

1HE ARMENIAN CAUSE

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Turkish sources, from Talaat's confessions to today's scholars confirmations

Grand Vizir and Interior Minister Talaat Pasha was the main conceiver, executor and supervisor of the 1915 Armenian Genocide. He and his consorts Enver and Djemal constituted the triumvirate of Young Turks. A Turkish court-martial had been constituted as of an imperial decree on March 8, 1919. This court declared members of the general council that represented the Union and Progress party unanimously guilty. The court condemned Talaat, Enver, Djemal and Dr. Nazim to death. Since then, denialists of the Armenian Genocide have insisted Talaat was not the grand architect of the genocide and any evidence to the contrary, including Andonian's

famous published telegrams, were forgeries. On April 25, 2005, the Turkish daily Hurriyet published an article by a certain Murat Bardakçi who said he possessed a black notebook having belonged to Talaat that contained precise lists on the number of Armenians deported across the empire.

This coup seriously shook denialist theses concerning Talaat's non-responsibility and, especially, the number of genocide victims. Note that Talaat's numbers indicate only the number of deportees and do not hold into account the victims massacred on the spot.

İŞTE, TALÂT PAŞA'NIN TEHCİR LİSTESİ		
Sevkolunan Ermeni mikdarı		
Esâmi-i vilâyât ve elviyye (Vilâyetlerin ve sancakların adları)	Naklolunan nüfus	
Ankara Viläyeti	47.224	
Erzurum Vilâyeti	128.657	
Adana Vilâyeti	46.031	
Bitlis Vilâyeti	109.251	
Halep Vilâyeti	34.451	
Hüdavendigâr (Bursa) Vilâyeti	66.413	
Diyarbakır Vilâyeti	61.002	
Sivas Vilâyeti	141.592	
Trabzon Vilâyeti	34.500	
Mamuretülâziz (Elâzığ) Vilâyeti	74.206	
İzmit Sancağı	54.370	
Canik (Samsun) Sancağı	26.374	
Karesi (Balıkesir) Sancağı	8.290	
Karahisar (Afyon) Sancağı	7.327	
Kayseri Sancağı	47.617	
Maraş Sancağı	27.101	
Niğde Sancağı	5.101	
Konya Vilâyeti	4.381	

YEKUN

924.158

THE STREET

Excerpt from "Talaat Pasha's 'Black Book'" by Murat Bardakci, published in Hurriyet on April 25, 2005.

This is the deportation list of Talaat Pasha THE NUMBER OF DEPORTED ARMENIANS

Names of vilayets and sandjaks	Persons
(Provinces and districts)	deported
Ankara villayet	47, 224
Erzurum villayet	128,657
Adana villayet	46,031
Bitlis villayet	109,251
Aleppo villayet	34,451
Hudavendigar (Bursa) villayet	66,413
Diarbekir villayet	61,002
Sivas villayet	141,592
Trabzon villayet	34,500
Mamuretulaziz villayet	74,206
Izmit villayet	54,370
Canik (Samsun) sandjak	26,374
Karesi (Balikesir) sandjak	8,290
Karahisar (Afyon) sandjak	7,327
Kayseri sandjak	47,617
Marash sandjak	27,101
Nigde sandjak	5,101
Konya villayet	4,381
TOTAL	924,158

Turkey's continuous denialist policies make it a target for historical responsabilities

In this issue, we've chosen to present the opinions of Turkish genocide scholars, authors and historians who unequivocally confirm the Armenian Genocide perpetrated by their government in 1915. They should be praised for their academic bravery and congratulated for their political courage.

They deserve that praise and congratulations because they are victimized by their current government, not the government of 1915, but by the present day government. Actually, the government of today does not miss the opportunity to prosecute, punish and imprison their honest academic voices as expressions of antiturkishness and treason. The terror against those academic voices, legalized by laws in Turkey, such as law 301, has lately even been exported as far as Sweden.

The knee jerk remarks of the Turkish government against any recognition of the genocide or any expression of respect towards the victims reaches the levels of political hysteria.

Some examples from this country, to name only a few: the External Affairs Minister of Turkey upon the erection of the monument in Montreal for the memory of all genocides, the political pressures over the Ottawa Education Board and Toronto District School Board, where the Armenian Genocide is planned to be included in the curriculum, and of Canada upon the adoption of resolutions recognizing the Armenian Genocide. The political blackmails of the successive Turkish governments are well known internationally.

It is noteworthy that the resolutions passed in different parliaments, the political voices of the academics accuse the government of Turkey of the time of genocide, not the present government. The present Turkish government is so adamant in its denials, so vigorous in its political blackmails and so crude in its anti-Armenian rhetoric that the current Turkish government is automatically accepting responsibility for the heinous crimes of 1915.

By using denial policies in modern day politics, such as continuing the economic blockade of Armenia as long as Armenia persists on the recognition of the genocide, using economic blackmail towards countries where parliaments passed resolutions recognizing the genocide, and or menacing to drag countries like France to international courts in The Hague for passing laws against the denial of genocide, the Turkish government is proving to be its worst defence attorney. On the stage of justice, the successive Turkish governments, including the present government, are, by their political attitudes, making themselves the targets for responsibility.

In search for so-called scholars or flexible court of justice required

Ever looking for adjustable academics that can integrate to the Turkish government's denialist version and be awarded lucrative compensation for services rendered, the denialist Turkish lobby spares no efforts. It will always find at least a few academics willing to sell their academic credibility.

One of the latest attempts was that of the International Court of Transitional Justice. After extensive investments, the denialist Turkish lobby failed to reach its desired goal. The ICTJ delivered its verdict on February 10, 2003 as follows:

The perpetrators of the Events [of 1915] knew that the consequence of their actions would be the destruction in whole or in part of the Armenians of Eastern Anatolia [...] therefore possessed the requisite genocidal intent. Because the other elements identified above have been definitively established, the Events, viewed collectively can thus be said to include all of the elements of the crime of "genocide" as defined in the Convention, and legal scholars as well as historians, politicians, journalists and other people would be justified in continuing to so describe them. [...] The term 'genocide' as defined in the 1948 Convention may be applied to describe the events of 1915.

Modern Turkish voices

A FEW YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE ADOPTION OF LAW 301 IN THE TURKISH PENAL CODE, MUFFLING THE VOICES OF ACADEMICS AND WRITERS WHO DARE USE THE WORDS "ARMENIAN GENOCIDE" AND WHO ARE CONSEQUENTLY BEING PROSECUTED FOR CRIMES OF "DENIGRATING AND INSULTING TURKISHNESS." WE ARE THEREFORE ASKING OUR READERS NOT TO LOOK FOR THOSE EXACT WORDS IN THE FOLLOWING QUOTES.

Dr. RAGIP ZARAKOLU,

publisher & co-founder of Turkey's Association for Human Rights.

If you read correctly the Convention of Genocide (international), agreed in 1948 ... the conditions for a genocide, there are all the important irregularities of a genocide defined in 1915. Also in our (Turkish) system a kind of extremism began with that time (1915) on the political base, or on behalf or on national ethnic base... It is a burden for our society because it is a problem of conscience and accepting of reality and denying of the repressive regimes and the systems. So we must do this as a society, as a Turkish society. It is a responsible of conscience.

(Interview with Francine Pelletier of CBC Radio. April 28, 2000)

TEMEL DEMIRER, writer.

Currently on trial under Article 301 & 216 for "denigrating the Turkish Republic" and "inciting to hatred and hostility."

There is a genocide in our history, it is called the Armenian Genocide. At the cost of his life, Hrant told us all about this reality. Those who do not commit a crime against the murderous state are part of the murder. Those who killed the Armenians yesterday are today attacking our Kurdish brothers and sisters. Yes, there was an Armenian genocide in this country.

(http://www.bianet.org/english/kategoru/english/105355/writer-demirer. March 5, 2008.)

EREN KESKIN, Head of the Istanbul Branch of the Human Rights Association of Turkey.

... There is no real break with the ideology of the CUP... The ideology that led to the Armenian genocide was a very important element of the founding ideology of the Republic of Turkey... I believe recognition of the genocide is crucial. Turkish people should acknowledge the sufferings of the Armenians, empathize with them and apologize for what happened in 1915.

(In an interview with Khatchig Mouradian during a press conference in Istanbul, March 22, 2006)

HALIL BERKTAY, Professor of History at the University of Sabanci in Istanbul, specializing in Turkish nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries, and is the author of several works.

We caused the death of at least 600,000 people in ten months. If we are not racists, we should be feeling profoundness of such horror... In the document entitled "Armenians through Turkish Documentation" published by the National Archives Service for the Prime Minister, we find, on page 69, a telegram from Talaat Pasha, Minister of the Interior, addressed to the prefect of Divarbakir. In this cable, Talaat Pasha admits having learned that all the Christians of the region of Mardin beings victims of massacres. He asks that the military and security measures taken against the Armenians not be applied to other Christian communities.

(In an interview with L'Express, Issue No. 2575, November 9, 2000)

HÜLYA ADAK, Professor at Sabanci University in Istanbul.

Talat Pasa, as Minister of the Interior during World War I, was one of the leaders responsible for the deportation of the Armenians from Asia Minor to Syria Mesopotamia. *Talat Pasa'nin Hatiralari* (Talaat Pasha's Memoirs), written in exile in

Berlin roughly during the years 1919-1920, was published posthumously in Turkey in 1921... The historical context of the War Courts in Istanbul where Talat Pasa was being accused of war crimes, and the threats the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) posed to the Unionists might explain the defensiveness (to the point of shifting the responsibility of the massacres from the perpetrators to the deportees) of the memoirs.

(In her article "Identifying the 'Internal Tumors' of World War I: Talat Pasa'nin Hatiralari (Talaat Pasha's Memoirs),or the Travels of a Unionist Apologia into History."

Dr. FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK,

Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor.

I, as an ethnically Turkish citizen, am not guilty, but am responsible for what happened to the Armenians in 1915. [...Prof Göçek stated that while she does not use the word genocide to refer to what happened to the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1915] it certainly is so by the definition accepted by the United Nations.

(In her "Turkey, the European Union and the Armenian Question" lecture at Toronto on December 2, 2005, organized by the International Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies)

ELIF SAFAK, writer.

My latest novel ... 'The Bastard of Istanbul' ... is a political taboo (because of) the Armenian question ... I was sued by the head of an association called the Unity of Justice charging me with denigrating Turkishness.

(Interview with Fergus Nicoll of BBC World Today, September 21, 2006)

ORHAN PAMUK, Noble Prize winning novelist and Professor at Columbia University.

Thirty thousand Kurds and a million Armenians were killed in Turkey. Almost no one dares speak but me, and the nationalists hate me for that.

(In an interview with Swiss newspaper Tagesanzeiger, February 2005)

Dr, TANER AKCAM, author and Professor at the University of Minnesota's Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies.

During World War I, Kusçubasi Esref remarked that the Armenians and the non-Muslims in general were the "internal tumors" that needed to be cleaned. According to Esref, such "remedy" needed to be executed for a "national cause."

> (In his book, A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility. New York 2006 pp. 92 f.)

Turks, and their history books, still cannot accept that there was organized mass murder of Armenians between 1915-17. Perhaps that is because so many of the murderers and looters were also heroes of the founding of the modern Turkish republic.

(In his article, "The Long Denied Armenian Genocide", WHERE?)

Unfortunately, it is beyond debate that the events of 1915 qualify as genocide according to the 1948 UN definitions. Anyone involved in the issue with even a rough knowledge of the documents in the Ottoman, German, Austrian, Armenian and British archives knows that the facts in these archives do not contradict, but on the contrary, support each other. And the underlying point is that the Ottoman subject Armenians were systematically murdered and left to die... The fact that what occurred in 1915 was a

mass murder is accepted by anyone who lived at that time... There were tens of speeches in which Mustafa Kemal described what was done to the Armenians as 'cowardly (act)' and 'savagery' and qualified them as massacre.

(In his article, "The Armenian Taboo and Mustafa Kemal", WHERE?)

Professor SELIM DERINGIL,

Booaziçi University, History
Department, Istanbul, Turkey,
Visiting Fellow, London School of
Economics, Summer 1984, Visiting
Fulbright Fellow at Princeton
University Department of Near
Eastern Studies, 1989-1990, Visiting
Professor, Department of Sociology,
University of Michigan at Ann Arbor
and Professor of History

"There is no doubt that colossal crimes were committed against the Armenians in eastern Anatolia and elsewhere. ... There is also no doubt that no historian with a conscience can possibly accept the 'civil war' line, which is a travesty of history."

(The Armenian Forum, No. 1, summer 1998)

ENGIN DENIZ AKARLI,

Joukowsky Family Professor of History, Brown University

"We have to put these things in their proper historical context, genocide, okay, it was genocide, in the sense that it was attacks against a distinctive specific part of the population-in this sense, that is what I understand of 'genocide'-the Armenians. It happened! We need to face it, to understand why it happened, under what circumstances it happened, what are its moral implications, what does this event tell us about the times, what does this event tell us about great power politics, problems of nationalism in this part of the world. There are many issues that this particular event sheds light on."

(As quoted in the documentary film "The Armenians: a story of survival")

YAVUZ BAYDAR, Columnist, Milliyet Newspaper, Hurriyet Newspaper

"I was always convinced of the necessity to show courage and to take to task Talaat and Company for their misdeeds...These men are our Pol Pots, Berias, and Stalins, and the sooner we call their crimes to account... the better our chances of redeeming ourselves from this scourge of being accused of genocide."

(On Ankara TV, February 3, 2001, broadcast under the title "Ceviz Kabugu" (Walnut Shell), a program of critical inquiry, a six-hour program on the Armenian Genocide)

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