land. This is where beads of their sweat fell to the land. This is where they spilled their blood. My roots are here, Kurds.”

There is no reply. The Kurds who live on the same land remain silent. That is the best case. In the worst case, the Kurds in all those places recall the stories that came from their grandfathers, about how they fought the Armenians, how they beheaded one Armenian or the other, stole his belongings and occupied his house.

Zakare Zakaryan took revenge in Ardebil for the immolation of Armenian princes in Nakhijevan 5 centuries earlier. He burned mullahs in the Ardebil mosque. 5 centuries later.

#### **VAN**

The province of Van, the birthplace of the Armenian nation, lies east of Mush. This is the location of the Valley of the Armenians where, according to legend, Hayk the Patriarch emerged victorious. This is the location of the Urartian fortress of Tushpa. This is the location of Mher's door, behind which legend says that Little Mher waited for Armenia to be strong and prosperous again. The half-ruined Varaga Monastery lies here, as did the Narek Monastery, not a stone of which remains today. And, of course, the most beautiful structure of Van is located here, on an island – Aghtamar. In contrast to the Arakelots Monastery in Kars, Aghtamar has been lucky – it is not a mosque. In fact, it functions as a church once a year. Only one day.

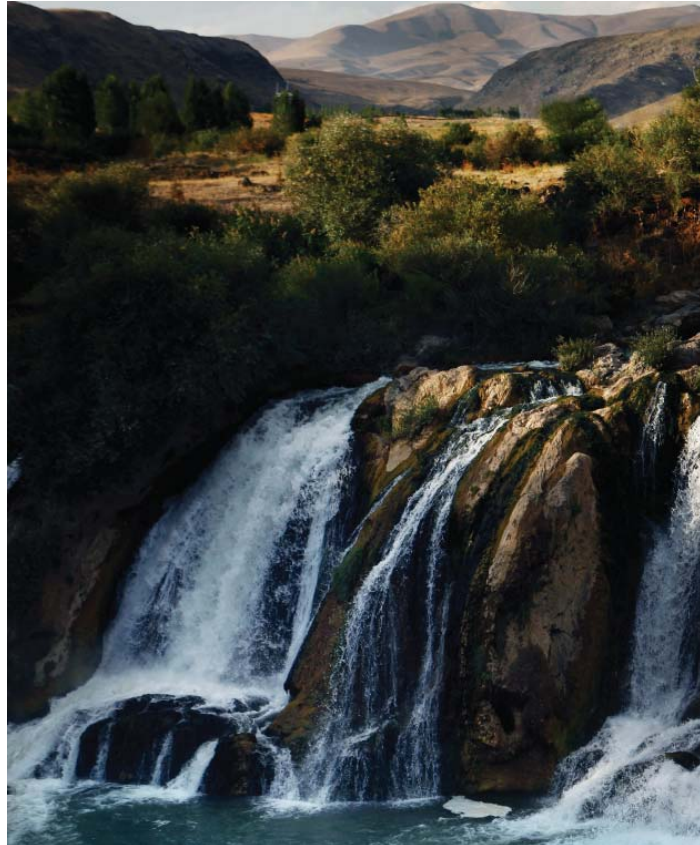
I was lucky to be at Aghtamar on that happy day. The Armenian language, numerous Armenians from Turkey and abroad, dance troupes, the elderly, the young – the place was teeming. Tens of security personnel were present, charged with maintaining order at the event, because attacks by radicals were quite probable on that day.



Icons on the walls of the ruined churches of Ani. Unidentified vandals have disfigured the eyes of the depicted saints



The Solukh bridge constructed on the Eastern Euphrates. According to testimonials, this is where the hero Gevorg Chaush was slain



The Berkri waterfall – one of the most beautiful waterfalls in Western Armenia

And all this was accompanied by a gigantic Turkish flag flapping in the wind. The flag is like a pass in Turkey, it allows you a little bit of freedom. If you are organizing an event to which the Turkish authorities might object, stick a Turkish flag next to it and you may proceed to do as you wish.

Do you want to start a business? Stick the Turkish flag and do what you want. It's not working? Stick a picture of Ataturk next to it, that will definitely help. I have seen this both in Western Armenia and in Istanbul. It was the same thing on the island of Aghtamar, where the Apostolic Church stood next to that same erstwhile Byzantine crescent, surrounded by the blood of the Turks' enemies.

## ANI

As we move towards Ani, we are forced to pass through Igdir, populated today by Azerbaijanis, where we do not wish to stop. In this region, I see our holy mountain from behind. It is often said that Mt. Ararat is not pretty when viewed from Turkey. Let me rephrase that. It is not that it is not pretty, it is deformed. It does not have the majesty that it bears when viewed from the Ararat plains. It is simply a tall grey peak. And you can doubtlessly see the symbolism of that. But I was interested in something else at that moment. How did it end up that this mountain, located in the east of the Armenian highlands, remained in the Turkish republic created to our west? The mountain was within the borders of the Russian



Empire almost throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was considered the treasure of Eastern Armenia. But now it is part of the lands which remain lost in Western Armenia. How did that happen?

Ani provides the answer to my question. Despite the fact that there are many similarities between the Armenians and the Turks, despite the fact that friendly relations are possible between Armenians and Turks on an individual level, there is a radical difference between us. We would never conceive of converting a mosque into a church, we realize that a mosque is sacred to another nation. We cannot think of converting it into a church. The Turkish mentality is radically different in this sense, converting any non-Turkish value or structure into a Turkish one is



To this day, the Turks and their books cannot accept the fact that an organized Armenian massacre occurred from 1915 to 1917. It is possible that the reason for this is that those same murderers and thieves were also the heroic founders of the modern Republic of Turkey. One of the main obstacles to public discussion is a sense of collective amnesia. This universal loss of memory in Turkey is due to the dulling of the historic self-awareness of the Turks, a process which occurred over a number of decades. Ataturk damaged the lines connecting the people to their own past. From the moment of its creation, each nation state looks to its past, on which it bases its legitimacy. If it does not find anything there, it makes things up, which is what has occurred in the case of Turkey.

**Taner Akcam**

Historian, author of a number of books on the Armenian Genocide





Decorations on the walls of the church of Tigran Honents. The wealthy Honents built the church in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century







Decorations on the walls of the Church of the Holy Cross at Aghtamar. The whole church is covered in carvings with Biblical themes. The Holy Cross is the only church in Western Armenia where an Armenian mass is held once a year



considered God-pleasing work. This is a creed, based on which it is possible to build empires, grab new territory and increase the population. This is an action for which future generations are grateful to you and sing your glory, remembering your name with pride. This is the reason why the mullah at the Arakelots monastery in Kars is proud to sing namaz every day. That is the reason why the Surb Karapet in Mush was destroyed, and why the sign at the entrance to Ani is utterly devoid of any mention of the Armenians. It is not enough for the newcomer to occupy the land. He has to destroy the history of the nations that lived there since ancient times, and remove all traces of their existence. This is a holy mission in Turkey and Azerbaijan.

What do I feel, standing within the city walls of the holy capital of Ani? Pain? Regret? Tears or regret have no value here. The most important thing I feel here, which should be a lesson to me, is shame. National shame, that I have lost all of this. It is not something that some individual has lost in the past. Fortune is not to blame, neither is Turkish ferocity. Diplomatic failures were not behind it, nor was the geo-political situation. These are all excuses which can be used to soften the sense of shame. The real reason is that we did certain things we should not have done, and we did not do the things which we were obliged to do.

And I stand today in the ruins of Ani. Before me lie the things that my grandfathers have built and lost. I am responsible for all this. I am the one who realizes the mistakes of the past and who will not allow them to happen again in the future. I am the Armenian who turned the Valley of the Armenians into the birthplace of our nation. I am the Armenian who built and developed the Armenian highlands. I have looked at Masis from the fortress of Erebuni centuries ago. I fought powerful Turkish forces ten times in number in 1918, and won. Two years later, I handed the impregnable Kars without a shot being fired. I am the Armenian of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, who bears the history of millennia under his chest. I am the Armenian who will one day reclaim the holy right to all that he has created, built, borne and dreamed. 🙏

# 913

ARMENIAN HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS REMAINED STANDING IN WESTERN ARMENIA AFTER 1923 – 464 OF THESE HAVE VANISHED COMPLETELY, 252 ARE IN RUINS AND 197 NEED COMPLETE RENOVATION (BASED ON DATA FROM UNESCO IN 1974)

# ~70.000

ARMENIAN ORPHANS WERE RESCUED FROM BEING FORCIBLY CONVERSION TO ISLAM, SLAVERY AND ASSIMILATION THROUGH THE "1 ARMENIAN, 1 PIECE OF GOLD" MISSION

# 1908

THIS WAS THE YEAR THAT THE YOUNG TURKS CAME TO POWER IN CONSTANTINOPLE AFTER A REVOLUTION. THE ARMENIAN POLITICAL ELITE WAS LARGELY ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THESE EVENTS

# 300.000

PEOPLE FELL VICTIM TO THE MASSACRE OF THE ARMENIANS ORGANIZED BY THE OTTOMAN SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II FROM 1894 TO 1896

The Armenian city of a thousand and one churches, Ani. This was the capital of the Bagratuni kingdom and once the largest city in the region, with its scattered churches and other buildings. Today, it is finally open to tourists. Guides present it as a city with an unknown history, built by a number of nations, a list of which does not even mention the Armenians. The photograph shows the Mother Church of Ani, its main sacred site. It is half-ruined today, with a dome that collapsed after an earthquake.









# nemesis

650

the full list of criminal leaders responsible for the  
Armenian Genocide

41

the list of the top criminal leaders

In the history of the Armenian people, full of many heavy and bitter pages, there are also moments of glory, which were narrated to future generations as examples of unified action, the expression of the will of a nation acting as a single fist. Operation Nemesis is one of these examples – it was conceived and implemented from 1920 to 1922, stretching from Europe to Turkey.

After the First World War, the Young Turk leadership was found guilty of crimes conducted during the war and sentenced to death or long years of imprisonment by a Turkish military tribunal. The worst of these crimes was the annihilation of the Armenians from the whole of Anatolia and the Turkish part of the Armenian highlands. But the organizers of the Genocide were moved to Malta and silently released. They forged their documents and then escaped to various corners of the world.

Vengeance by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) did not take long. A list was compiled of the 650 names of the people who organized the Genocide, of whom 41 were the most dangerous – they were the ones who had to be eliminated first. Shahan Natalie was the leader of the operation. He created a spy network across the world, which was tasked with identifying and eliminating the criminals. The operation involved some of the best known Armenians of the period – the former Ambassadors of the First Republic of Armenia, members of the ARF Bureau and regular people, who were not even members of the political party.

In 3 years, around 15 criminals were killed, including the leadership of the Young Turk party, the leaders of the Republic of Azerbaijan who had organized of the massacres of 1918 in Baku and 1920 in Shushi as well as three Armenian traitors, who had sent a number of their compatriots to Death's door.

The operation did not conclude as planned. After the Sovietization of the South Caucasus, the leading parties of the former 3 republics as well as the representatives of Turkey, united in Persia around the idea of liberating the Transcaucasus. Under pressure from Azerbaijan and Turkey, the ARF declared an end to the operation. This was the reason why Shahan Natalie left the party and criticized this decision by the ARF until the end of his life. At the same time, the ARF tried to reduce Shahan Natalie's role in the history of Operation Nemesis, removing his name from all documents about the initiative.

The frightening goddess of retribution, Nemesis, who lent her name to the operation, meted punishment to the guilty. Although the operation did not cover the whole list, it conceptually separated the right from the wrong, condemning and punishing some of the people responsible for the Armenian Genocide.





**Mkrtich Harutyunyan**

Member of the political wing of the Turkish secret police, an Armenian – one of the three who were eliminated as part of Operation Nemesis



**Hasan Bek Agayev**

Deputy Speaker of the Azerbaijani Parliament, one of the people mainly responsible for the slaughter of 30,000 Armenians in Baku and 35,000 in Shushi



**Hmayak Aramyants**

In 1914, he informed the police about an assassination attempt being organized on Talaat Pasha. All the suspects were killed. He later collaborated with the Turkish police. He is an Armenian - one of the three who were eliminated as part of Operation Nemesis



**Soghomon Tehlerian**

Verdict carried out in Constantinople, Turkey, 1920



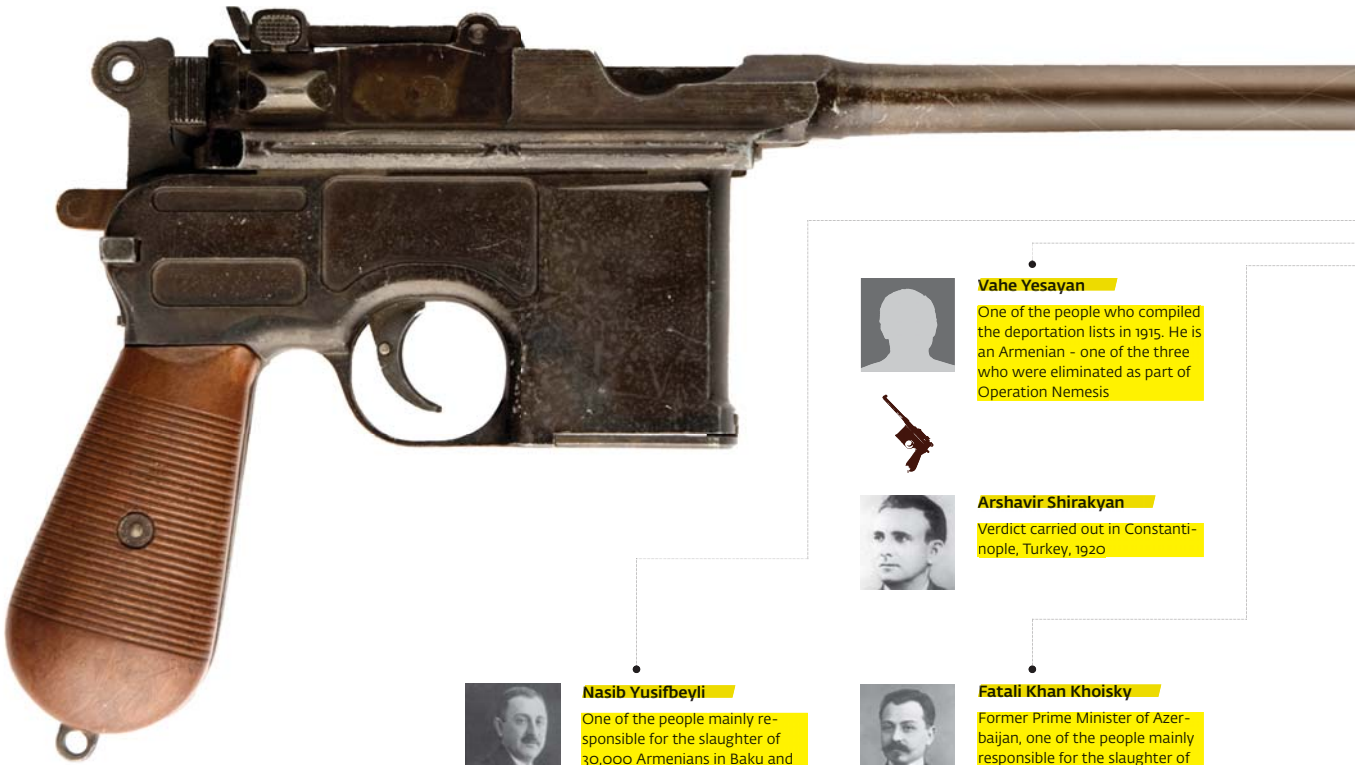
**Aram Yerkanyan**

Verdict carried out in Tbilisi, Georgia, 19.07.1920



**Arshak Yezdanyan**

Verdict carried out in Constantinople, Turkey, 1920



**Vahe Yesayan**

One of the people who compiled the deportation lists in 1915. He is an Armenian - one of the three who were eliminated as part of Operation Nemesis



**Arshavir Shirakyan**

Verdict carried out in Constantinople, Turkey, 1920



**Nasib Yusifbeyli**

One of the people mainly responsible for the slaughter of 30,000 Armenians in Baku and 35,000 in Shushi



**Fatali Khan Khoinsky**

Former Prime Minister of Azerbaijan, one of the people mainly responsible for the slaughter of 30,000 Armenians in Baku and 35,000 in Shushi



**Unknown**

Verdict carried out on the road to Baku, 31.05.1920



**Aram Yerkanyan**

Verdict carried out in Tbilisi, Georgia, 19.06.1920





**Mehmet Talaat Pasha**

One of the leaders of the Young Turk Party, the main organizer of the Armenian Genocide



**Behbut Khan Jevanshir**

Former Minister of the Interior of Azerbaijan, one of the people mainly responsible for the slaughter of 30,000 Armenians in Baku and 35,000 in Shushi



**Sahid Halim Pasha**

Former Prime Minister of Turkey, validated the plan for the Armenian Genocide



**Soghomon Tehlerian**

Verdict carried out in Berlin, Germany, 15.03.1921



**Misak Torlakyan**

Verdict carried out in front of the Chakatamart newspaper building, Constantinople, Turkey, 19.07.1921



**Arshavir Shirakyan**

Verdict carried out in Rome, Italy, 05.12.1921

1920

1921

1922



**Behaeddin Shakir**

Founder of the special organization Teskilat-ı Mahsusa



**Jemal Azmi**

Former governor of Trabzon, who drowned 15,000 Armenians in the Black Sea



**Cemal Pasha**

One of the leaders of the Young Turk Party, one of the people mainly to blame for the Armenian Genocide



**Enver Pasha**

One of the leaders of Ottoman Turkey, one of the people mainly to blame for the Armenian Genocide



**Arshavir Shirakyan**

Verdict carried out in Berlin, Germany, 17.04.1922



**Aram Yerkanyan**



**Stepan Tzaghikyan**

**Petros Ter-Petrosyan**

**Artashes Gevorgyan**

Verdict carried out in Tbilisi, Georgia, 25.07.1922



**Hakob Melkumov**

Verdict carried out in Tajikistan, 04.08.1922



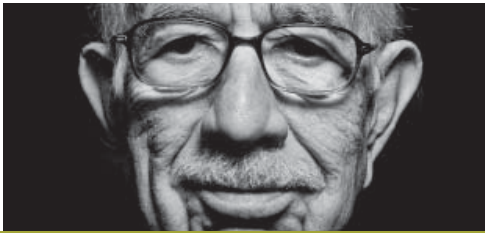
# without a statute of limitations

What will happen 100 years after the Genocide? Will the world forget this historic crime as soon as a century passes? Do international norms cease to exist after a certain period of time? These questions were relevant to Armenian society several decades ago, because the number of states that had recognized the Armenian Genocide was very few. Armenian society was worried that the saying "you will forget over time" would prove correct on this occasion as well.

All genocides have some things in common, which are characteristic of war crimes. But the Armenian Genocide is different from the others – this historical fact is in conflict with Turkish denialism, misinformation, distortion and aggressive propaganda.

Have the Turkish special services created this myth of a statute of limitations, or is this a manifestation of the hopelessness of the victims' side? The experts have looked at the issue from the historical, legal and ethnographic points of view.





The USA is shamefully not recognizing the Armenian Genocide. The same holds for my country, Israel. Israel is morally obligated to recognize the Armenian Genocide. It was fascism, after all – it was torture, blindly following a leader, and the love of killing others. Genocide is the antithesis of democracy and a love of life. The Armenian Genocide was a real act of aggression against life, a call to jihad for the Muslims.

**Israel Charny**

Executive Director, Institute on the  
Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem

### **Suren Manukyan**

*Candidate of historical sciences, Deputy Director of RA NAS  
Armenian Genocide Museum*

There is this thinking in society that 2015 will be accompanied by a legal consequence of some kind, which will result in a reduction of claims or their legal power. In reality, this is a myth that has taken hold of our society and has nothing to do with the truth. Genocide is the gravest crime against humanity. Crimes that are classified in this way have no statute of limitations. And this means that the centennial by itself cannot have any consequences. The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary has symbolic significance – it is a round number. The Museum will commemorate it with more events than usual, in all probability, and with a greater emphasis, even though it is in reality just another anniversary.

Centering our attention on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary can actually be harmful in a way, because we might think that if we fail to do something by that date, then we have been defeated. Nothing will end with the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary. On the contrary, there will be new projects, new milestones, and new points of emphasis. The recognition process, the struggle, the elimination of the consequences of the Genocide – all these will continue. Until all the consequences—being deprived of a homeland, losing a homeland, human losses, the massive wealth that we left in Western Armenia—have been eliminated and reparations given, the issue of the Armenian Genocide cannot be considered solved neither on the legal side, nor on the political.

The main objective is, of course, recognition and reparation. Our biggest loss was our homeland. Even if not a single Armenian had been killed in the Ottoman Empire and they had all been deported safely and calmly, that would have still constituted an act of genocide. Those people would have been simply deprived of their homeland, from that vital territory where they took shape as a nation and a civilization. In today's conditions, that seems difficult to fulfil, but if we are determined and take the right steps, there is no issue that cannot be resolved.

### **Vladimir Vardanyan**

*Candidate of law, expert in international law*

Genocide, as a crime that is punishable by international law, is a component of modern history, and not just that of the Armenian people. So this is not a tragedy that belongs only to the Armenians, it should concern the whole international community. It is no coincidence that the concept of genocide developed as a part of crimes against humanity, and that act is seen as an offense against the whole of humanity. Irrespective of the position that the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian nation adopt regarding the recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide, we must understand and realize the important fact that this crime was a transgression against the whole international community, not just the Armenian people. In the case of Genocide, it is not just the symbolic condemnation of the act that is important, but





rather a condemnation that will prevent this act from being repeated.

Although Genocide as a phenomenon is being discussed in various sections of society, we still have a very blurry understanding of its nature and essence. And this often leads to a number of misperceptions. From a psychological point of view, the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary naturally has great significance. It is as if the events which occurred 100 years ago are separate from modern reality and are relevant only as part of history or to the writing of history. However, from the point of view of international legal responsibility, it does not matter at all how much time has passed after the guilty ended their actions, and how much time has passed from the moment when the act was conducted. International law has the following approach – as long as the guilty act has not been condemned, as long as the guilty parties have not been held responsible, the act continues to be considered a violation which has damaged the order of legal international relations. One can return to the conditions which existed before the act only by fully condemning it and reversing its consequences.

Of course, there are a number of different examples here, which show that a century does not constitute the statute of limitations. In fact, the concept of a statute of limitations is not very relevant to international legal claims, because it is the following question which is the center of attention of international law – after the act, has there been a demand to condemn and arrest it, and



has this demand been regularly upheld in different periods of time? It is very important to see whether the state, which has laid these claims against another state, has ever rescinded these demands, or continues to insist upon them. If the state continues to insist upon these claims, one cannot speak of the expiry of a statute of limitations.

From a legal point of view, it is difficult to explain why this focus on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary is so important. Psychologically, of course, the centennial milestone has some significance. It is difficult to imagine a situation when two states have not been able to regulate their relationship for 100 years or to see a claim to its rightful end. Take Cambodia, for example, where the Extraordinary Chambers were set up in the 2000s. This was an international court, an international structure, which was set up to examine the crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge regime from 1975 to 1979.

Any international transgression must lead to the relevant undesirable consequences for the subjects who had committed that transgression. In other words, the relevant subjects must be held responsible. This should be done in at least two ways – there should be steps taken to end the illegal activity, and there should be steps taken to reverse its consequences. International law does not assume the punishment of one state, it is built on the following principle – any transgressions lead to a violation of a certain situation. So the steps taken should not be punitive in nature. They should aim to reinstate the situation that existed before the transgression occurred.

# 30.000

ARMENIANS FELL VICTIM TO THE MASSACRE AT ADANA, CARRIED OUT BY THE YOUNG TURKS IN ADANA IN 1909

# 61/16

THESE WERE THE ARTICLES THAT MARKED THE BEGINNING OF THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION, IN THE TREATIES OF SAN STEFANO AND BERLIN RESPECTIVELY

# 9.12.1948

THE CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE WAS ADOPTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE RESULT OF YEARS OF WORK BY LAWYER RAPHAEL LEMKIN, WHO GAVE THE LEGAL DEFINITION OF GENOCIDE



The recognition of the genocide and an official apology from Turkey are part of the process that we call the elimination of the consequences of the genocide. They will be followed by the process of reparation, which will occur on different levels.

Continuous work with various audiences, including also the Turkish audience, will allow us to more comprehensibly state why the elimination of the consequences of the Armenian genocide is important and necessary.

**Hayk Demoyan**

Director of Armenian Genocide  
Museum & Institute

### **Ruben Safrastyan**

*RA NAS Director of Institute of Oriental Studies, Ph.D. History,  
Professor, RA NAS correspondent member*

The myth that the international community cannot recognize the Armenian Genocide after the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary is far from the truth. This recognition is necessary not just for the Armenian people, but for the international community. This recognition means the condemnation of the gravest of crimes committed both against the Armenian people and humanity as a whole. This has great significance, not just because it reinstates justice but also because it helps the prevention of this crime in the future. If a state that intends to perform genocide sees that the previous cases of genocide have been condemned and the perpetrators punished, it will be afraid to act on this intention. So there are two things to consider here – one is that justice is reinstated and the consequences of genocide are reversed. The other is the prevention of new acts of genocide.

This is not just about the recognition of genocide, but about its condemnation as a crime. We should strive not only for the crime to be recognized and condemned, but also for the criminal, which is the Turkish state, to be held accountable and the consequences of the act to be reversed. What does that mean? It means that the victims—the Armenian people—should receive reparations. That would be the biggest victory.

The number 100 has symbolic significance, nothing else. Researchers do not focus on this number. This work, the struggle for recognition and condemnation by different countries of the world, must continue after the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Our struggle should gradually move into

the area of demanding reparations. We must move the struggle to the arena of international law, we should be ready to approach international structures which will examine the Armenian Genocide and subject the guilty party—the Turkish state—to certain penalties. We should focus our efforts in this direction, because genocide is a crime that does not have a statute of limitations.

We must use the phrase “telling the world the truth about the Armenian Genocide.” We are introducing them to a fact. The Armenian communities of various countries, the Armenian state, and individuals must undertake a large amount of work to bring the issue to the public.

In the area of international history and among renowned historians, there are already no objections to the Armenian Genocide, everyone has already accepted it as a fact. This means that a large amount of academic work and research has been done in that field over the past decades. So we have some results, but we must continue the struggle because we are faced with a very big issue – not just recognition and condemnation, but also reparations.

### **Harutyun Marutyan**

*Leading Researcher, Modern National Movements Department,  
RA NAS Institute of Archeology and Ethnography*

For any ethnic or national grouping, the recollection of a past full of difficulties is not a burden which can be shrugged off when necessary, but rather a wealth that must be used in a wise manner. You should know well







what you are dealing with and maintain a high standard of what you offer to the people, which should include different details for different layers of society. This is what the Jews do and the whole world recognizes, respects and accepts the facts of the Holocaust. They are strong not just with the Israeli army, but with their collective memory. The whole world today marks the memorial day of the victims of the Holocaust.

Genocide is a crime against humanity and does not have a statute of limitations. A great injustice has been done that has gone unpunished – moreover, it is denied to this day. An apology would meet the demand for justice partially, but then the question of reparations will arise. Conflict resolution is possible when one of the sides admits its guilt, recognizes it and seeks means to compensate the losses of the other side. Our compensation has a number of definitions, and the politicians and people can together decide which of these must prevail. We do not have a single position to this day when it comes to the question of what we would accept as reparations.

There are a number of ways to force the Turks to recognize the Genocide – external pressure, which they are not being subjected to in particular and moral pressure, which is moving from the political level to that of the people's identity. If that does not occur, political pressure or decisions will not have any particular result. It is always possible to accept a toothless resolution consisting of one or two paragraphs and with an apology in it. However, we need an apology which will contain a clear evaluation of the events that unfolded, an acceptance of guilt, and an outline of the future means for reparation. 🙏

Our main weapon is the isolation of Turkey, that is, to make a large number of countries recognize the Genocide. As a result, Turkey will have no choice but to accept it. In the West, the most dangerous thing to us is relativism, which Turkey can push forward. According to this version, both sides suffered losses. In this case, of course, the West will try to empathize with both sides. We need to have a hard position – there is no second victim in this case. This is the most important part of our position.



Atom  
Egoyan

Born in Cairo, brought up in Western Canada, studied International Relations and Music at the University of Toronto, where he began to make movies. He has won the Cannes Film Festival three times, been nominated for an Oscar, and won prizes at the Toronto International Film Festival. The movie *Ararat* (2002) by Canadian-Armenian director Egoyan tells viewers about the Armenian Genocide and certain important events which unfolded at that time, especially about the heroic battle of Van. Egoyan is not just the director of the movie, he wrote the screenplay and is a co-producer.

# armenian genocide posters .org

96 years have passed since the Armenia

**ARMENIAN GENOCIDE**

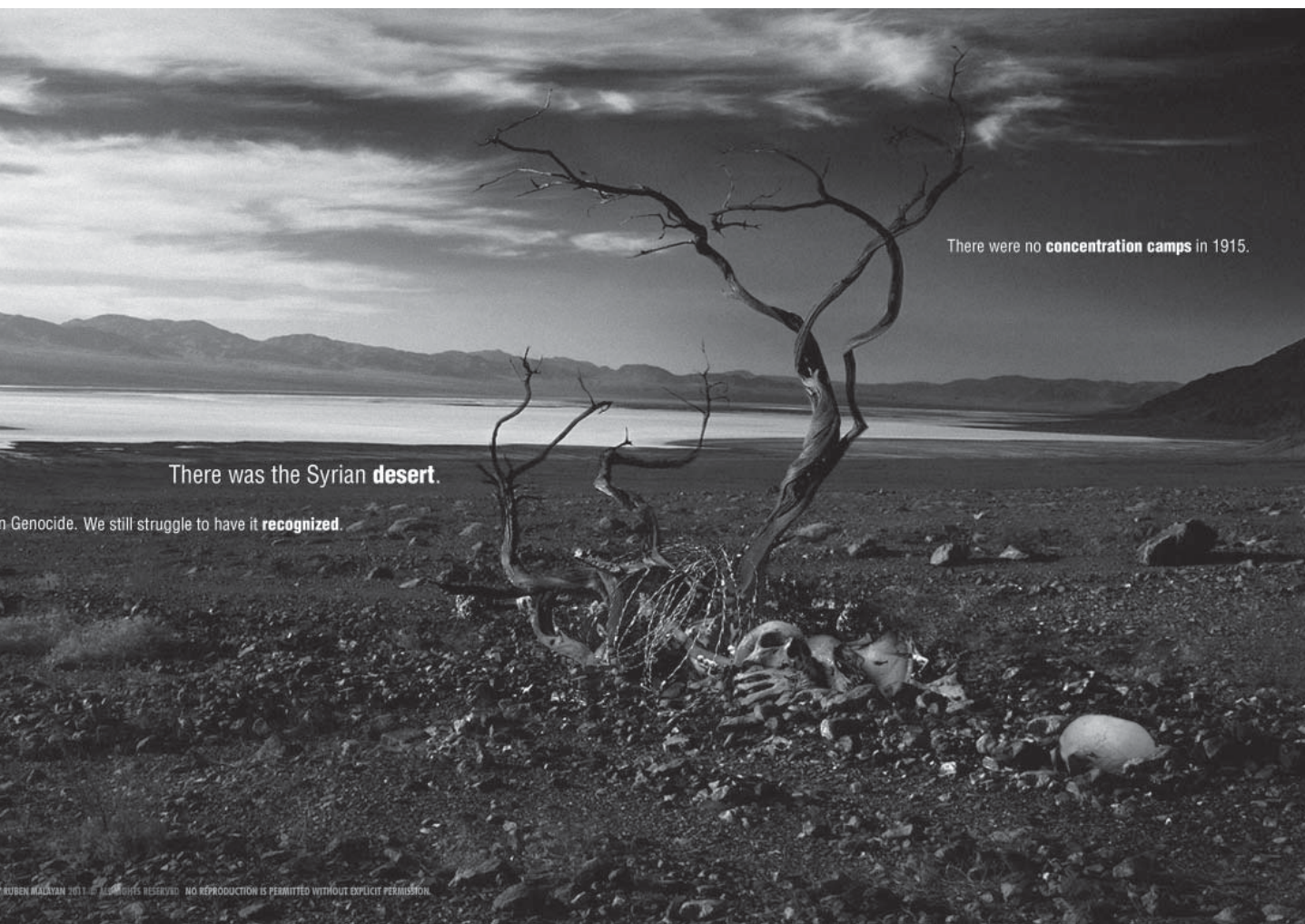
96 YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION

**APRIL 24, 1915 - 2011**

[WWW.ARMENIANGENOCIDEPOSTERS.ORG](http://WWW.ARMENIANGENOCIDEPOSTERS.ORG)

GRAPHIC DESIGN BY





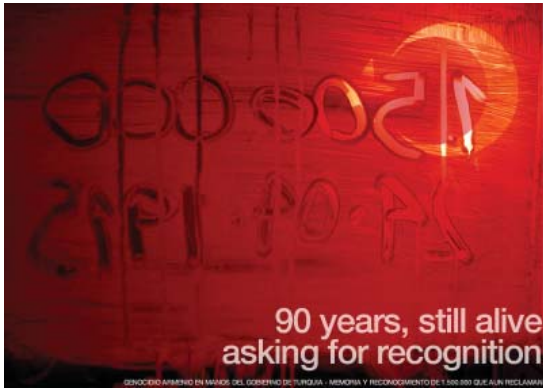
There were no **concentration camps** in 1915.

There was the Syrian **desert**.

n Genocide. We still struggle to have it **recognized**.

© RUBEN MALAYAN 2011. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. NO REPRODUCTION IS PERMITTED WITHOUT EXPLICIT PERMISSION.

In 2001, in the days leading up to the anniversary of the Genocide, a group of designers led by Ruben Malayan, decided to hang 1000 posters about the Genocide all over Amsterdam, including some with text in the Turkish language. In order to carry out this initiative, designers from various countries submitted around 20 proposals for the posters. The website [armeniangenocideposters.org](http://armeniangenocideposters.org) was launched to select the best 5 through a process of online voting.



The main objective of the initiative was to inform the Dutch about the Armenian Genocide of 1915. It was decided to put up the posters at night, in order to take the Dutch by surprise in the morning. The most dangerous and impressive poster was put up in the middle of the Turkish district. The next morning, all the posters in Turkish had already been taken down. Perhaps this initiative also had a role to play in the fact that the Dutch parliament passed a resolution on the Armenian Genocide a few years later, on December 21, 2004. The website [armeniangenocideposters.org](http://armeniangenocideposters.org) developed further in the following years, hosting informative material on the need for the international recognition and condemnation of

the Armenian Genocide, and the Armenian cause in general. The website received great acclaim in Armenia and designers could upload their designs directly, allowing them to display their work to the public. An exhibition of the posters was organized in Armenia as well. A renowned Jewish scholar of genocide displayed some of the posters in his book on the Armenian Genocide. They appear from time to time during demonstrations and protests, although many people are not aware of the name of the designer or the existence of the website. The site is in a relatively passive state today, although some work is still ongoing. The organizers are full of new ideas in the run up to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Genocide.



# OTTOMAN EMPIRE HISTORY



**1915**  
COMPLETE THE OTTOMAN  
EMPIRE HISTORY,  
RECOGNIZE THE ARMENIAN  
GENOCIDE OF 1915.



THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE WAS CARRIED OUT BY THE "YOUNG TURK" GOVERNMENT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN 1915-1916 (WITH SUBSIDIARIES TO 1923) ONE AND HALF MILLION ARMENIANS WERE KILLED, OUT OF A TOTAL OF TWO MILLION ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Designed by Yusef H. (yusef) Paolo, Istanbul  
For more pictures on Armenian Genocide visit our website [www.ArmenianGenocideInPictures.org](http://www.ArmenianGenocideInPictures.org)  
© All Rights Reserved 2014-2015. All Rights Reserved. All Rights Reserved.



THE 20TH CENTURY

1915-23

**ARMENIAN GENOCIDE 1.500.000 VICTIMS**

PERPETRATOR: **OTTOMAN TURKEY**

"... the failure to deal radically with the Turkish horror means that all talk of guaranteeing the future peace of the world is mischievous nonsense."

Theodore Roosevelt May 11, 1918

**CAMBODIAN GENOCIDE**

PERPETRATOR: **KHMER ROUGE**

1942-45

**JEWISH HOLOCAUST 6.000.000 VICTIMS**

PERPETRATOR: **NAZI GERMANY**

Adolf Hitler while persuading his associates that a Jewish holocaust would be tolerated by the West stated...

" Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

**IN THE DARK CHAIN OF HUMAN HISTORY RACISM HAS BEEN A K**  
**OVER THE COURSE OF THE 20TH CENTURY OVER 10 MILLION PEOPLE HAV**  
**SUPPRESSED HISTORY HAS A WAY OF RETURNING WITH A VENGEANCE RE**



1975  
CAMBODIAN GENOCIDE 1.700.000 VICTIMS  
PERPETRATOR: KHMER ROUGE REGIME

1994  
RWANDA GENOCIDE 800.000 VICTIMS  
PERPETRATOR: HUTU REGIME

1995  
BOSNIAN GENOCIDE OVER 8.000 VICTIMS  
PERPETRATOR: SERBIAN MILITARY

THEY COME TO YOU  
THEY PERISHED IN PREMEDITATED MURDER  
RECOGNIZE THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

ART DIRECTION: PHOTOGRAPHY & GRAPHIC DESIGN  
RUBEN MALAYAN © 2010 WWW.ARMENIANGENOCIDEPOSTERS.ORG



**Ruben Malayan**

Author of the book  
The Art of Armenian  
Calligraphy. Founder of  
armeniangenocideposters.org,  
graphic designer,  
photographer

# genocideography



Hundreds of research articles and books related to the Armenian Genocide have been published by scholars of different nationalities in from corners of the world. The references in works of fiction can fill a whole library, with representatives of a range of genres.

## **Zabel Yesayan, Among the Ruins**

This book is as valuable as a documentary record, because it is the story of an eyewitness. After the massacres at Adana in 1909, the author goes to the city and writes down what she sees and hears. Interestingly, *Among the Ruins* was already published by 1911, and that too in Constantinople.

## **Hagop Oshagan, Remnants**

The author planned to write this novel in 4 volumes, but did not write the final volume, which was the one dedicated to the years of the Genocide. The events in the previous volumes, however, were enough to convey how the Turks were gradually and consistently implementing their long-held plan to free themselves of the Armenians.

## **Gurgen Mahari, Burning Orchards**

This novel was a source of debate both in its time and even today, because of certain ideological tendencies that Mahari had. In any case, *Burning Orchards* is one of the best works on the Armenian Genocide in Armenian literature.

## **Franz Werfel, The Forty Days of Musa Dagh**

Numerous foreign authors have written about the Armenian Genocide. But Franz Werfel's novel continues to remain one of the best because of its epic proportions, impressive characters and many touching and exciting scenes.

## **Perch Zeytuntsyan, The Last Dawn**

This novel by Zeytuntsyan, which contains Krikor Zohrab's biography within its pages, is in essence the story of how the Western Armenian intelligentsia was lost. The multiple use of documents and eyewitness testimonials have allowed the novel to present a very detailed picture of that period in time.

## **Vahagn Grigoryan, The River of Time**

This is a novel about man and destiny, the inner world and reality, an Armenian and the Armenian Genocide. It is about what took place yesterday, what is occurring today and what will happen tomorrow.



### **Yervant Odian, Accursed Years**

This memoir by Yervant Odian — who had passed through the real hell of the Armenian Genocide, with all its components — had remained shrouded in mystery for 90 years. Thanks to the efforts of literary expert Grigor Hakobyan, this great documentary piece was saved from oblivion. In the memoir, Odian narrates not only what happened to him, but also presents eyewitness accounts from a number of people.

### **Nancy Kricorian, Zabel**

This novel is the story of a young Armenian girl who survived the 1915 Genocide and was orphaned. The events described in the story are touching and real, because the protagonist is Nancy Kricorian's grandmother, who eventually moved to the United States.

### **Khachik Dashtents, The Call of Plowmen**

Alongside the events of the Genocide, this narrative presents the Armenian fidayeen movement including famous freedom fighters and various episodes from their lives.

### **Mushegh Galshtoyan, Miro of the Valley**

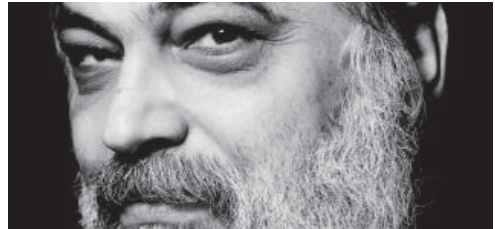
The Genocide and the topic of a lost homeland is at the center of Mushegh Galshtoyan's writing. In this famous novella, the author has created a strong character who is constantly subjected to tragedy, but fails to lose hope in the future of the Armenians.

### **Edgar Hilsenrath, The Story of the Last Thought**

In this novel, the author presents a whole palette of colors in the everyday lives of the social, political and military elite in Turkey at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The actual plot revolves around the life of an Armenian family, which falls victim to the crimes planned by the Turks.

### **Kurt Vonnegut, Bluebeard**

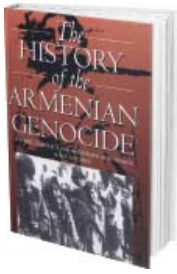
This famous American writer presents the topic of the Armenian Genocide using very delicate wording and impressive metaphors.



We are constantly waiting for the United States of America to recognize the Genocide. Despite being a country which considers itself a beacon of democratic values and often presents itself as a champion of human rights, it is avoiding this step in order not to damage its relationship with Turkey in the Middle East. In many countries, the issue of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide has been influenced by factors that are both political and religious. But I am convinced that humanity will overcome these obstacles one day.

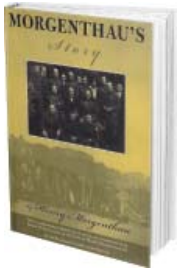
**Ruben Safrastyan**

RA NAS Director of Institute of Oriental Studies, Ph.D. History, Professor, RA NAS correspondent member



**The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus Paperback, Vahakn N. Dadrian, 1995, 460 pages**

This large and meticulous work by Dadrian is exceptional. He wrote it using documents from Turkish, Armenian, German, French and English sources. The book is a unique monument in the same way as Hilberg's work on the massacre of the European Jews. The book forces the reader to reassess and redefine the similarities and differences between the losses suffered by the Armenians in the First World War and those suffered by the Jews in the Second World War.



**Ambassador Morgenthau's Story, Henry Morgenthau, 1918, 407 pages**

In the beginning of the 1900s, the Ottoman Empire had begun to crumble. Germany had decided to avail of the situation and use the Ottoman Empire for its own purposes. In this book, American official Henry Morgenthau (1856-1946) describes in great detail how Turkey ended up under the influence of Germany and how this led to the Armenian Genocide.



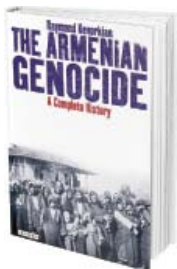
**The Armenian Genocide. Turkey's Responsibility and the Obligations of the International Community, Yuri G. Barseghov, 2003-2005, 2 volumes**

Genocide is the gravest of crimes, which damages the whole of the international community. The commitment of this act is followed by the acceptance of a whole range of responsibility, from criminal charges against individuals to political and material claims against a state. The publication of this group of documents aims not only to prove the responsibility of Turkey, but to also find possibilities for the reconciliation of the two states and clarify their future relationship.



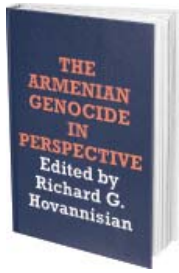
**A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility, Taner Akcam, 2006, 483 pages**

Having collected Turkish military and judicial documents, parliamentary records as well as letters and eyewitness testimonials, Turkish historian Taner Akcam follows the chain of events that led to the Genocide. He reconstructs the actions of the Ottoman Empire, the ruling political party and military forces, which were as coordinated as an orchestra is united by the notes of a song. He also examines the important issue of how Turkey managed to evade responsibility, blaming the interests of the superpowers in the region.



**The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History, Raymond Kevorkian, 2011, 1029 pages**

In this work, the noted historian focuses on the events of 1915 and 1916, as well as their consequences. He presents the role that the issue of the Armenian Genocide has played during the years of the formation of the Turkish national state, the Turkish identity and the ideology of the authorities. He also discusses the consequences of the violence towards the Armenians and their deportation.



**The Armenian Genocide in Perspective, Richard Hovhannisian, 1986, 220 pages**

Seven decades after the elimination of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire, the Armenian Genocide continued to remain largely ignored by heads of state and the international community, although the issue of the annihilation of the Armenians had been voiced around the world in 1915. In the 1980s, research into the Armenian Genocide was only just beginning and this work was among the first to analyze the Genocide from various angles – political, ethical, religious and psychological.



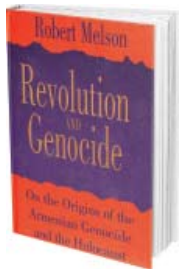
**The Armenian Genocide in Ottoman Turkey. Survivor Accounts. Archival Documents, 3 volumes, RA National Archives, 2012-13**

This three-volume work presents testimonials from Armenian Genocide survivors in 1916. The first volume covers the province of Van, and is divided by towns, which are then divided into villages. The second covers the province of Bitlis, which includes Manazkert, Mush, Sassoun and Bitlis. The third volume covers other regions of Western Armenia – Kharbert, Tigranakert and Trabzon.



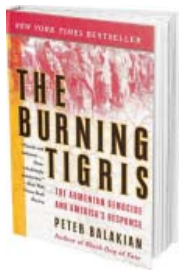
**The Armenian Genocide in Ottoman Turkey: A Collection of Documents and Materials, compiled by M. G. Nersisyan and R. G. Sahakyan, 1983**

This manual contains documents and materials from Armenian, Russian, Arab, German, French and other sources. Collected from various archives, a vast majority of the documents consists of dispatches, reports and letters about the mass slaughter of the Armenians sent by ambassadors, consuls, ministers and other high-ranking officials, including the representatives and leaders of the governments of various states as well as spiritual activists and missionaries.



**Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust, Robert Melson, 1992, 363 pages**

This study compares the main attempts at genocide in world history. Melson creates a complex system, which links genocide with war and revolution. He insists that genocide is often the final result of a complex process, which begins after a revolution, when the new authorities, having removed the old, strive to create a new and perfect society.



**The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response, Peter Balakian, 2003, 475 pages**

This is a book about international human rights and forgotten heroes. Peter Balakian presents the history of the mass slaughter of Armenians in the 1890s and the Armenian Genocide of 1915, both committed by Turkish hands. Using rare archival documents and witness testimonials, Balakian presents the bone-chilling history of the first genocide of modern times, committed under the cover of the First World War. In this process, he also reveals a lost chapter in the history of America.





Project Director

**Vahan Stepanyan**

Creative Director

**Gnel Nalbandyan**

Art Director

**Karen Petrosyan**

Editor

**Kristine Kyurklyan**

Technical Editor

**Arkmenik Nikoghosyan**

English translator

**Nazareth Seferian**

Authors

**Suren Manukyan**

**Sedrak Mkrtchyan**

**Narek Nikoghosyan**

**Kristine Kyurklyan**

**Anna Arghutyan**

**Liana Doydoyan**

**Mane Yepremyan**

Photo Editor

**Koryun Muradyan**

Illustrations

**Vahagn Hamalbashyan**

**Davit Yukhanyan**

Turkish translator

**Masis Cherme**

Photographs

**PAN Photo Agency**

Hrant Khachatryan

Areg Balayan

Sedrak Mkrtchyan

Davit Hakobyan

Ani Tager

Tigran Mehrabyan

Varo Rafayelyan

Vahan Stepanyan

Karo Sahakyan

Artashes Stamboltsyan

Irina Jrbashyan

Mary Shaghoyan

Material has been used from the **US Library of Congress, The Victims of Genocide encyclopedic anthology as well as the private archives of the Jerusalem Hay Dat office and Van Khachatur.**

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The book 99 is part of the Recognize 1915 project, dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, due in 2015. The initiator of the project is the UCom company, represented by Hayk Yesayan, Ashot Barseghyan, Vahe Ghazaryan and Lilit Harutyunyan. We believe that every person, irrespective of nationality, must recognize and condemn this crime committed by Turkey in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.