

1 *Ali Naci TUNCER Prime Ministry Undersecretary (1995):*

It is a fact accepted today by universal circles of science that the Ottoman State, during the six and a half centuries when it was on the stage of history, dominated the Muslims and non-Muslims with justice. [...] Just like the Turks and the non-Muslims, the Armenians have continued their harmonious and prosperous existence under the Ottoman administration throughout the centuries when the Ottoman State took its place on the stage of history. Unfortunately, the Armenians have been provoked against the Ottoman State after the second half of the XIXth century.

The Armenians have been part of organizations masked under the name "Eastern Question" as an instrument for the games and policies put forward by the Western states with the claim that they protected their rights in Ottoman territory after which the Armenians started to upheaval against the Ottoman administration under which they had lived in peace. Of course it is not considerable that the Armenians spontaneously upheaved against the Ottoman State which had appointed the Armenians to important administrative posts. The supporters of the Armenians who took part in the revolts, revolutions and massacres were mainly the external powers. [...]

The [...] official Ottoman records concerning the temporary settlement of the Armenians as a result of the events occurring between 1915-1920 have been collected as a book entitled "Armenians in Ottoman Documents" for the use of native and foreign circles of science. The records in this work are relating to the settlement of Armenians who deceived the Turks and betrayed the state during the First World War to suitable places in accordance with the conditions of war in order to secure the back front. [...]

„Preface“, in: *Armenians in Ottoman Documents (1915-1920)*, Ankara: T.C. General Directorate of the State Archives, 1995, S. V f.

2 *Ismet BINARK, General Director of the State Archives (1995):*

In fact, the Armenians were not the native people of Anatolia, they had probably come to Anatolia from Thrace towards the end of the VI th century BC, and had settled in Urartu as a mixture of the Thracic and Phrygian clans. The Armenians appearing as a Nordic-Alpine mixture have arisen as a result of the fusion of native and migrant Indo-Europeans. In other words, it is not a homogenous race. [...] the non-Muslims were living in peace, comfort and security under the just administration of the Ottoman state. [...]

One of the main methods preferred by the Western states, to interfere with the internal affairs of the Ottoman State, to maintain their interests here and to provide mutually their stability, has been the reform activities which they demanded on behalf of the Christians under the Ottoman administration.

The Armenians, who founded some intriguing associations and parties and massacred Turkish population by causing events for various reasons due to their dream to establish an Armenian state in East Anatolia, collaborated with the enemy during the First World War when the soldiers were at the front, betrayed the state and attacked the weaponless Turks. Consequently, they forced the Ottoman State to take decision for deportation. It should be known that the deported Armenians are those who acted against the state. The Armenians keeping faithful to the state have never been deported.

All the needs, the security and the accommodation of the deported Armenians were provided. When the First World War was over, they were free to come back or not; those who wanted to come back were provided all kind of help and facilities.

With the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923 Turkey accepted the status of minorities and gave the Armenians all the individual rights and freedom just like the Turks and since that date there has not been any problem with the Armenians living in Turkey. Armenians in Turkey, who were not misled by externally commanded organizations and who did not approve them, are now living in peace, welfare and religious freedom. [...]

Especially in this century, following the First and Second World War, authors emphasize the political interests of the countries they are a native of in their books written on behalf of the Armenians. Thus, the so-called scientific works are one-sided, full of political propaganda, ornamented with massacre stories,

unrelated with the truth, biased, written with Armenian fanaticism, and misleading the world's public opinion.

In these so-called scientific works, there is enmity against Turkey and the Turks. Books, articles, theses and papers claimed to be written scientifically are far from being true, and are including feelings of Armenian hatred and revenge; and with this kind of publications the public opinion of the world is wanted to be turned against Turkey and the Turks; and the influential public opinions of some countries are imposed to believe in the existence of the Armenian question. [...]

„Foreword“, in: *Armenians in Ottoman Documents (1915-1920)*, Ankara: T.C. General Directorate of the State Archives, 1995, S. VII-XXVII.

3 *Der Diplomat und Propagandist (später Parlamentarier und Mitglied der staatlichen Geschichtsvereinigung) Reflid Saffet Atabinen (1919):*

[...] par la conséquence directe de cette trahison [des Grecs, des Arméniens et de quelques Maronites et Libanais en 1914/15], deux millions de Turcs ont péri depuis 1914. Aux Dardanelles, au Caucase, en Mésopotamie, au Sinaï, en Palestine, sur les différents fronts européens, puis lors de leur exode devant l'invasion barbare des hordes [russes] du grand duc Nicolas [...] plus de deux millions de Turcs sont morts ou ont été massacrés. En dehors de cela, des six millions de Turcs qui peuplaient la Turquie d'Europe immédiatement avant la guerre balkanique [1912], que reste-t-il aujourd'hui, si l'on déduit les 1.500.000 qui ont pu émigrer en Turquie d'Asie. Des 4.500.000 qui devraient rester, on ne trouvera pas plus de trois millions. Ainsi là encore deux millions de Turcs Musulmans manquent à l'appel. Cela fait quatre millions de victimes du fanatisme politique chrétien [...]. A côté de cette boucherie, les massacres des Arméniens, les déportations des Grecs par les Unionistes sont des plaisanteries [...].

Kara-Schemsi, *L'extermination des Turcs*, Genève, 1919

4 *Der Turkologe und Princeton-Professor Lewis V. Thomas (1951):*

By 1918, with the definitive excision of the total Christian population from Anatolia and the Straits Area, except for a small and wholly insignificant enclave in Istanbul city, the hitherto largely peaceful processes of Turkification and Moslemization had been advanced in one surge by the use of force. [...] Had Turkification and Moslemization not been accelerated there by the use of force, there certainly would not today exist a Turkish Republic, a Republic owing its strength and stability in no small measure to the homogeneity of its population, a state which is now a valued associate of the United States. [...] this struggle for Anatolia had become a fight which could have only one winner. It was to be take all or lose all.

Thomas, Lewis V., und Frye, Richard N., *The United States and Turkey and Iran*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, S. 61 f.

5 *Der amerikanische Turkologe Stanford Shaw (1977):*

The Entente propaganda mills and Armenian nationalists claimed that over a million Armenians were massacred during the war. But this was based on the assumption that the prewar Armenian population numbered about 2.5 million. The total number of Armenians in the empire before the war in fact came to at most 1,300,000, according to the Ottoman census. About half of these were resident in the affected areas, but, with the city dwellers allowed to remain, the number actually transported came to no more than 400,000, including some terrorists and agitators from the cities rounded up soon after the war began. In addition, approximately one-half million Armenians subsequently fled into the Caucasus and elsewhere during the remainder of the war. Since about 100,000 Armenians lived in the empire afterward, and about 150,000 to 200,000 immigrated to western Europe and the United States, one can assume that about 200,000 perished as a result not only of the transportation but also of the same conditions of famine, disease, and war action that carried away some 2 million Muslims at the same time.

Shaw, Stanford, und Shaw, Ezel, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977, Bd. 2, S. 315 f.

6 *Der türkische Diplomat Kâmurân Gürün (1983):*

[...] Il convient d'examiner dans l'ordre chronologique les mesures que dut prendre l'Empire ottoman vis-à-vis des Arméniens pour les raisons exposées plus haut, ainsi que de donner quelques explications sur ces mesures.

Le 6 septembre 1914, le gouvernement ottoman envoya dans les provinces où la population arménienne était nombreuse une circulaire chiffrée donnant pour instruction de tenir sous surveillance permanente les chefs des partis politiques arméniens et les activités auxquelles ils pouvaient se livrer (Dahiliye Nezareti, Emniyet Umum Mudûrlugu, dossier 44, 844/51).

Le 25 février 1915, sous le numéro 8682, l'état-major général envoya à toutes les unités l'ordre suivant 2: « On signale à Bitlis l'apparition de certains brigands arméniens et certains déserteurs arméniens auraient choisi de prendre le maquis. Des agressions auraient été commises par des Arméniens contre des soldats et des gendarmes, à Alep et à Dortyol. Dans l'arrondissement de Kayseri, on a trouvé en grand nombre dans des maisons arméniennes des bombes ainsi que des clés de chiffage en français, en russe et en arménien. Bien qu'elles ne soient pas importantes, ces affaires sont la preuve qu'une entreprise de subversion est mise en œuvre par l'ennemi à l'intérieur du pays. En conséquence de quoi, il est apparu nécessaire de faire savoir ce qui suit:

1 - Les Arméniens ne pourront en aucun cas être employés au service armé, ni dans les armées de campagne, ni dans les unités de gendarmerie ou en garnison. Ils ne pourront être employés non plus dans le personnel ni des bureaux des commandants d'unités ni dans les états-majors.

2 - Les commandants d'armées et de corps d'armée, les représentants des commandants de corps d'armée et de division, les commandants de places, sont autorisés et ont le devoir, au cas où ils constateraient de la part de la population quelque opposition que ce soit aux ordres du gouvernement, attaque armée ou résistance, de réprimer celles-ci de la manière la plus stricte en recourant aux forces armées et d'anéantir les causes de l'agression et de la résistance. Les commandants ont de même toute latitude pour proclamer aussitôt l'état d'urgence là où ils le jugeront nécessaire. [...] » (Genelkurmay, n° 1/131, KLS 2287, dossier 12, F. 9).

Le dossier arménien, Ankara : La Société Turque d'Histoire, 1983, S. 248.

7 *Esat Uras, 1915 Beamter im Polizeidirektorium, später Mitglied des Türk Tarih Kurumu (1953):*

In June 1915, a major uprising took place in Shebinkarahisar under the leadership of the famous activist Murad. The Moslem districts were burnt down. Hundreds of soldiers and gendarmerie were killed and hundreds of civilians also perished, but Murad managed to escape. Upon this incident, the Ottoman government sent the following telegram on July 12, 1915 to special political divisions in order to give an account of what had happened and also to explain the reasons for the relocation:

“It is known that the decision has been taken to expel those Armenians who constitute a danger to the defence of the country and public order from the parts they formerly inhabited. Our enemies, in order to inflame public opinion against us, are using this as an excuse to distort the facts both in their own newspapers and also in the newspapers of neutral countries that they have been able to win over to their side. They are also trying to present all occurrences connected with these precautionary measures, no matter how insignificant or slight these incidents might be, as an assault against the basic, natural and sacred rights of the Armenian community, who are described as having never wavered in their loyalty.

There is no doubt that the measures taken by the Ottoman government against the insurrectionist Armenians were urgent and fully justified. Events have shown that the Armenian activists were following a plan that had been prepared and systematically put into effect against the armed forces; it is, at the same time, evident that the actions of the Armenians who joined the Russians in fighting against us constitute part of

this plan. While those subversive and separatist activities were only being pursued on the front or its vicinity, they have recently been observed in the rear of the army and in the inner regions. For example, on June 2, five-hundred armed Armenians, together with many deserters attacked the Moslem districts of Eastern Karahisar, burnt down the houses and responded with shots to the conciliatory and well-meaning advice given to them by the local authorities. As a result they caused the deaths of about one hundred and fifty soldiers and civilians. Seeing that the rebels refused to heed advice and that they continued to occupy the districts until about June 20, the local government had to use cannon and other artillery to evict them. [...] During the implementation of these measures, the said activists have been expelled from the areas near the border and also from the security zones. In this way the militants have been isolated from Russian influence and have been relocated in a region where they would not be able to endanger national defence and public order.”

[Esat Uras zitiert auch einen Brief der armenischen Daschnak-Partei vom 2. Juni 1915:]

“[...] It was not enough to arrest and imprison the well-known and respected members of the Armenian community or to exile them to remote areas; to create fear and terror among the whole nation. No, it was not enough, for the whole of Cilicia and Armenia had to be turned into one vast graveyard. [...] We wished to convince you [CUP] of the consequences of the ill-fated policy you wished to pursue. We begged you not to bring about your downfall by starting hostilities with Russia. We implored you not to be swayed by German influence and not to take up arms against the Triple Entente, two of whose members, England and France, have always been loyal allies who have repeatedly saved the state from danger. [...] You behaved with ingratitude and turning your back upon your former allies you threw yourself into the arms of Germany whose power turned your head. And, by abandoning the policy of neutrality which you had so far been pursuing you dragged the Ottoman state to destruction.

The country, already poor, was totally ruined. You prepared the ground for the serious disorders and the bloody defeats that violated the borders of Armenia. You destroyed and annihilated innumerable young lives. Today, incapable of saving your country, you are desperately fighting your last battle and are treacherously assaulting the unfortunate, unarmed and helpless Armenian nation. It is your own policy that has forced the Armenians to take up weapons and form bands in order to protect their communities from systematic extermination. You are reaping what you have sown. The press organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Committee, independent of the Party, on its own responsibility, accuses you - those members of the government and of the Society of Union and Progress involved in these incidents - of having inflicted atrocities and murders on the Armenian nation and, likewise, of having committed crimes against the Ottoman state, and declares that it holds you morally and legally responsible. (Signed: Dashnaksutiun Press Organ, Droshak, Geneva, June 2, 1915)”

Uras, Esat, *The Armenians in History and the Armenian Question*, Istanbul: Documentary Publications, 1988 (türkische Erstausgabe 1953), S. 874-77.

8 *Edib, 1915 Glückwunschtelegramm an Dr. Mehmed Reschid (1915):*

Dem Herrn Reschid, Gouverneur von Diyarbekir, die besten Wünsche zum Fest [islamisches Opferfest, *Kurban Bayramı*]. Ich küsse Eure Hände, welche uns die sechs [Ost-]Provinzen gewonnen und uns den Zugang zu Türkistan und zum Kaukasus eröffnet haben. Am 6. Teschriuevvel [19. Oktober 1915]. Edib
Nachlass von Dr. Mehmed Reschid, zitiert in N. Bilgi: Mehmed Reschid [Schahingiray], *Hayatı ve Hâtıraları*, hg. durch N. Bilgi, Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1997, S. 29. Übersetzung HLK.

DECLARATION BY THE TURKISH ACADEMICIANS ON THE TURKISH ARMENIAN PROBLEM (23 APRIL 2001)

WE, THE TURKISH ACADEMICIANS,

...before the entire humanity,
protest in the strongest possible language,
the actions of the Armenian Diaspora*
that involve waging endless, hostile campaigns
against Turkey and Turks at every opportunity,
in a manner detrimental to world peace and harmony,
contrary to scholarly and historical facts, principles, and
human judicial criteria.

We do condemn also
those persons and organizations who have been
acting relentlessly since early 1800s, in violation of
established legal norms, relatively peaceful circumstances and prosperity;
displaying a prejudicial posture against the Turkish nation and Turkish history,
and all other historical truths and scholarly principles in general;
conducting and abetting insidious campaigns; ignoring the validity of decent comportment;
violating all forms of human rights in obliterating the indigenous Turkish and Muslim population in an act of
genocide;
dismissing and denying, despite historical evidence to the contrary,
any and all torture, atrocities, and massacres
victimizing millions of Turks and other Ottoman Muslims since the 1800s,
but especially during the Balkan Wars of 1911-1914, and the First World War of 1914-1918,
in the areas of the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Caucasus
primarily by Armenians in the latter two regions.

We are, hereby, inviting all academicians and specialists;
who have become knowledgeable on the issues of
how Turks, Armenians, and other Muslim and Christian peoples of the area
experienced similar horrors of a civil war within a world war,
mainly resulting from the planting of seeds of hatred by the imperialist powers of the day
as part of their grand designs for Ottoman lands based on "divide and rule" principle;
to collaborate in scientific clarity, objectivity, and integrity
and expose the truth for the sake of humanity.

Our heartfelt desire is
to establish equitable and lasting peace in this part of the planet and beyond,
to help all parties involved launch sincere efforts
to create, once again, an atmosphere of peaceful cohabitation, cooperation, and prosperity
for the people of the Republic of Turkey,
Azerbaijan, and the Armenian Republic to enjoy,
to help cease and desist all anti-Turkish political campaigns
so that we can leave our youth and children a peaceful world.

Towards this end,
We, the Turkish Academicians,
wish to remind the world once again,
the Statement made to the House of Representatives of the United States of America,
by sixty-nine (69) U.S. Academicians on May 19, 1985
and published in the U.S. media;
and in the light of this communiqué, again express,
on behalf of the Turkish nation, our gratitude towards our colleagues.

**a term which excludes citizens of Turkey and Armenia proper, but includes most Armenian descendents and citizens of countries other than Turkey and Armenia*

***THE STATEMENT MADE TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY 69 AMERICAN ACADEMICIANS ON MAY, 19, 1985.***
To The Members Of The U.S. House Of Representatives

The undersigned American academicians who specialize in Turkish, Ottoman and Middle Eastern Studies are concerned that the current language embodied in House Joint Resolution 192 is misleading and/or inaccurate in several respects.

Specifically, while fully supporting the concept of a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," we respectfully take exception to that portion of the text which singles out for special recognition:
5 " . . . the one and one half million people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923 . . . "

Our reservations focus on the use of the words "Turkey" and "genocide" and may be summarized as follows:

10 From the fourteenth century until 1922, the area currently known as Turkey, or more correctly, the Republic of Turkey, was part of the territory encompassing the multinational, multi-religious state known as the Ottoman Empire. It is wrong to equate the Ottoman Empire with the Republic of Turkey in the same way that it is wrong to equate the Hapsburg Empire with the Republic of Austria. The Ottoman Empire, which was brought to an end in 1922, by the successful conclusion of the Turkish Revolution which established
15 the present day Republic of Turkey in 1923, incorporated lands and people which today account for more than twenty-five distinct countries in Southeastern Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, only one of which is the Republic of Turkey. The Republic of Turkey bears no responsibility for any events which occurred in Ottoman times, yet by naming 'Turkey' in the Resolution, its authors have implicitly labeled it as guilty of "genocide" it charges transpired between 1915 and 1923;

20 As for the charge of "genocide," no signatory of this statement wishes to minimize the scope of Armenian suffering. We are likewise cognizant that it cannot be viewed as separate from the suffering experienced by the Muslim inhabitants of the region. The weight of evidence so far uncovered points in the direction of serious inter communal warfare (perpetrated by Muslim and Christian irregular forces), complicated by disease, famine, suffering and massacres in Anatolia and adjoining areas during the First World War.

25 Indeed, throughout the years in question, the region was the scene of more or less continuous warfare, not unlike the tragedy which has gone on in Lebanon for the past decade. The resulting death toll among both Muslim and Christian communities of the region was immense. But much more remains to be discovered before historians will be able to sort out precisely responsibility between warring and innocent, and to identify the causes for the events which resulted in the death or removal of large numbers of the eastern
30 Anatolian population, Christian and Muslim alike.

Statesmen and politicians make history, and scholars write it. For this process to work scholars must be given access to the written records of the statesmen and politicians of the past. To date, the relevant archives in the Soviet Union, Syria, Bulgaria and Turkey all remain, for the most part, closed to dispassionate historians. Until they become available, the history of the Ottoman Empire in the period encompassed by
35 H.J. Res. 192 (1915-1923) cannot be adequately known. We believe that the proper position for the United States Congress to take on this and related issues is to encourage full and open access to all historical archives and not to make charges on historical events before they are fully understood. Such charges as those contained H.J. Res. 192 would inevitably reflect unjustly upon the people of Turkey and perhaps set back irreparably progress historians are just now beginning to achieve in understanding these tragic events.

40 As the above comments illustrate, the history of the Ottoman-Armenians is much debated among scholars, many of whom do not agree with the historical assumptions embodied in the wording of H.J. Res. 192. By passing the resolution Congress will be attempting to determine by legislation which side of the historical question is correct. Such a resolution, based on historically questionable assumptions, can only damage the cause of honest historical inquiry, and damage the credibility of the American legislative process.