



# THE ARMENIAN CAUSE

## NEWSLETTER

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### EDITORIAL

## Genocide, Not Tragedy

On Tuesday, April 23, 1996, on the occasion of the 81st anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the Canadian Parliament adopted a resolution that designated the week of April 20 to 27 of every year as a week of remembrance for "the inhumanity of people toward one another." The resolution received mixed reactions among the Canadian-Armenian community.

That day, for the first time ever, the House of Commons debated at length an issue that has politically, psychologically, and sociologically scarred the lives of millions of Armenians around the globe. The Armenian Genocide continues to bleed like an open wound waiting to be bandaged. Since the healing of the wound is not proportionate to the turning of the pages of the calendar, the survivors and their descendants need to see their pain and its perpetrator brought to light, measured, condemned and vilified. For this reason, the debate, as well as the resulting resolution thereof, brought some degree of relief to the pain that continues to haunt the collective memory of Armenians.

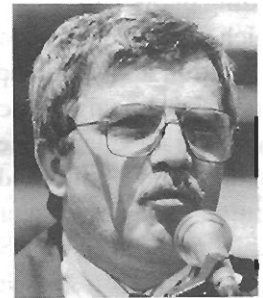
More importantly, during the seven-hour debate, there was no attempt by anyone to negate the veracity of the Armenian Genocide, as is often the case with groups and individuals lobbying for Turkish interests. The most recent examples of these are the cases of historians Bernard Lewis and Heath Lowry, discussed elsewhere in this issue of *The Armenian Cause*. Everyone who participated to the debate did not feel the need to put to question the events of 1915 nor attempted to qualify them as "alleged."

*It is imperative that this process be completed not for the sake of the Armenians who were victimized in 1915, but for the universal condemnation of all such crimes in history*

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### *81st Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide*

## The Canadian Parliament Adopts a Resolution



Sarkis Assadourian,  
M.P.

On Tuesday, April 23, 1996, the House of Commons adopted a resolution that designated the week of April 20 to 27 of every year as a week of remembrance of the inhumanity of people toward one another.

The day was marked by long debates that lasted up to seven hours. Deliberations began when Michel Daviault, member of the Official opposition and the Bloc Québécois, presented a motion the adoption of which as presented would entail the official recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the Canadian government. The debate did not concern whether the events of 1915 are to be qualified as genocide, but what the text of the resolution should be.

At the end of the debate, Sarkis Assadourian, MP for Don Valley North, asked the House to observe a moment of silence in memory of the victims of the 1915 Genocide.

Although the resolution that was adopted in the end did not include the word "genocide" and instead referred to the "Armenian tragedy", the adoption of the motion was largely seen as a important step for the Armenian cause.

The text of the motion as adopted reads: "That this House recognize, on the occasion of the 81st anniversary of the Armenian tragedy which claimed some 1.5 million lives on April 24, 1915, and in recognition of other crimes against humanity, the week of April 20 to 27 of each year as the week of remembrance of the inhumanity of people toward one another."

## Turkish Denial

*In an editorial published in the December-January 1996 issue of the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies "Newsletter", Professor Colin Tatz, Director of the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies at Macquarie University, has commented on the recent and ongoing process of Turkish denial in the Armenian Genocide. The text of the article is as follows:*

The American Congress has yet to muster the majority required to pass the Armenian Genocide Resolution (H.Con.Res.47). On 2 February this year, America's leading literary figures and genocide scholars signed a petition - initiated by Professor Balakian and published in the leading publication the "Chronicle of Higher Education" - which urged Congress to pass the (much-lobbied against) Resolution and which opposed the Turkish government's persistent campaign to deny the events of 1915-23. Yehuda Bauer, Israel Charny, Helen Fein, Norman Mailer, Susan Sontag, John Updike and Kurt Vonnegut were some of the petitioners. The Armenian National Committee Eastern Region went further: it called on Princeton to end its association with Professor Heath Lowry, holder of the Ataturk Chair of Near Eastern Studies, because of his "record of conspiring with the Turkish government to discredit legitimate scholarship on the Armenian Genocide."

The Turkish denial is probably the foremost example of historical perversion. With a mix of academic sophistication and diplomatic thuggery - of which we at Macquarie University have been the targets - the Turks have put both memory and history into reverse gear. Pierre Vidal-Naquet's preface to the record of the Permanent People's Tribunal (1985) is eloquent:

Let us imagine then what Armenian minorities can feel. Let us imagine Faurisson (the leading French [Holocaust] revisionist) as minister, Faurisson as president, Faurisson as general, Faurisson as president of the Turkish Historic Commission, Faurisson as a member of the university senate in Istanbul. Faurisson as an influential member of the United Nations. Faurisson responding in the press every time there is mention of the Jewish genocide. In brief, a state Faurisson coupled with an international Faurisson and, on top of that, Talat-Himmler enjoying since 1943 a formal mausoleum in the capital.

In Volume Two, Number 1 of this "Newsletter", Darren O'Brien and Richard Tidyman published an article, "Documenting Genocide". They made the point that Hitler's clerks of malice (Yaacov Lozowick's phrase) were at the centre of the Holocaust: they acted as a team, originating, initiating, innovating, orchestrating death. Whether Himmler or Heydrich or Eichmann signed is not as important as the machinations of the middle echelon of bureaucrats. Documents, especially trail documents, have long

seemed to me to be the obvious, and the irrefutable counter to denialism.

An extraordinary Court Martial was instituted in Turkey in March 1919. It was meant to try 112 people - the 'Big Seven', the leaders of the Ittihad ve Terakki Party, including Talat Pasha, Enver Pasha, Cemal Pasha, the medical killers Nazim and Sakir, members of two wartime cabinets, provincial governors and high ranking military and political officers. The principal charges were 'massacres and unlawful, personal profiteering' therefrom. The trial was interrupted when the British insisted on removing 64 of the accused to Malta, very little happened to them. Of the 48 remaining, the 'execution of the crime of massacre' was proven against 36: several were sentenced to death in absentia, others received 15 years and few were acquitted. Only three, all relatively minor officials, were executed. By January 1921 the courts martial were abolished. Many of the accused escaped or were set free and it was left to Armenian 'avengers' to assassinate Talat, Sakir, Cemal, and Enver.

Nevertheless these courts martial were, in my view - as a Turkish newspaper editorial said in April 1919 - 'the most important trial in the six-hundred year history of the Ottoman Empire.'

The "Takvimi Vekayi", the official gazette of the Ottoman government, recorded the trials. And even if Ankara removed the gazette from circulation soon after its publication, the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem has a copy which reminds us in perpetuity that the Turks themselves proved the perpetration of the Armenian Genocide.

Such has been the juggernaut of Turkish denial since then that the Permanent People's Tribunal, founded by the Italian jurist Lelio Basso in 1976, was asked to sit in session in Paris 1984 to determine whether Armenians were in fact victims of deportations and massacres in the Ottoman Empire, whether this constituted genocide, and if so, what were the consequences for the international community and the parties concerned. The genocide by the Young Turks was confirmed and it was determined that present day Turkey must 'assume responsibility without using the pretext of any discontinuity in the existence of the state to elude that responsibility'. Here then, some sixty or more



## Greek Parliament Recognizes Armenian Genocide

During its April 25 session, the Greek Parliament almost unanimously passed a resolution recognizing the 1915 Armenian Genocide perpetrated by the Government of Turkey, and declared April 24 an official day of remembrance for the Armenian Genocide.

Fifteen parliament members of various political leanings addressed the full parliament session, voicing support for the resolution.

All Greek political parties represented in parliament voted in favor of the Armenian Genocide resolution, with the exception of the Communist Party of Greece, which, according to sources in Athens, "although being in agreement with the resolution in principle," abstained from the vote.

Participating in this two and a half hour session were representatives from the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Committee at Large, the Armenian National Committee of Greece, the Armenian Blue Cross Regional Executive, the ARF Youth Organization Executive, and the *Azad Or* newspaper.

The passage of this historic resolution is being seen by political analysts as the result of what is being termed "long years of continuous effort by the Armenian National Committee."

## Armenian Parliament Speaker Raises Genocide Issue in Strasbourg

YEREVAN (Respublica Armenia)-Armenian National Assembly speaker Babken Ararktsian addressed a

← years after the events, was a re-trial, in effect a supplication to acknowledge, let alone remember, that something terrible had happened.

Trials are much more than punitive prison sentences for Klaus Barbies. Irrespective of outcome, they posit a 'prima facie' case that certain events were undertaken by individuals on behalf of specific nations. They establish who were victims and who were perpetrators.

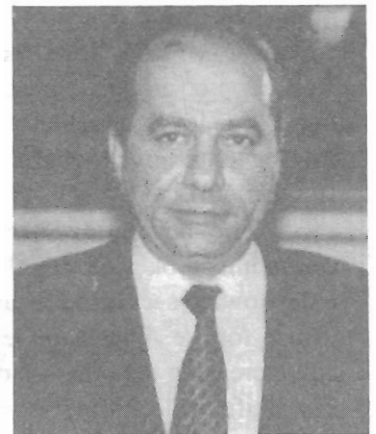
Trials produce contemporaneous documents, with an authenticity sometimes lacking in post-event materials. Trials produce eye-witnesses from amongst victims, the perpetrators and third parties, that is 'the associates' and bystanders. Trial records are, in my opinion, infinitely more powerful educational tools about contemporary social political history than the passive voice and the indirect speech of history texts.

Given that organized forgetting and/or calculated denialism are rampant, these trials tell us that something did happen, quite apart from guilt or innocence. Trial records last in archives longer than superseded textbooks in libraries. Trial records are, I believe, more effective than rhetoric. Why not use them?

session of the European Council Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg, on April 24, 1996, and among other political and economic issues, the Armenian Parliament speaker spoke of the Turkish perpetrated Genocide of the Armenian people in 1915.

"Today, on the 24th of April, people all over the world are respecting the memory of the victims who died as a result of the first genocide in the history of the 20th century. A genocide, committed by Ottoman Turkey in 1915, whose victims were over 1.5 million peaceful Armenian people. Our country officially commemorates this day as a day of remembrance for the victims of genocide," Ararktsian stated during his Strasbourg address, adding that, "Today, without recognition and condemnation of all acts of genocide, mankind cannot consider itself safe from such appalling displays of hatred, at any time, in any country."

Ararktsian also stressed that, "Armenia's normal development has been, to a great extent, endangered by the 5-year long blockade imposed on Armenia by neighboring Azerbaijan and Turkey. This blockade prevents the free transit of humanitarian aid to Armenia, which bears the enormous burden of 700,000 people who suffered in the 1988 Spitak earthquake and 500,000 refugees, who fled pogroms in Azerbaijan."



*Babken Ararktsian*

# U.S. House of Representatives Sanctions Turkey for Denial of Armenian Genocide

## Representatives Vote to Increase Pressure on Turkey to Lift Blockade of Armenia

WASHINGTON, DC - On June 5, 1996, in an historic vote, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a three million dollar sanction on Turkey for its denial of the Armenian Genocide and approved a measure increasing pressure on Turkey to lift its devastating blockade of Armenia, reported the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA). Both measures were adopted as amendments to the fiscal year 1997 foreign aid bill following extensive debate on the House floor.

"The Armenian American community took great steps forward today toward securing a measure of justice for the Armenian Genocide and increasing the pressure on Turkey to lift its blockade of Armenia," said Aram Hamparian, Executive Director of the ANCA. "The House of Representatives, by overwhelm-

ingly supporting both of these measures, has taken a firm stand against the irresponsible and antagonist policies of the Turkish government. In doing so, they have reinforced the strong bonds of friendship between the United States and the Armenian people. In the final analysis, however, the credit for these legislative victories belongs to the thousands of Armenian Americans from across the country who worked so hard for their passage. Their efforts made the difference," he added.

The House passed the Armenian Genocide amendment, which was sponsored by Reps. George Radanovich (R-CA), David Bonior (D-MI), the House Minority Whip, Peter Blute (R-MA), and Frank Pallone (D-NJ), the Co-Chair of the Armenian Issues Caucus, by a decisive vote of 268 to 153. The measure called for a three million dollar

reduction in U.S. economic aid to Turkey until it ceases its campaign to deny the Armenian Genocide.

The amendment on the Turkish blockade passed overwhelmingly with a vote of 301 to 118. The measure was spearheaded by Indiana Democrat Peter Visclosky, strengthened the Humanitarian Aid Corridor Act by limiting the ability of the President to waive the ban on aid to Turkey. Rep. Visclosky was joined in sponsoring this amendment by Representatives Chris Smith (R-NJ), Joe Kennedy, II (D-MA), and Michael Bilirakis (R-FL). According to the Visclosky amendment, the President can use his waiver authority to provide Turkey with military assistance, but not economic aid, for as long as Turkey blockades U.S. humanitarian assistance to Armenia.

### 1 Editorial...

On the contrary, the various Members of Parliament from the Liberal, Bloc Quebecois, and Reform parties who intervened, began to call a spade by its name, namely genocide. This also raised tremendous hope among Canadian-Armenians breathlessly watching the debate on the Parliamentary Channel that the House of Commons would, in the end, do justice to them.

The satisfaction of witnessing a historic moment was greatly diminished however, when the adopted text of the resolution mentioned "the Armenian tragedy", made reference to the 1.5 million victims it claimed, labelled it as a "crime against humanity", but failed to recognize that what transpired in the Ottoman Empire during the early months of World War I was nothing short of GENOCIDE. A noble

attempt to identify an historical offense thus remained wanting.

On the long road to a complete rectification of the pernicious injustice the Armenians have suffered for most of this century, the Parliament of Canada has now undertaken significant steps. It is imperative that this process be completed not for the sake of the Armenians who were victimized in 1915, but for the universal condemnation of all such crimes in history. This, in fact, is, and will continue to be the policy of the Armenian National Committee. It will tenaciously continue and multiply its efforts to have the unspeakable horror of 1915 be termed by its proper name in Canada, as was the case in the Greek Parliament this year, and in the Russian Duma in 1995. Only then might the wound begin to heal.

# Longing to Stop the Bleeding

*By Selçuk Tezgul, Special to the Review Journal*

The souls of 1.5 million Armenian victims are, after 81 years, still longing for acknowledgment and an apology from Turkey.

Recently, when I was assisting in my friend's Las Vegas retail shop, a lovely elderly couple came in. While they were looking around, they asked me my national origin. Trying to guess their origin first, I responded hesitatingly that I was Turkish. "We are Armenian!" said the husband, looking at my eyes painfully and meaningfully.

I then realized what I was afraid of. Yes, they were Armenians, two members of a big nation that had attained high cultural and social values in human history in the east of Asia Minor many centuries ago. Two members of a noble nation whose 1.5 million innocent grandparents were massacred 81 years ago through the brutal and treacherous methods used by the Turks – my own ancestors. Imagine the emotional situation experienced by the three of us, who had met by coincidence.

Whenever I meet Armenians, I feel shame and pain because of my Turkish identity, and I wish to disappear at once or to hide myself in a hole in the ground. Usually after a brief talk, however, they realize that I am not one of the 60 million Turks who was cheated for decades by his own government's chauvinistic, illogical, unfair and nonsensical official state ideology and history into believing the crooked "facts" intended to suppress knowledge of the brutal genocide. On the contrary, they usually realize that I am one of the handful of Turks who is aware of that horrible genocide and acknowledges it. And this time, too, it took very little time for the couple to understand me.

I've never trusted and believed in the official history and ideology of my country. And when I researched and studied the reliable and honest foreign historians, I came face to face with the blood chilling truth. The biggest Armenian genocide of the last century was horrible. Yes, indeed, 1.5 million innocent, highly civilized people – in comparison with their nomadic barbarian executioners ... were slaughtered like poultry by the Turkish soldiers and people, with whom they had lived side-by-side for centuries.

In addition, I've listened to the chilling details of the

massacres from the mouths of the living Turkish witnesses. The awful details of the genocide, which was completed insidiously within a year, can easily fill a small bookcase with tens of bloody paged books. And today, I'm still hated by my own relatives and friends because of my acknowledgment of the genocide. Unfortunately, their brains are washed by the lies and suppression of the truth by the Turkish government and army.

What could be the underlying reasons for this horrible injustice? If we study the history carefully, we'll see that the Armenian people settled down in the northeast region of Asia Minor around 900 B.C. – almost two millennia before the Turks and others invaded not only that region but, step by step, the whole of Asia Minor. (The Armenians' home country is still occupied by Turkey today.)

The agriculturalist Armenians had built a rather advanced civilization, especially famous for accomplishments in architecture and art. They were an honest, lovely, noble, humanistic and peaceful people. Their capital, Ani, was so beautiful it was called "the twin sister of Constantinople" by Roman historians. Armenians didn't know how to

fight; therefore they built ceramic pots, jars and metallic handicrafts and jewelry instead of swords, arrows and shields.

On the other side, the Turks were a pastoralist, nomadic, quarrelsome, totalitarian people, without artistic and architectural talents like the other nomadic tribes of Central Asia. Their lives were mainly based on hunting, fighting, war and plundering. Therefore, they built powerful and effective weapons instead of handicrafts.

Naturally, when the invasion of the pastoralist nomads began in the early 11th century, the Armenians quickly fell under the barbarians' hegemony, like the other agriculturalist civilized people of Asia Minor. Many thousands of their men were mutilated and massacred. The women were raped; pregnant women were stabbed; and their cities and towns were burned down by the invaders.

The Christian Armenian people lived under the merciless barbarian hegemony of the Islamic Ottoman Empire for several centuries, and they suffered indescribable sorrows as



*A memorial in the Armenian cemetery of Istanbul, dedicated to the Armenian martyrs of massacres committed between 1895-1908*





# Death Threats Stalks Turkish Author of April 24 Article in Nevada Acknowledging 1915 Genocide

LAS VEGAS - Selcuk Tezgul, a native of Turkey residing in Las Vegas, is now living under the shadow of death threats from fellow Turks after authoring an article in the April 24 issue of the Las Vegas Review-Journal. Tezgul told The California Courier that a storm of phone calls, some originating from Turkey itself, have threatened to burn down his house and get rid of him. His own business partner, he said, swore at him on the phone and threatened to kill him with his own bare hands for writing such an article. They are reluctant to acknowledge reality, Tezgul surmised. I am one of the handful of Turks who is aware of that horrible genocide and acknowledges too, Tezgul readily admits. I've never trusted and believed in the official history and ideology of my country, he adds, and when I researched and studied the reliable and honest foreign historians, I came face to face with the blood-chilling truth. In addition, I've listened to the chilling details of the massacres from the mouths of the living Turkish witnesses, he continued. And today, I'm still hated

by my own relatives and friends because of my acknowledgment of the genocide. Unfortunately, their brains are washed by the lies and suppression of the truth by the Turkish government and army. Besides the threatening phone calls which brand him a traitor, Tezgul said, his own close friends have now shunned him because of the lengthy article. This is disturbing me emotionally, he frankly acknowledged.

Extremely reluctant to talk to The Courier, Tezgul, in a very subdued voice, nonetheless asked that this story not be taken further, and wished that the matter would settle down quickly. I am sure the Turkish authorities in the United States have already faxed these details to Ankara, he said. I will probably need a new identity and new passport if I wish to return to Turkey, he said, understandably not too thrilled at the prospect.

Tezgul told The Courier he had received sympathetic calls from Las Vegas Armenians congratulating him for his courage, but he was more interested in putting this matter behind him, and resume a normal life. Unfortunately, history shows us that honest, dignified, fair and noble Turks are not given much rest by their own. The novelty of speaking the truth — even if it exposes one's own myths — is still equated in too many cultures as comforting the enemy, rather than freeing future generations of Armenians and Turks of the burden of the past. On a personal level, Tezgul's attempt to make a favor to the Armenians has perhaps backfired. But, whether the Turks like it or not, in the long run, his is the shot heard round the world.

**Serge L. Samoniantz**  
*California Courier Editor*  
(Excerpts)



slaves until the genocide of 1915, which is commemorated on April 24.

The Ottoman Empire, which reigned tyrannically for more than 600 years, collapsed in 1918. Unfortunately its corrupt wreckage fell on a civilized nation three years before its death, crushing 1.5 million innocent Armenians.

Toward the end of World War I, the Turks were defeated on all fronts, but especially heavily on the eastern front by the Russians, and they blamed this on their minority people, namely Armenians, living in the Russian border area.

Thus began one of the most treacherous and insidious genocides of history. It was planned entirely by Turkish statesmen and leaders and was carried out by Turkish soldiers hand-in-hand with their people — sadly, even by the Armenians' Turkish neighbors — and systematically completed within a year. Armenians were annihilated in front of the eyes of Western diplomats in Turkey. Some of the victims were rescued by those diplomats and survived. The best historical records of this genocide are those held by various foreign embassies.

That horrible genocide has never been forgotten, must never be forgotten, and will never be forgotten.

Alas, still today the Turkish government and its lead-

ers are deaf and dumb, and they remain silent about their country's bloody past. They are still denying history's clear and solid truths. Its 60 million people are still not completely aware of the genocide committed by their ancestors, because of the official state policy to suppress. Of course, grandchildren should not be judged responsible for their grandparents' crimes, but the grandchildren should not endorse their ancestors' brutality either.

History is waiting for that honest, dignified, fair and noble Turkish leader who will acknowledge his ancestors' biggest crime ever, who will apologize to the Armenian people, and who will do his best to indemnify them, materially and morally, in the eyes of the entire world.

Yes, history is waiting — and the Armenian people are longing — for that person who will break the dim and tragic taciturnity of 81 years between the two nations, the person who will stop the bleeding from that deep wound.

Everybody is longing, but — of greatest importance — the souls of those innocent 1.5 million victims, including bayoneted infants and raped women with their mutilated bodies, have longed for that noble leader for 81 years.

**Selcuk Tezgul is a native of Turkey and has lived in Las Vegas for 14 months.**  
**Las Vegas Review Journal**  
**April 24, 1996**

## ***Turkish Denials in US Academia***

*In its January-March 1996 issue (No. 198), p. 47, the influential "Middle East Report" published an article on the controversy surrounding Professor Heath Lowry's appointment to the Ataturk Chair in Modern Turkish Studies at Princeton University, funded by the Turkish government. The article draws attention to Lowry's unimpressive record as a scholar and charges that it was his impressive record as the "historian-cum-lap-dog" of the Turkish ambassador that landed him the job. The text of the article is attached.*

*This article, "Turkey's Little Tiger," comes on the heels of a story in the "Chronicle of Higher Education" (October 25, 1995) and is based on the incriminating documents revealed in an article in "Holocaust and Genocide Studies" (Spring 1995). The Armenian National Committee of America has called on Princeton University to review Lowry's record and take appropriate measures. Further heating the brewing controversy was a petition on the matter of academic integrity, signed by dozens of highly respected scholars and literary figures, published as an advertisement in the "Chronicle of Higher Education."*

*While the controversy about Lowry's academic integrity continues, the substance of his work denying the Armenian Genocide has become the subject of another controversy. One of Lowry's few publications is a pamphlet which claims that the U.S. Ambassador at the time, Henry Morgenthau, was unqualified to write about the Armenian Genocide. This claim has been refuted by the ongoing series, "United States Official Documents on the Armenian Genocide," compiled and introduced by Ara Sarafian (Watertown, Mass.: Armenian Review Books, 1993). A lengthy review of the volumes was recently featured in the prestigious "Times Literary Supplement," and has led to an exchange of letters to the editor.*

### **Turkey's Little Tiger**

***By Al Miskin***

Princeton University recently launched a massive fundraising campaign in its palatial Prospect House for maximum media exposure. But its public relations people are unhappy with reporters snooping around the Near Eastern Studies division—a lumbering dinosaur of a department housed in nearby ivy-covered Jones Hall. The unwelcome attention involves a new member of the faculty, Professor Heath Lowry, whose Ataturk chair in Turkish Studies is paid for by the Turkish state. Lowry has a history of being beholden to Turkish governments and, as City University of New York psychologist Robert Jay Lifton charges, of doing their bidding.

Lowry's appointment to the Ataturk chair in 1994 was itself a surprise. Although the pashas of Princeton Near East Studies do think the intellectual universe revolves around themselves, many are nonetheless highly renowned and productive scholars. By contrast, Lowry's scholarship is an embarrassment; he has written three "thin" volumes, one little more than a pam-

phlet published in Istanbul and another published in Cranbury, New Jersey by the Princeton department's own long-time vanity press. His meager academic output may itself hold a clue to how Lowry won out in a field crowded with better, if less well-connected scholars.

For 12 years prior to his winning the Princeton lottery, Lowry ran the Washington-based Institute of Turkish Studies, which the Turkish state founded in 1982 to improve "knowledge and understanding of a key NATO ally of the United States... among [US] citizens." Lowry and the Institute pushed the project to fund professorships at Princeton and others select spots (Georgetown, Harvard, Chicago) that, by mere coincidence, now pays his salary plus perks. But his record of service to the Turkish state is far more extensive.

It was Lowry's role in the ongoing campaign to rationalize the Armenian genocide that led Robert Lifton, following a remarkable paper trail, to him. In 1986, Lifton published *The Nazi*

*Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*. In 1990, Turkish Ambassador to the US Nuzhet Kandemir took umbrage at Lifton's brief discussion of "the so-called 'Armenian Genocide,'" as Lowry clumsily phrased it in a memo to the ambassador. According to Lowry, the real problem was Ankara's "failure to respond in a prompt fashion" to burgeoning historical literature on the "Armenian Genocide" (Lowry quickly dropped the "so-called" prefix) on which Lifton relies. Kandemir called on Lowry — his historian-cum-lap-dog — to ghost write a letter denouncing Lifton's mistaken beliefs and shoddy scholarship. Lowry complied, and the letter, signed by the ambassador was sent to Lifton.

The ambassador's delayed response to Lifton's book was not the only sign that he and his staff were overworked: Lowry's draft letter and his private memo to the ambassador were inadvertently included in the final copy mailed to Lifton! As a result, the psy-

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# Princeton Accused of Fronting for Turkish Government

By William H. Honan

A group of prominent scholars and writers contends that Princeton University is allowing itself to be used by the Turkish government as a center for propaganda about Turkey's role in the massacre of a million Armenians during World War I.

Three years ago, the university accepted \$750,000 from the government of Turkey to endow a new Atatürk Chair of Turkish Studies in the Department of Near Eastern Studies and hired a professor, Heath W. Lowry, who had worked for the Turkish government, as executive director of the Washington-based Institute of Turkish Studies.

Peter Balakian, a professor of English at Colgate University who has helped organize recent protests against the appointment, characterized Lowry's scholarship as "evil euphemistic evasion" and charged that his appointment at Princeton was an instance of a foreign government buying credibility for its propaganda by endowing a chair at an American university and influencing the choice of who fills the post.

Princeton has defended the appointment of Lowry through a terse statement by Amy Gutmann, the dean of the faculty, declaring that the university "does not permit donors of chairs

to influence the outcome of its appointment process."

Debates on responsibility for the Armenian massacres in 1915 and 1916 have gone on for years, and have accelerated recently with the rising interest in Holocaust studies. The Turks and a handful of American scholars, among them Lowry, contend that the Armenian deaths were the unintended result of wartime deprivation, while the Armenians and many more American scholars consider it genocide centrally planned by the Ottoman Turks.

The attacks on Princeton erupted last year with a critical article in the academic journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* by the scholar Robert Jay Lifton. In February, a group of 100 scholars and writers published a denunciation of the Turkish government and Lowry in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, a weekly journal; the signers included Alfred Kazin, Norman Mailer, Arthur Miller, Joyce Carol Oates, Susan Sontag, William Styron, David Riesman and John Updike. And a group of nearly 200 Armenian-Americans held a protest meeting last Wednesday night at the Princeton Club in New York City.

For his part, Lowry says his skepticism about whether the deaths were

centrally planned simply reflects adherence to scholarly rules of evidence.

"The Turkish government is just as unhappy with a lot of my work as are some of the Armenians who attack me," he said. "I have never denied the terrible suffering and deaths of hundreds of thousands of Armenians during the First World War. But I object to the use of the word genocide until the relevant records are located, studied and have proved that genocide is in fact the most accurate term to describe this tragedy."

The furor over the appointment was prompted by an odd incident involving Lifton, who teaches at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in Manhattan.

In October 1990, the Turkish ambassador to the United States, Nuzhet Kandemir, wrote to Lifton, upbraiding him for referring in his latest book to the "so-called 'Armenian genocide.'"

Lifton was not surprised by the attack, but he was by a puzzling enclosure with the letter. It was a memo from Lowry to the ambassador that showed Lowry had drafted the official Turkish government protest to the Lifton book.

The memo said Lowry was writing to Kandemir "with an eye to draft-



chologist was handed some unique sources for his continued studies into the phenomenon of genocide denial as well as damning evidence of Lowry's toadying to Turkish power. Lifton and two colleagues reproduce the documents and discuss the case at length in "Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide" *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* Vol. 9, Number 1 (Spring 1995), which has led to a petition campaign denouncing the Turkish government's involvement in US

universities and American scholars' involvement with the Turkish state's propaganda efforts.

The story was picked up by the otherwise-staid *Chronicle of Higher Education* (October 27, 1995). Lowry, evincing a deep commitment to the free flow of ideas, refused to speak with the *Chronicle* reporter leaving Avram Udovich, Lowry's predecessor as chair of the department,

to mount his defense. Udovich was obliged to claim that Lowry's appointment was simply a matter of aca-

demic excellence. Thus, he would have us believe that Lowry's 12 years of service to the Turkish state "wasn't part of his dossier." Privately, Udovich is also critical of Lowry, mainly for his ineptness in handling the publicity. Lifton offers a far more significant critique of scholars such as Lowry who act out of complex motivations: "self-serving ideology, bigotry, intellectual confusion, careerism, identification with power, and a particular conception of knowledge."

**Middle East Report  
Number 198, January-March 1996**





ing a letter for your signature to the author."

In the Holocaust and Genocide Studies article last year, Lifton revealed the memo and branded Lowry as an apologist for the Turkish government.

In a recent interview, Lowry acknowledged that his memo to Kandemir was a mistake. "I was not a professor at Princeton when I wrote that," he said. "Looking back from where I am today, I goofed."

Lowry, 53, received a Ph.D. in Turkish studies from the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1977. In 1985, he was one of 69 specialists in Turkish studies who signed a petition urging that a House of Representatives resolution condemning the crime of genocide should not include the Armenian massacres.

These crimes, the petition stated, were the result of "intercommunal warfare" complicated by "disease, famine, suffering and massacres."

"In my opinion," he said in an interview, "it was a total breakdown in civil authority on the part of a young, revolutionary government fighting a world war simultaneously on a number of fronts. That government's decision to relocate its Armenian citizenry into north Syria created a situation in which the deportees were subjected to attacks by marauding Kurdish tribesmen, starvation and the ravages of cholera and typhus epidemics."

The current scholarly debate over the Armenian deaths focuses on three principal sources of evidence: the memoirs of Henry Morgenthau, who was the U.S. ambassador to Turkey from 1913 to 1916; a remark that Hitler reportedly made in 1939, and cable traffic and other messages from German diplomats stationed in Turkey during World War I.

Vahakn N. Dadrian, a sociologist who wrote "The History of the Armenian Genocide" (Berghahn Books, Providence, 1995), said Morgenthau's memoirs — published in 1918 — provided "conclusive proof" that the Turks committed genocide.

"Morgenthau reported that when he complained to top Turkish leaders



*Demonstration in front of the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, April 24 1996*

about reports that women, children and old people were being marched into the desert to be killed," Dadrian said, "he was told: 'We can't make distinctions. Those who are not guilty today will oppose us in the future.'"

But Lowry counters that official records he discovered show that Robert Lansing, the secretary of state then, rewrote parts of the memoirs, and that the book — long considered a standard in the annals of diplomatic history — is filled with "outright lies and half-truths." His findings were published in 1990 by an academic press in Istanbul.

The remark by Hitler is another matter of contention among scholars. He is reported to have said in a private meeting with SS chiefs at Obersalzberg, on the eve of the invasion of Poland: "Be merciless in exterminating Polish men, women and children. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

Lifton said the quotation not only confirms the genocide of the Armenians but indicates that "if you don't confront genocide, the next group inclined toward it can see itself as carrying out the genocide with impunity."

Lowry said he believes the Hitler quote is probably apocryphal and has been used to establish a false link between the tragic history of the Turkish Armenians and the Holocaust a generation later.

"The Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal discarded this version of Hitler's speech and relied instead on a version which does not contain any reference to the Armenians," he said.

The third source of evidence, German diplomatic traffic reporting the Armenian massacres, is considered particularly important by scholars, because Turkey was a German ally in the World War I and because in their confidential reports to Berlin, the German diplomats had no discernible reason to falsify what they saw.

Roger W. Smith, a professor of government at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Va., who specializes in genocide studies, said the German cable traffic proves that the deaths were genocide.

In an interview, he said, "Hans Wangenheim, the German ambassador to Turkey, reported to Berlin in July 1915 that the Turkish government 'is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race.'"

Lowry said he still needed to be persuaded. "If this material, and newly available archives from Russia, the Ottoman Empire and the various Armenian revolutionary organizations, points to genocide as an accurate description of what actually took place," he said, "I'll be the first to use the word."

**The New York Times**  
May 22, 1996

## **German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide**

**German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of the Historical Evidence of German Complicity.** by Vahakn N. Dadrian. Blue Crane Books, 320 pages. *with extensive annotations, appendices, and period photographs.*

Advance copies of "German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide" circulating in the German academic community have created quite a stir already. "For the first time, a prominent scholar is tackling a problem which is a delicate one for Germany: complicity in the genocide against the Armenians," says Wolfgang Gust, Former Senior Editor of "Der Spiegel," and the author of "Der Volkermord an den Armeniern" (The Genocide of the Armenians.) "While German culpability relative to the genocide of the Jews in World War II is subject to extensive studies by German and other historians, the issue of German responsibility in the genocide against the Armenians during World War I has remained largely untouched. This study by Prof. Dadrian, the worldwide authority on the subject, opens up a new territory where, hopefully, other scholars will follow suit soon."

One of the most striking features of the World War I Armenian genocide perpetrated by Ottoman Turkey, is the fact that it was enacted despite the powerful presence of Imperial Germany in Turkey at the time. German power was afforded not only because of Germany's imposing military might but, also, by the fact that Turkey, a weak and impoverished ally, depended critically on German assistance to underprop its war effort. In this study, the author examines the complex conditions attending the Turko-German political and military alliance by virtue of which Germany would not use its power-leverage in order to avert the Armenian catastrophe. Based on decades of research in the German, Austrian, British and other state and private archives, the present study, for the first time, systematically analyzes the

## **The Armenian Genocide**

The "International Network on Holocaust and Genocide," a bi-monthly publication of the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies at Macquarie University, has a special double issue edition (April 1996 Issues 1-2) focusing on the Armenian Genocide. Contents include scholarly articles by Prof. Robert Melson, Prof. Vahakn N. Dadrian, Dr. Rouben Adalian, Dr. Rubina Perroomian, and Mr. Manoug Demirjian. Included in this double issue are comments by the editorial team, as well as recent news of Armenian Genocide denial.

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developments within the framework of which Germany's direct and indirect involvement in the macabre drama of the Armenian genocide is seen materializing. Thus, German responsibility is cast into relief not only as a legal but also as a moral exigency.

Professor Roger W. Smith of College of William and Mary in his foreword to the book writes, "Turkey's responsibility for the genocide of over one million Armenians during World War I has been well-documented. At the same time, there have always been questions about the role Turkey's World War I ally, Germany, may have played in the genocide. Now in this detailed and path-breaking work of historical recovery, Professor Dadrian produces evidence from German and other sources that show that Germany is not free from a measure of criminal, moral, and political responsibility in the genocide."

Vahakn N. Dadrian is the leading scholar on the subject of the Armenian Genocide. He is the author of the distinguished work "The History of the Armenian Genocide," referred to by the prominent Holocaust scholar Steven Katz as "a monumental parallel to Raul Hilberg's master work," and by Yehuda Bauer, another well-known scholar, as "a tour de force, a great contribution to the historical understanding of the Armenian genocide, and of genocide generally." A professor of Sociology at the State University of New York from 1970 to 1991, Professor Dadrian is currently the Director of Genocide Studies Project supported by H. F. Guggenheim Foundation. In his over thirty years of research, he has published numerous studies and several volumes on genocide in English, German, Armenian, Turkish, and French.

***"German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide" is available in both hardcover and paperback and may be purchased from your local bookstore or ordered directly from the publisher: Blue Crane Books, P. O. Box 291, Cambridge, MA 02238, Tel: (617) 926-8585, Fax: (617) 926-0982.***

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