

GLOBAL FORUM YEREVAN • 22-23 APRIL 2015

AGAINST THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE



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AGAINST THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE



22-23 APRIL 2015

ARMENIA





EVENT BOOK

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TABLE of CONTENTS

- 9** Message from the organizers
- 10** Program of the Global Forum
- 14** Statement by H.E. Mr. **Serzh Sargsyan**
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA
- 22** **OPENING SESSION**
Remarks by moderator and panelists of the **High-level Segment**
- 38** Remarks by participants of the panel:
**"Evolution of the Tools of Prevention of Crimes
against Humanity in International Law"**
- 82** Remarks by participants of the panel:
**"The Issue of Accountability and Elimination of
the Consequences of Genocide"**
- 139, 232** Side Events of the Global Forum
- 146** Statement by H.E. Mr. **Hovik Abrahamyan**
PRIME MINISTER OF ARMENIA
- 152** Co-Chairs of the Global Forum:
Patrick Devedjian, Caroline Cox, Nikolai Ryzhkov
- 160** Statement by H.E. Mr. **Galust Sahakyan**
PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA
- 166** Remarks by parliamentary delegations | delegates at the plenary:
"Parliamentarians Against the Crime of Genocide"
- 238** **CLOSING SESSION**
Statement by H.E. Mr. **Edward Nalbandian**
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ARMENIA
- 244** **Yerevan Declaration**



the PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY 22 APRIL

08:30 — Departure to Global Forum venue

09:30 — OPENING OF THE FORUM

Statement by H.E. Mr. **Serzh Sargsyan**
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT:

Moderator: Luis Moreno-Ocampo
His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians,
Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary-General of the Council of Europe,
Daniel Feierstein, President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars

10:15 — BREAK

10:30 — **PANEL ONE:** "Evolution of the Tools of Prevention of Crimes Against Humanity in International Law"

Moderator: Geoffrey Robertson • Panelists: Frank Chalk, William A. Schabas, Israel W. Charney, Michael Bohlander, Donna-Lee Frieze, Donald Bloxham

13:30 — LUNCH

15:00 — **PANEL TWO:** "The Issue of Accountability and Elimination of the Consequences of Genocide"

Moderator: Frank Chalk • Panelists: Roger W. Smith, Henry Theriault, Patrick Dumberry, Cengiz Aktar, Yair Auron, Ragip Zarakolu, Esther Mujawayo-Keiner

18:30 — Departure to dinner venue

19:30 — Official dinner hosted by H.E. Mr. **Hovik Abrahamyan**,
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (to follow after reception)

SIDE EVENTS

08:30 — Exhibition "**Genocide**" by Nazik Armenakyan, Raphaël Dallaporta, Ziyah Gafic, Jan Grarup, Shannon Jensen, Alex Majoli, Simon Norfolk, Jacques Pugin

10:30 — "**Churches against the Crime of Genocide: Human Life - God's Gift**"

Ecumenical session under the auspices of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, presided by His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians.

15:00 — "**International Legal Issues on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide and Responsibility**" Symposium organized by Ministry of Diaspora and Faculty of Law at Yerevan State University



THURSDAY 23 APRIL

09:15 — Departure to Global Forum venue: SCC

10:00 — **PLENARY SESSION:** "Parliamentarians Against the Crime of Genocide"

CO-CHAIRS:

- **Patrick Devedjian** (France)
- **Nikolai Ryzhkov** (Russian Federation)
- **Caroline Cox** (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)

Statement by H.E. Mr. **Galust Sahakyan**
PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

remarks by parliamentary delegations and delegates

13:00 — **CLOSING SESSION**

Statement by H.E. Mr. **Edward Nalbandian**
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

Consideration of the outcome document draft
"**YEREVAN DECLARATION**"

13:30 — LUNCH

15:15 — Departure to hotels

SIDE EVENTS

10:00 — "**International Legal Issues on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide and Responsibility**" (continuation)

13:00 — "**Genocide in Literature**" book presentation organized by Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Armenia.

13:30 — "**Anatole France**" postage stamp cancellation ceremony dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide. Organized by "HayPost" CJSC, with the participation of the Armenian and French Parliamentary delegations.



WEDNESDAY

22 APRIL 2015

MAIN CONFERENCE HALL

SPORTS and CONCERTS CENTER

DAY **1**



Serzh Sargsyan

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

Distinguished guests,
Dear participants of the Global Forum,

I welcome you at the international public and political Global Forum against the Crime of Genocide. Thank you for accepting our invitation, and your most important contribution. The impressive and venerable list of this forum's participants gives us hope that the forum will become an important platform to comprehensively discuss, and further improve the mechanisms for the prevention of genocide that is the crime of all crimes. I strongly believe that the remarks delivered, and the views expressed here will trigger a broad international reaction that in its turn may produce an invaluable impact on the raising of global awareness on this key issue.

The international organizations' agendas, diplomatic efforts exerted by the small and large states alike, international media's headlines have recently been specifically addressing one of the tremendous challenges humanity faces. I speak of the Middle East, the modern civilization's cradle, where the surging extremism and intolerance resulted in violence and, at some places, even in genocidal acts against a number of minorities. This is yet another warning to the international community alerting that the threat of the crime of genocide, and other crimes against humanity, has not been eliminated, and requires consolidated and consistent efforts by the international organizations, states and civil society.

Dear participants,

This forum is one of the central events to mark the Armenian Genocide Centennial. As you are aware, commemoration events are being held in different countries of the world, supported by the four fundamental pillars. Those are remembrance, gratitude, prevention, and revival. These are also the messages that the Republic of Armenia, and Armenian Diaspora communities that emerged because of the Genocide in different countries wish to deliver to the international community and coming generations upon the Centennial. These four notions are also deeply symbolic for the commemoration of all other crimes of genocide committed throughout the human history.

One of the topics to be discussed during the forum refers to the role of the memory and truth in overcoming the consequences of genocide. That is, truly, the



most accurate way to pin it down since, as far as the crime of genocide is concerned, the remembrance and contemporary reality are unavoidably interlaced. Genocide is a crime of such a vast scale, with such a severe damage inflicted that even many decades later its impact is felt by the descendants of both the victims and perpetrators, as well as by the entire international community.

For us, Armenians, remembrance is a moral obligation and, at the same time, inalienable individual and collective right. It is our moral duty and right to commemorate the one and a half million of victims, inhumane sufferings endured by the hundreds of thousands, loss of the material and spiritual heritage accumulated by our people throughout millennia, extermination of the substantial part of the early 20th century Armenian intelligentsia, who mainly resided in Constantinople, that led to the mass slaughter. It is because of this cohesion of the right and duty that we have adopted the motto "I remember and demand" for the commemoration events.

It is impossible to disagree with the Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel, who notes that "to forget the dead would be akin to killing them a second time." Remembrance, meanwhile, is the best remedy for the descendants of those who perpetrated genocide to face their own history, and the best opportunity to restore the justice.

The crimes of genocide – Medz Yeghern, Shoah, those committed in Cambodia, Rwanda, Darfur and elsewhere, shall be commemorated by both the successors of the victims and perpetrators. The path to reconciliation is not paved by denial, but rather by the consciousness of memory.

Dear participants,

Perpetration of genocide is both an aftermath of the inner developments in a given state or society, and failure of the entire system of international relations. It has been demonstrated on numerous occasions that impunity is a prerequisite to the recurrence of the crime of genocide. The Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust were committed in the course of, respectively, the World War One

and Two. The international community proved unable to prevent them and other crimes of genocide. Remembrance is the only possible way to reveal nowadays the enormous losses that the global civilization has suffered as in the aftermath of the crime of genocide. It is impossible to describe by words the scope and level of the distortion of human values that resulted in the initiation of such a heinous crime.



In our recollections of the crime of genocide a specific significance has been reserved to the notion of gratitude in order to acknowledge the human virtue that saved thousands of living souls. There have been numerous narratives, such as the activities of Irena Sendler and Raoul Wallenberg during the Holocaust, Paul Rusesabagina during the Rwandan Genocide, Van Chhuon during the Cambodian Genocide; they all ensured the physical security of the

people they rescued, and inspired hope at the times of overwhelming domination of cruelty and hatred.

The Armenian people has not forgotten and is grateful to those Kurds and Turks, who covertly saved lives of their Armenian neighbors. We are indebted to the Arab people, who gave shelter to those, who had narrowly escaped the Turkish yataghan, as well as the Rus-

sians, Americans and Europeans, who took care of the Armenian orphans or partook in the humanitarian efforts.

Equally, our gratitude is well-earned by the public figures, clergymen, missionaries, diplomats, and those nations that demonstrated righteousness and civic courage since their actions had been guided by the noble ideas of humanism.

Dear participants,

Alongside with our consistent efforts toward the recognition, condemnation of the Genocide and elimination of its consequences, the prevention of the crime of genocide is yet another key mission on our foreign policy agenda. Needless to say, these efforts are interrelated since the recognition and condemnation of the past crimes of genocide play invaluable role in the prevention of the crimes against humanity. For that reason we attach utmost importance to the genocide prevention, and emphasize once again our firm resolution and political will in combating crimes incompatible with the human civilization.

Armenia's active engagement with the international community's efforts toward the prevention of the crime of genocide has been time and again demonstrated through the relevant UN resolutions adopted by consensus throughout years upon our initiative. The most recent one was adopted in March of this year by the United Nation's Human Rights Council. The resolution, inter alia, condemned the international public denial of crime of genocide and crimes against humanity since public denials created a risk of further violations and undermined efforts to prevent genocide.

Denial, in conjunction with the creation of genocidal environment and extermination itself, is a vertex of that very triangle. The denial of genocide is fraught with inciting a new xenophobic wave, and is often accompanied by intolerance and justification of the already committed crime of genocide. Howev-

er, under strong international pressure denial acquires a seemingly softer yet equally dangerous nature overshadowed or dissolved in the history revision campaigns.

Dear ladies and gentlemen,

It is unambiguous that considerable contribution has been made so far by the international law experts and historians toward the legal definition of the term "genocide," and development of the punishment mechanisms for this crime. Likewise unambiguous has been the contribution of the social and political circles, journalists, and parliamentarians, who without any hesitation very often took the lead in that respect. The aforesaid is absolutely applicable also to the case of the Armenian Genocide. In 1915-16 the world press was replete with horrendous articles describing the Armenian massacres. The New York Times covered the issue extensively publishing some 145 articles in 1915 alone with headlines like "Appeal to the Ottoman Empire to Stop Massacres." The newspaper characterized the crime perpetrated against the Armenian people as "systematic," "authorized," and "organized by the government."

On May 24, 1915 the Allied Powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia jointly issued a statement, describing the crime perpetrated against the Armenian people as a "crime against humanity and civilization", which was the first time ever that definition was aired on such a high level.



Subsequently, these notions were introduced into the fundamental language to define that crime – the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and other most important documents of the international law.

The recurrence of the crimes against humanity and genocide has also been caused by the lack of adequate consistency, unity and determination of the international community for the recognition, and condemnation of the committed crime of genocide, as well as for the elimination of the genocidal environment and denial. Parliaments and their members, as cornerstones of democratic values, have a significant role to play in that regard.

I deem it important that in the framework of this conference a special discussion will be held on the invaluable role of the legislators. Their messages, decisions and statements are significant both for the restoration of justice, and for the emancipation of the given societies, especially the coming generations from the clutches of the consequences of the evil of genocide.

I welcome and value the two documents adopted by the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia this year – the Statement Condemning the Genocide of the Greeks and Assyrians Perpetrated by the Ottoman Turkey, and the amendments introduced in the Law on Holidays and Memorial Days. In accordance to the latter December 9 is designated as the day for condem-

nation and prevention of the crime of genocide, which is highly symbolic, as the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide had been adopted on that very day.

Ladies and gentlemen,

In this context, revival is the last one amongst the most important messages of ours. A hundred years ago, the Armenian people survived through the darkest and brutal page of their history. The calamity that befell upon our ancestors was indeed unprecedented by its scale. Today, a hundred years thenceforth, the Armenian people commemorates its martyrs, and presents itself to the world with the independent state, emancipated Artsakh, and viable Diaspora that strives to preserve the Armenian identity and to develop Armenia proper. Now our overarching objective is to contribute anew to the development of universal civilization.

All those achievements have been based upon the revival of the Armenian people. Perhaps, it has been the demonstration of the most salient feature of our people – upholding the faith toward the universal human values, in spite of all the complications and calamities, and the ability to find the strength within to build and create anew. Yet in 1918 the Armenian statehood, lost centuries ago, had been restored. Later on, during the Soviet times the Armenian people created numerous spiritual and tangible values thus partaking in the enrichment of the world scientific and cultural repository. The revival of the Armenian people culminated in the

1991 national awakening with the accession of the newly independent Republic of Armenia to the international family of sovereign states.

The Armenian nation revived not only in the homeland, but also in Diaspora. The sons and daughters of Armenia, who had found refuge in many countries of the world because of the Armenian Genocide, successfully integrated in the societies that adopted them, and meanwhile preserved their Armenian identity, their sense of deep bond with the Armenian homeland.

Therefore, on the Armenian Genocide Centennial we declare confidently in broad daylight that the perpetrators of the Genocide failed to achieve what they planned. Moreover, our response to the attempt to annihilate the Armenian nation is the state building, our ongoing revival that is now no longer reversible.

Dear participants,

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that today's Forum, along with the discussions to be held, shall send the following powerful and pragmatic message to the international community: the crime of genocide has not in the least ceased to be a threat to the humanity, and the overcoming of its consequences, and prevention shall become a top priority. The lessons of the past simply oblige us to do so. The civilized humanity shall joint its efforts to eradicate eventually the evil of genocide, and its underlying circumstances.

It is a well-known truth that everything is interconnected in the universe. It is also true for the civilization since humanity establishes itself as a harmonious and complete continuum within the patchwork of its diverse races, nations, cultures, and religions. Genocide is a crime that is intended to tear a branch off from the tree of the global civilization. The loss of any branch may be fatal to the rest of that tree.

Hence, being determined to state "Never again" let us make our modest contribution towards the universal objective that unites us all – a more adequate accomplishment of the international community's mission to prevent the crime of genocide.

Once again, I thank you for being with us in Yerevan these days, and wish you a fruitful work.





HIGHLIGHTS

.....

moderator **Luis Moreno-Ocampo**
FIRST CHIEF PROSECUTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

blessing offered by **His Holiness Karekin II**
SUPREME PATRIARCH AND CATHOLICOS OF ALL ARMENIANS

statement by **Thorbjørn Jagland**
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

presentation by **Daniel Feierstein**
PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GENOCIDE SCHOLARS

.....

09:30 — MAIN CONFERENCE HALL

HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT

.....



Luis Moreno-Ocampo

FIRST CHIEF PROSECUTOR OF THE ICC, ARGENTINA



Luis Moreno-Ocampo was the first Chief Prosecutor (June 2003- June 2012) of the new and permanent International Criminal Court. His office was involved in twenty of the most serious crises of the 21st century including Iraq, Korea, Afghanistan, and Palestine. He conducted investigations in seven different countries, presenting charges against Muammar Gaddafi for crimes against humanity committed in Libya, the President of the Sudan Omar Al Bashir for genocide in Darfur, the former President of Ivory Coast Laurent Gbagbo, Joseph Kony and the former Vice President of the Democratic Republic of Congo Jean Pierre Bemba. Previously, Moreno-Ocampo played a crucial role during the transition to democracy in Argentina, as the deputy prosecutor in the "Junta trial" in 1985 and the Prosecutor in the trial against a military rebellion in 1991. He was a Visiting Professor at Stanford University and Harvard University. After the end of his tenure as ICC Prosecutor, Moreno Ocampo was the chairman of the World Bank Expert Panel on the Padma Bridge project, and a Distinguished visiting Fellow at New York University Law School (2013) and Senior Fellow at the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs at Yale University (2014) He is now in private practice at a New York law firm and is an Associate Fellow at Harvard University "Carr Center for Human rights". On June 18, 2013 France appointed him as Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur.

OPENING REMARKS

Welcome to the Global Forum "Against the Crime of Genocide".

I have the honor to introduce to you the High-Level Segment that includes the President of the Republic of Armenia, H.E. Serzh Sargsyan, His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholics of All Armenians, Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe and Daniel Feierstein, President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars.

I am very glad that Armenia took the lead in building a global community against the crime of genocide.

We will examine how to prevent genocide and how to address its consequences. Armenia invited a distinguished group of international scholars to discuss this topic today, and tomorrow parliamentarians from all over the world will review their own role in dealing with genocide.

We were just watching the pictures of the Armenian victims in the exhibition, and we have the luxury to have with us one of the photographers who prepared it, Jan Grarup. He will explain how controlling genocide is neither just about the law, nor only about political life, but it is also about the art of presenting genocide in a different way. He is using art to create empathy, helping us to connect with the victims and to overcome our emotional barriers. We do not like to confront with the massacres and prefer to deny its horrors.

For that reason, I am so thankful that Armenia took the lead, helping us to confront the horror, to face not only what happened 100 years ago, but also what is happening today. How we can stop genocide today, if we still cannot talk about the Armenian genocide 100 years later? That is the question for me.

Beyond any scepticism, we should realize that the world is evolving. It is a slow movement but we are progressing. When the Armenians were killed, there was no concept to define what happened to them, no international criminal law and no international criminal courts. Crimes against humanity were officially "born" later. For the first time in the history of humanity in 1945 with the Nuremberg Trials, those who committed massive crimes were held accountable before the international community. The international convention defining genocide as an international crime was adopted in 1948 after the Holocaust was committed. However, the world was not ready to transform Nuremberg into a lasting institution.

The Cold War produced massive crimes in Europe, Latin America, and Asia; Africa was still under the rule of colonialism and apartheid. The world denied the Khmer Rouge crimes, it would wait almost half a century after Nuremberg and would again witness two genocides before the Security Council decided to create the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in 1993 and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in 1994 thus connecting peace and international justice again and paving the way for the decision to establish a permanent International Criminal Court in 1998.

Besides all the progress, it is still difficult to discuss the topic, and even more to control and stop the crimes. Even though following a UN Security Council referral the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for genocide against the President of the Sudan Omar Al Bashir we are not stopping the crimes there. We do not know how to control crimes committed in Syria and Iraq. That is why this event is so relevant.



Q&A remarks

The mere existence of the International Criminal Court is showing us that the world is evolving, but it will be a long journey. As the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court my duty was to investigate the genocide committed in Darfur while was still being committed. I was not alone. The Court is created and supported by a global confederation of states, committed to prevent and punish genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity and to support the investigations and prosecutions of the International Criminal Court. Armenia should join the group and be there to lead this global coalition. What is the next challenge?

For me, the next challenge is to understand how to react collectively when genocide is happening. There is not yet an agreed protocol for international actors. That is the missing piece I suggest that we should focus on. Secretary General Thorbjørn Jagland proposed empathy. I agree with him. Citizens concerned from all over the world are a crucial factor to demand action. However, besides the limited mandate of the International Criminal Court and the UN Security Council there is no authority in charge of delivering a solution. The system relies on national states and Heads of state have an obligation towards their own constituencies. Whatever empathy Heads of state have, it is difficult for them to undertake huge efforts to protect foreigners living in other countries. National states remain the main providers of security and no one wants to interfere in other sovereign states' affairs. But how should

we react when national authorities are attacking the same people they have to protect? When you read about the Armenian genocide you see that, basically, the state decided to remove the Armenians and no one could oppose such a decision. What could the Armenians do? What can you do, when your national authorities force you to move, when your national authorities attack you? Who can protect you? That is the new problem to tackle.

The international community is evolving, now we have international laws, we even have a permanent independent International Criminal Court, but we still do not have a clear protocol on how to manage the problem. That is why we are not able to stop crimes committed in Darfur, Iraq or in Syria. So, we do not know exactly what to do. It is not just about military intervention. I believe the Libyan example is showing that the mobilization of military efforts was necessary to protect people there, but that it is not enough. There is a need to rebuild the country and that is a different effort.

The real new challenge is to understand how to create a clear international practice to transform empathy into policy, to transform the legal obligations into pragmatic operations. That is a missing piece, and I think that Armenia could lead on these efforts.

What I saw in my time as the Chief Prosecutor is that when the world was united, it was possible to control massive crimes. But genociders know how to manage the crises. They play with

businesses, they play with money, they play with power, they play with influence, and as soon as the international community is divided, there is no impact.

In this sense, the effort of the Armenian people to continue to fight for the universal recognition of what happened is a good test. If we cannot get political consensus on the genocide that happened 100 years ago, how can we find political consensus to deal with the genocide in Darfur, in Iraq or in Syria?

My proposal is very specific; I think we should work with Armenia, to see that it obtains the universal recognition of what happened. This is the aim.

I consider it is shocking that we are still discussing whether it was genocide or not, that is incredible.



So I would suggest, that this event is just the beginning of a common effort to support Armenia to reach consensus on what happened 100 years ago, to reach consensus on what is happening today in Syria, Iraq or Darfur, but in particular, to find solutions, to transform our legal obligations, our moral obligations into political action. That is the next challenge and that is the issue that we will be discussing not just today, but in the coming days.

I would like to thank all the members of the High-Level Segment for their participation.



His Holiness Karekin II

SUPREME PATRIARCH AND CATHOLICOS OF ALL ARMENIANS



Your Excellency, the President of the Republic of Armenia,

Dear Spiritual Brothers,
Honored Participants and Guests of the Conference,

We greet you on the occasion of this conference organized as part of the events surrounding the 100th Anniversary of the Genocide of the Armenians, and extend blessings from the spiritual center of all Armenians – the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin.

The darkest and most tragic page of our people's recent history is the Armenian Genocide – planned and implemented at the beginning of the 20th century in Ottoman Turkey – when approximately one and a half million Armenians were lost. Today, 100 years later, that crime is at the center of attention of the international community. The recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide by an increasing number of countries – as the gravest offense committed against mankind – inspires us with confidence that it will receive universal recognition and fair evaluation.

It is rare when a state that has coordinated genocide, recognizes and accepts responsibility for the crime. In this regard, Germany can be an example to the present authorities in Turkey and other states that have committed genocide.

The denial of genocide is not only the trampling of the rights, dignity and justice of the people who have been subjected to genocide, but is also destructive to the foundations of international rights and universal morality, and causes great damage to the relationships among nations and peoples and their peaceful coexistence.

The disregard on the part of the international community at the time for the crime of genocide, and allowing it to remain unpunished and not condemned – as well as the denialism – caused the chain of genocides and calamities to continue. The same evil-born thinking that planned and implemented the frightful, savage massacres of the Armenians, gave birth to the Holocaust, and the genocides in Rwanda and Darfur.

Humanity is paying too great a price for the denial of the crime of genocide and allowing it to remain unpunished. The tolerance of denialism makes man indifferent to the suffering of his fellow man, and silences the voice of moral respon-

sibility in the life of society, depriving it from the task of preventing the repetition of similar horrors.

Humanity has a moral responsibility to struggle against the crime of genocide. Morality, which should be the strong foundation pillar of societal life and the policies of governments, unfortunately today is often sacrificed for global-political interests. The results of these defective positions and attitudes are disastrous for many nations. For us Armenians, it represented the lives of one and a half million souls, our lost homeland, and our cultural heritage – partly destroyed and partly under constant threat of destruction.

Today, humanity witnesses new tragedies in all corners of the world. Thousands of people are becoming victims of national-religious intolerance and extremism, especially in the countries of the Middle East, as well as most recently in Libya – the faithful of the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches. Atrocities that claim innocent lives, regardless of the method and manner, are crimes against mankind and should be condemned in the strongest way. The struggle against them, as the challenge of this century, is the duty of every nation, state, international community and organization.

The apostle teaches us that if a member of the body is suffering, the other members suffer together with it. (*Ref. 1 Corinthians 12:26*) Indeed, during the past 100 years, many countries, nations, Churches, religious and international organizations and individuals

have shared in the pain of the Armenian people, and through their position, have contributed to the triumph of justice.

We once again express our gratitude to all those individuals, nations, Churches and states, who provided refuge and aided the exiled sons and daughters of our people in rebuilding their national and spiritual life; as well as those who have recognized and condemned the Genocide of the Armenians. We convey our thanks to the participants of this conference, the heads of our sister Churches, the representatives of ecclesiastical and religious organizations, state officials of friendly countries, scholars in science and culture, and all those who stand with our people and bring their significant contributions to the condemnation of the Armenian Genocide and all crimes committed against mankind.



We pray to our Omnipotent God to keep the entire world in peace and prosperity; and that no people ever again experience the tragedy of genocide. May the Lord bless the paths of fraternity and justice among men and nations.

Amen.



Thorbjørn Jagland

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE



Mr. President, Your Excellency, distinguished guests

Years ago, as Norway's Foreign Minister I attended a dinner hosted by Yasser Arafat, in Ramallah, Palestine.

I was very fortunate that night: I sat next to the head of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Jerusalem. We chatted and, when I said I'm Norwegian, he said: 'There's something I want you to see.' And from his robe he produced an original Nansen Passport. Nansen Passports were documents issued to refugees by the League of Nations because they couldn't get travel papers from national authorities. Fridtjof Nansen – my compatriot – had seen that refugees were effectively imprisoned: Unable to move freely and seek asylum. His passport set them free. Nansen was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for this initiative and his work as High Commissioner for refugees in the League of Nations.

First it was given to Russians, after their civil war. Then it was extended to Armenian, Assyrian and Turkish refugees in 1933.

And to see one in the hands of this great man, this great spiritual leader, who had touched thousands of lives, once a boy in a camp, was to see how stupid we are when we give up on refugees and other victims of war. There is potential in every man, woman and child. 100 years ago too many Armenians were denied the chance to realize that potential when they were brutally murdered. Hundreds of thousands more were condemned to poverty. And this was not just Armenia's loss, it was the world's loss. Those people, their achievements, their ideas, their discoveries, the joys they would have brought to those around them...

All of that was stolen, destroyed – and we can never get it back. But we can – we must – try to stop it from happening again. The Nansen Passport marked the beginning of the debate over humanitarian intervention. When should the international community get involved? How? Where does state sovereignty stop and international responsibility begin? These questions are as vital now as they were then.

The international community is still too slow. Politics still gets in the way of compassion. The UN Charter still gives responsibility for the world's security to just a handful of states, the Security Council as if it were still 1945. Well, it isn't.

It's 2015 and all states have a responsibility to protect innocent people from grave human rights abuses. The Responsibility to Protect – so called R2P – was adopted unanimously ten years ago at the UN. It was followed by the devastating failures of the international community in Rwanda and Srebrenica. Under this doctrine, states have the first duty to prevent acts like ethnic cleansing and the international community should support them. But, when they can't or won't, we must step in.

We don't question who is suffering, or why, we just give people the help they need on the basis of our shared humanity. The decade of Responsibility to Protect has been mixed. It has been applied well: Look at Kenya, for example, where in 2007 swift diplomatic action limited the spread of ethnic violence. It has been applied less well: Look at Libya, now gripped by instability because the 2011 military intervention was not accompanied by an effective political track. And sometimes it hasn't been applied at all: Look no further than Syria for that: 200,000 dead, 11 million displaced. A humanitarian catastrophe which should not be possible in the 21st Century.

We see the same indifference towards the hundreds now drowning in the Mediterranean: The boats full of migrants risking everything because they feel they have no choice. Whether it is

in Syrian towns or European waters: These are human beings who need our help. So I want to take the opportunity of this Global Forum to repeat a simple message: We all have a responsibility to protect.

By putting a spotlight on these issues, Armenia is doing all of us a great service. You are forcing us to confront the difficult questions and think about how we act.

Please do not stop. The Council of Europe values you immensely as one of our 47 members: An independent Armenia, committed to democracy, human rights and the rule of law. And I'd like to mention, particularly, the focus you put on xenophobia and rac-



ism, when you held the Chairmanship of our Committee of Ministers for the first time, in 2013. That decision was extremely prescient and has paved the way for much of the work we are doing on extremism and radicalization today. We will continue to help you build

nect the Armenian and Turkish societies. If there is a chance of returning to the 2009 Protocols, establishing diplomatic relations with Turkey, I urge both sides to seize it. The Council of Europe stands ready to support this dialogue in any way we can: You both sit at our ta-



strong institutions and practices which embody European values. The Armenian people want the same things all people want.

I hear the same things everywhere I go: The chance to work; to raise their children well; To live in free societies; And to connect with others;

And so I also hope that you will soon find reconciliation with your neighbors. In today's Europe, the strongest and most prosperous societies are the open societies. Politically open, economically open, and open to their neighbors too. I want to pay tribute to the many civil society, cultural and academic initiatives, now aiming to recon-

ble. And a hundred years of conflict will not, I hope, erase thousands of years of peace. So let us finish on the future. Armenia's is a hopeful one. This nation has a rare resilience.

You have turned your sorrow into strength and this week the whole world can see it. Today we recommit to end killing and violence against innocents. These acts do not fall from the heavens. There is always a choice and all nations have a duty to stop them.

In the words of Fridtjof Nansen: 'War will cease – when men refuse to fight'.



Prof. Daniel Feierstein

PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GENOCIDE SCHOLARS (2013-2015), UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

Daniel Feierstein holds a Ph.D. in Social Sciences by the University of Buenos Aires. He is the Director of the Centre of Genocide Studies at the National University of Tres de Febrero in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Feierstein's books and articles have been critical in the qualification of the crimes committed in Argentina as genocide, established by 9 different tribunals from 2006 on. Daniel Feierstein served as President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars from 2013 to 2015. Among his most recent books, it is worth to mention "Genocide as a Social Practice. Reorganizing Society under the Nazis and Argentina's Military Juntas (Rutgers University Press, 2014)" and "Memorias y Representaciones. Sobre la elaboración del genocidio" (FCE, 2012).

PRESENTATION OF THE CONCEPT OF GENOCIDE AND THE PARTIAL DESTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL GROUP

The term genocide was coined by the Polish jurist Raphael Lemkin, who wrote "By genocide we mean the destruction of a nation or ethnic group". Lemkin went on to argue that "Genocide has two phases: one, the destruction of the national identity of the oppressed group, the other, the imposition of the national identity of the oppressor."¹

The distinctive feature of genocide, according to Lemkin, is that it aims to destroy a group rather than the individuals that make up the group. The ultimate purpose of genocide is to destroy the group's identity and impose the identity of the oppressor on the survivors.

This idea gives us a useful insight into the workings of power systems in the modern era and one of the most important cases in the 20th century: the annihilation produced by the Ittihadists against the Armenian, Greek and Assyrian populations in the former Ottoman Empire. In the different historical cases, modern nation states have tended to destroy the identities of ethnic and religious minorities, and also some political identities, within its boundaries and impose a new identity on them: the national identity of the oppressor.

Although this meaning of genocide is present in the two earlier drafts (the Secretariat Draft and the Ad Hoc Committee Draft) of the Genocide Convention written in May 1947 and April 1948, it was carefully edited out of the final text, which was approved only after two years of intense disagreements among the State Representatives and after a first vote in which the political groups had been included. By excluding political groups, delegates were able to pretend that genocide was an irrational and therefore "non-political" form of racism or religious bigotry far removed from the rational logic of state oppression.

¹ Raphael Lemkin, Axis Rule in Occupied Europe, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, 1944, p.79

However, the concept of "partial destruction of a national group" is still contained in the 1948 Convention and all subsequent legal definitions of genocide, and summarizes the essence of genocidal practices as Lemkin understood them. The oppressed group might live under colonial rule, as was common in Lemkin's time, or form part of a nation-state, as tended to be the case in the second half of the twentieth century, when the National Security Doctrine of the Cold War period brought a resurgence of military regimes around the globe (from Indonesia to Latin America) and turned national armies into armies of occupation within their own borders, replacing the colonial armies of the past.



Assumptions about the relationship between victims and perpetrators lie at the heart of different conceptions of genocide. Those who argue that "par-

tial destruction of the national group" does not apply when victims and perpetrators belong to the same group, tend to see genocide as resulting from a confrontation between two or more groups, fuelled by "ancestral hatred" or "irrational discrimination." Supporters of this view tend to focus on genocides currently occurring in Africa, where rival groups are assumed to have reverted to tribal savagery and ancestral hatred in its most ethnocentric form. This explains the emphasis of the media and quite a few academics on conflicts in Africa or into the Arabic world, as a way of "Orientalism" or "Africanism" which distort those realities. However, more careful analysis shows that all of these conflicts are far from being mere "tribal confrontations."

The conflict in the former Yugoslavia also tended to be seen as a tribal clash. Thus, a modern conflict was explained in terms of 14th century struggles between Christians and Muslims, which is exactly how today's nationalists in the Balkans – whether they be Serbs, Croats or Bosnians – want to portray the conflict. Unfortunately, it has also become the common sense view not just of the media but of some scholars.

In contrast, those who argue that the "partial destruction of the national group" constitutes genocide even if the perpetrators are members of the same group, tend to see genocide mainly as a power strategy. This juridical interpretation of Lemkin's ideas was pioneered by Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzon in his indictment of Scilingo and other Argentine military officials in 1997 and

has been adopted by several courts in Argentina from 2006 on, as it is being analysed in other Courts in Bangladesh, Colombia, Cambodia and other countries. In this view, the ultimate purpose of genocide is not the destruction of a group as such but the transformation of society as a whole. This was the aim of Ittihadist Turks in the former Ottoman Empire, the Nazis in Germany and Axis-occupied Europe as well as being that of the perpetrators in former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Indonesia, Cambodia and Latin America, to mention just a few cases in which terror has been used as an instrument of social transformation.

To sum up, even though the Genocide Convention makes no claims about the underlying causes of genocide, the way in which the "national group" is interpreted has profound consequences for our understanding of genocidal processes and also about the impact of remembrance in post-genocidal societies.

EFFECTS ON SOCIAL MEMORY PROCESSES

As paradigmatic case of genocide, the annihilation of the Ittihadism trying to create a modern State in Turkey provides a good example of how different interpretations can promote ownership of experience or, conversely, alienation. If we analyse that genocide only in terms of the Armenian communities annihilated by the Turks in the former Ottoman Empire, other Christian groups (like Greeks or Assyrians, or even non-Christian like Kurds or oppositionists Turks) seem to have remained largely unaffected. On the other hand, once stripped of their previous identities and links with their life in the Ottoman Empire, Armenians could only be seen through the eyes of the perpetrator's ideology, as being "outside" of the nation in which they lived for centuries.

On the contrary, if we see the Ittihadist genocide as an intent of partial destruction of the whole multicultural society living in the former Ottoman Empire, we could confront the goals of the perpetrators, which proposed the need for homogenization as a condition for a modern State. The aim of the Ittihadism was not only to exterminate certain national and ethnic groups but to transform Ottoman society through the absence of such groups, a transformation that was also political and, in the event, proved to be successful.

We could develop the same analysis in the case of the Nazi Genocide, regarding the transformation of the whole European society through the absence of Jews, Roma, political dissidents, handicapped people, homosexuals or Jehova's witnesses, among other groups. The European-ness and German-ness was clearly affected through this process. European identity was never the same without millions of Jews, Slavs and Roma annihilated.

The key feature, then, of this more recent interpretation of "partial destruction of the national group" is that it focuses our attention on the wider purpose of genocide and the way it affects the whole population of a particular territory. It invites societies to reflect on how destruction has shaped their own social practices and identities, avoiding the alienation inherent in treating genocide as the suffering of others.

Understanding genocide as the partial destruction of one's own group also widens the sphere of complicity in the planning and execution of murder. We are forced to ask who has benefited from the disappearance of certain groups and - more importantly - from the social transformation generated by the processes of annihilation and terror. The business and political sectors behind many genocides have often remained invisible and unpunished, since responsibility is usually attached only to the direct perpetrators, whether military or police, but not to their paymasters.

IN CONCLUSION

The Genocide Convention allows for an interpretation of genocide based on Lemkin's notion of partial destruction by the perpetrators of their own national group. This explanation makes the Convention applicable to a potentially large number of politically motivated annihilations, including nearly all modern genocides.

This is true even when a group appears at first sight to have been targeted for religious or ethnic reasons. At the same time, Lemkin's interpretation is much more enriching for social memory processes, restoring ownership of the past to the victims rather than letting it be appropriated by the perpetrators.

We have seen that the concept of genocide is restricted to attempts to destroy a particular group, even when this also involves the mass annihilation of civilian populations, as in crimes against humanity. Although the current legal definition of genocide needs to be changed to include political and other groups, the fact that any group annihilation also constitutes a "partial destruction of a national group" may serve in the meantime as a technical solution to the problem of excluded groups, making the application of the Genocide Convention more effective and less arbitrary, as it was done in some of the current trials in Argentina, from 2006 on. And, moreover, it could make visible in many historical processes, how the annihilation of some groups modified the whole social fabric through terror, one of the forgotten consequences of genocide as social practice.

DARFUR

The "Darfur Genocide" refers to the current mass slaughter and rape of Darfuri men, women and children in Western Sudan. The killings began in 2003, over 400 villages were completely destroyed and millions of civilians were forced to flee their homes.



BY JAN GRARUP

The image from Darfur Genocide provides incontrovertible evidence of unthinkable human brutality, in the hope that such events will never happen or be allowed to happen again.



PANEL

Evolution of the Tools of Prevention of
Crimes against Humanity in International Law



HIGHLIGHTS

Moderator **Geoffrey Robertson**
 Prof. **Frank Chalk**
 Prof. **William A. Schabas**
 Prof. **Israel W. Charny**
 Prof. **Michael Bohlander**
 Dr. **Donna Lee-Frieze**
 Prof. **Donald Bloxham**



Evolution of the Tools of Prevention of Crimes against Humanity in International law

CONCEPT PAPER

OBJECTIVE:

During this panel the historical evolution of the concept of "crime against humanity", and its possible future development were discussed. In international relations the first reference to "crime against humanity" appeared in the joint statement of Russia, France and the Great Britain on 24 May 1915 with respect to the annihilation of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire.

As a result of further evolution of international law, particularly in the aftermath of the Holocaust, a new definition of the crime of genocide was put forward. This led to the ramification of the concept of crimes against humanity, the codification of the existing customary law, and along with other international crimes, the development of individual accountability mechanisms.

However, international framework of preventing mass atrocities failed on a number of occasions, and the international community is still looking for ways to improve the mechanisms for the prevention of genocide and crimes against humanity in general. Special attention is paid to the comparative studies of mass atrocities in different space and time. The examination and detection of similarities of the genocidal environments, behaviour of the criminals and the aftermath of the crime are of key importance for the prevention of new crimes.

DISCUSSION:

What has been the role of the protection of the rights of religious and ethnic groups in developing international system of human rights protection since the beginning of the 20th century?

What role did the prevention of crimes against humanity play for the development of international human rights protection system?

What has been the added value of the definition of the genocide over other crimes against humanity?

What is the added value of comparative studies of various genocides?

What are the implications of the genocide denial on the international security and human rights system?

What are the normative and institutional gaps in the prevention of genocide?



Geoffrey Robertson QC

FORMER UN APPEALS JUDGE, FOUNDER OF DOUGHTY STREET CHAMBERS, UK

Geoffrey Robertson QC is founder and joint head of Doughty Street Chambers. He has had a distinguished career as a trial and appellate counsel, an international judge, and author of leading textbooks. He has argued many landmark cases in media, constitutional and criminal law, in the European Court of Justice; the European Court of Human Rights; the Supreme Court (House of Lords and Privy Council); the UN War Crimes courts; the World Bank's International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) and in the highest courts of many commonwealth countries. Geoffrey has, as a jury advocate, appeared in many criminal trials at the Old Bailey and libel trials in the High Court. He has appeared in several hundred reported cases in the Court of Appeal (both civil and criminal divisions) and in judicial reviews in the High Court, and in subsequent appeals. He has a large advisory practice, for clients including governments, media corporations, NGO's and local councils.

OPENING REMARKS

Adolf Hitler urged his generals to show no mercy to the Polish people - women, children, Jews in particular - in the country they were about to invade. His message to them was that however severely they behaved, whatever cruelty they showed to the Polish people, they would have impunity. He said to them, "After all, who, now, remembers the annihilation of the Armenians?"

This week, ladies and gentlemen, the world remembers the annihilation of the Armenians and they call it by the name that Rafael Lemkin fixed for it. The name that today we put as a label on mass murder for racial or religious reasons - is genocide. If those 1915 events had happened today there would be no doubt at all, no reasonable doubt that what was happening was genocide, the destruction of over half of a people, accomplished by killing able-bodied men and sending women, children and old men hundreds of miles through the desert without medicine, without food and knowing that most of them would die or end up in the concentration camps in places we only know of because they are now occupied by ISIS.

The evidence is overwhelming. It is there in the laws commanding the deportation, it is there in the laws relating to abandoned property - property that was seized, churches turned into mosques - there in the decisions of liquidation commissions - liquidating, seizing, expropriating Armenian property, because the Ottoman Turks knew that the Armenians were not coming back. This is the clearest evidence of all. There is much evidence of genocidal intent - all the admissions of Talaat Pasha (the Ottoman Hitler) to Morgenthau and to German ambassadors whose dispatches to Berlin report on the racial annihilation planned by their ally.

When Talaat Pasha says, "We are eliminating the Armenian problem by eliminating the Armenians", what better evidence can there be of genocidal intent?

Today the world, apart from a few academics, all of them in the pay of Turkey, accepts the Armenian genocide as an historical fact.

Today in Yerevan, we shall examine some of the consequences of labeling that genocide. We will talk about how those who died in those terrible events can be remembered, how their fate can assist in identifying and stopping genocides in the future.



This week we have what's being called the diversionary event at Gallipoli, which the Turkish Government is organizing and some Heads of states are attending. They are mourning the deaths of the British, Australian and New Zealand troops in the futile action in the Dardanelles that triggered the Ar-

menian Genocide. It is not an unworthy event and I am personally connected with it because two of my great uncles were huddled in the British boats awaiting the call on the night of 24th of April, 1915, to invade at Gallipoli. And, of course, they were killed within a few days by Turkish gunmen. They are commemorated this week in Gallipoli. But you see the difference between my relatives who were killed at Gallipoli and all the relatives of many people in the hall today, who were killed in the Ottoman Empire by the Turks, is a fundamental difference. At Gallipoli we remember mournfully the death of so many people on both sides. My relatives volunteered to fight, and were lawfully killed by Turks defending their country. But those Armenians who fell, who were murdered by the Ottoman Turks in 1915, have a different claim, an entirely different claim on our memory, because they were killed as part of an international crime. An international crime which has never been requited.

The promises that the allies made in the Treaty of Sevres were never delivered. In 1915, Britain, France and Russia knew what was happening. In June they declared it a crime against humanity. The British draft initially called it a crime against Christianity, but the Russians pointed out that not everyone was Christian, so they changed it to "a crime against humanity and civilization".

Promises were made to prosecute, but they came to nothing. The British at least took 68 of the perpetrators to Malta, but then found there was no in-

ternational law under which you could prosecute people for killing their own citizens, if that was ordered by the state. This was why Rafael Lemkin urged a convention against genocide. It came into force in 1948, punishing the killing of part of a race, or inflicting on it conditions that were unlivable – the very conditions that those who were forced on the death marches to Aleppo and beyond had suffered in 1915.

The other day Pope Francis spoke of the Armenian Genocide as the 20th century's first genocide. The Pope, I have to say, is not infallible. The first genocide of the 20th century was the mass murder of the Herero people in Namibia in 1905. Interestingly, it was devised by the Germans, including Hermann Göring's grandfather – some were the very Germans who came in 1915 to advise the Turks to eliminate Armenians, and the very Germans who went on to advise Hitler over the fate of the Jews.

There is a remarkable surge of genocide scholarship to coincide with the Armenian commemoration. It is extraordinary how many books, how many articles, how many films have come out in the last few months, all verifying the fact that this was a genocide. There has been nothing of any significance, even from those paid scholars on the Turkish side, Turkish denialism claims that the Turks were entitled to kill million Armenians, because they were 5th columnists, and they might have allied with Russia. But, ladies and gentlemen, there is no situation in which international law permits the killing of civilians,

or the death marches of women and children. If in a war you have people suspected of disloyalty, you can prosecute them for treason, or you can intern them, but what you must not do is what the Ottoman Turks did in 1915, taking the able-bodied men off to be killed by the firing squads, and sending the rest on those death marches.

Genocide, because it is the worst crime against humanity, calls for special study and for special precautions against its recurrence. There are lessons to be learnt from the way that a seemingly progressive Young Turk Government decided to solidify its support behind the banner of racial superiority. They changed Christian names of streets and towns to Muslim names; they raised the banner of racial superiority in the "Turkification" campaign; their intellectual theorists demonized and dehumanized Armenians. First they came for the Greeks, and the Greeks at least had a country to go to. Then they came for the Armenians and killed most of them, then for the Assyrians and killed a third of them before the end of the war. Genocide scholarship serves a valuable purpose of identifying patterns that recur in the build up to behavior in which formerly happy neighbors can be incited to hack each other to death and to renounce the very idea of neighborhood as living space which human beings of different creeds or colours can amicably occupy.

Within living memory, murderous race hatred has been inflicted on the Hindus, Bengalis in Bangladesh, on the Tutsis in Rwanda, on the Muslims of

Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Tamils of Sri-Lanka, Chechens in Russia, the Mayans in Guatemala, the Chinese in Indonesia, the Darfurians in Sudan and on other victim groups, and currently on Coptic Christians and Yazidis by ISIS. It is a long list and it will lengthen unless the world now remembers the Armenians and rejects the idiotic claim that their killing was no more than a cruel necessity. Genocide deniers and genocide equivocators who wish to avoid upsetting Turkey say it was a tragedy, "oh dear, it was such a tragedy!" No, Ladies and Gentlemen, it was not a tragedy - it was a crime, an international crime that we now call by its modern name of Genocide.

Perhaps, the best way of commemorating the dead is to build on their sacrifice, to build on their memory, to make the dead mean something a century later. Turkish denialism is the last stage of genocide, and even that helps us to understand this hideous, perverted form of nationalism, this result of inflaming racial and religious hatred. Their deaths have already meant something, thanks to Rafael Lemkin.

Q&A remarks

A crime against humanity is a broad concept, containing a number of crimes, the worst of which is genocide. But there are others, e.g. politicide - the Stalinist killings of the kulaks, i.e. killing people for their political views. There is also the crime of persecution, there is torture, there is ethnic cleansing and so on. Many of these crimes were obviously committed by the Ottoman Turks in 1915 as well as genocide.

But that analysis has tended to make prosecutors in international courts prefer to charge crimes against humanity, rather than the worst crime against humanity - i.e. genocide - because they think it is easier to prove. One startling fact of Turkish denialism of genocide in 1915, is that there was assuredly a crime against humanity in 1915, as well as persecution, ethnic cleansing, etc. But the denialists deny that as well. And that is the deceitful, dishonest and actually destructive position of Turkish denialism - it refuses to accept that the wiping out of over half the Armenian race was any crime at all.

We applauded this morning the message from the Council of Europe, "when you see an atrocity you must take an action". Oh, yes, we have seen the atrocities of ISIS, executing Christians, we have seen it from their own videos, and NATO dares not to put boots on the ground, despite the Genocide Convention.

If I were prosecuting the Ottoman Turks for the genocide today, I would start with the genocidal intent displayed on November 14, 1914. That was when they put up their tame Imam, Sheikh Al-Islam, he was the CUP's (Committee of Union and Progress) appointee as spiritual leader of Sunni Muslims, to declare jihad, holy war against infidels. He urged the Muslim population of Turkey to kill all Christians, but they then suddenly realized that their chief ally, Germany, was Christian, and they had to revise his fatwa excepting the Germans. That, of course, counts as genocidal intent to kill Christians, except Germans!



Having recently appeared with Mrs. Amal Clooney in the Perincek case, what we argued was that yes, we believe in the freedom of speech, the Americans believe in this to such an extent that they would not penalize utterances unless they amount to shouting "fire" in a crowded theatre. The European states who have experienced either being overthrown by fascists or states that have been fascist and have seen what the Holocaust meant, have got quite strong genocide denial laws that will imprison people for expressing doubts about the gas chambers. We suggested to the European Court a sensible approach for European law, which would only penalize speech when it did harm. So we suggested to the Court that the way to approach

characters like Perincek, who simply goes round Europe denying the genocide, is to consider whether his speech is likely to cause public disorder and whether it is intended to do that.

And we suggested to the Court that the limit of free speech was the intention of the speaker, if it was intended to provoke racial hatred - it is at that point that states are entitled to punish it. And we were particularly concerned about the 80 thousand or so Armenians who are in Turkey and who are in danger under section 301 of the Turkish Criminal Code, which punishes insult to "Turkishness", and it was that Code under which Hrant Dink and other courageous Turkish Armenians were prosecuted.

So, we wanted to find, to suggest to the Court, a cut-off point where people should be free in Turkey to declare there was a genocide and to denounce the Ottoman Turks for committing it. We wanted to abolish section 301 of the Turkish Code, while at the same time protecting Armenians, Jews and all other races from speech which is intended to whip up racial hatred against them.

I would hope that those who can trace the properties that were expropriated by the liquidation commissions can bring action in the European Court as the Cypriots have done successfully over Northern Cyprus, I would hope that the Catholics' rather belated claim for all the churches that were turned into mosques, and the property expropriated, can be brought before a court.

I do believe that legal action can be taken. Although the Genocide Convention itself is not retrospective, the expropriation of property was something that is clear, is evident, e.g. the expropriation of churches. Action in the European Court if lawyers are afraid to bring it, because of the section 301; then in that case you can jump directly to the Court in Strasbourg. There have been attempts, quite innovative attempts, by lawyers in California to bring action over the insurance policies and they had some success, until the US Government claimed that the issue could not be dealt with by the Courts because it was a matter of foreign policy.

But, I do think that creative lawyers can explore a number of ways in which

property can be returned or compensation can be given, even after a century.

Let me end this session by reading the words of the Armenian writer William Saroyan, because, I think, it sums up the defiant yet constructive spirit which marks this day.

"I should like to see any power of the world destroy this race, this small tribe of unimportant people, whose wars have all been fought and lost, whose structures have crumbled, literature is unread, music is unheard, and prayers are no more answered. Go ahead, destroy Armenia. See if you can do it. Send them into the desert without food or water. Burn their homes and churches. Then see if they will not laugh, sing and pray again. For when two of them meet anywhere in the world, see if they will not create a New Armenia."



Prof. Frank Chalk

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Professor Frank Chalk (Ph.D., History, University of Wisconsin) is the co-author, with Prof. Kurt Jonassohn, of *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies* (Yale University Press, 1990). *Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Leadership to Prevent Mass Atrocities*, co-authored with Roméo Dallaire, Kyle Matthews and others, was published by McGill-Queen's University Press in August 2010. Professor Chalk served as President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (June 1999-June 2001), and is a past president of the Canadian Association of African Studies. He is the Director of the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies at Concordia University, where he teaches undergraduate and graduate courses on the history and sociology of genocide, the Holocaust, and the history of United States foreign relations. In November 2012, on the nomination of Senator Roméo Dallaire, the Governor General of Canada awarded Prof. Chalk the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal in recognition of his work on genocide. In February 2013, Dr. Chalk was appointed a Fellow of the Loyola College for Diversity and Sustainability at Concordia.

LEARNING AS WE GO: FILLING THE GAPS IN GENOCIDE PREVENTION TODAY

I do not know if anyone of you has ever had 60 gallons of water burst out of a hot water tank in your basement, but I did, many years ago, and this prompted the insurance company to send an expert to our house to estimate the damage to a carpet. When he came into my basement study, he saw a book about genocide on my desk. "Oh", he said, "I have written a book on genocide". I looked at him—it was first time I had ever met him and I did not recognize his name. "Really?", I asked. "Yes, actually I was in a genocide". "And what is your book called?", I asked. "The Urchin," he said, and I then learned that the expert on carpets who was standing before me was none other than Kerop Bedoukian, a child survivor of the Armenian Genocide of 1915 and the founder of the Ararat Rug Company of Montreal.

Kerop Bedoukian brought thousands of Armenian men to Montreal, providing them with work for their first six months in Canada, but urging them after they had settled themselves to find another job quickly to enable him to sponsor still more Armenian immigrants. Over the next few years, he came to my classes at Concordia on the history and sociology of genocide every fall to speak to our students. I will never forget what he always said before he described how his mother helped him to survive the trek across the desert and how he emerged from an orphanage to reach Canada: "Look," he would say, "if at the end of this lecture you hate the Turkish people, you have not understood me because I would not be alive today had I not been helped by kind hearted Turkish people." Kerop Bedoukian believed that a time would come when Armenians and Turks would come to terms with the past and reconcile. And I know that is something that all of us here still hope to see.

My talk is on the importance of learning as we go to fill the major gaps in genocide prevention today. Some of you know a valuable book by the Yale political economist James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. One of the major arguments in James Scott's book is that many states exhibit a tendency to treat their land and their people the same way gardeners tend their gardens. Like gardeners, they often work to straighten their "rows of plants" and to "eliminate weeds," "prune trees" and annihilate local differences. When they pursue policies of extreme nationalism and racism, some governments pursue genocidal policies designed to homogenize their populations in the name of racial, national, ethnic or religious purity.

To combat and halt such tendencies, those of us who live under democratic governments often propose moral counter arguments focused on urging our leaders to intervene in other countries to prevent mass crimes against humanity. Attractive as such arguments are to everybody in this hall, we will never seriously reduce the incidence of genocide if we limit ourselves to arguments based solely on morality and ethics. We must learn to think and see the world the way leaders of states do and to speak their language while we try to influence them to prevent genocide. While morality drives our personal determination to save civilian lives, moral arguments alone will not influence the politicians who head our national governments to do the right thing. For scholars and activists, the

real challenge is to find effective and evidence based ways to appeal to the utilitarian, pragmatic and instrumental thinking of democratic political leaders without abandoning our humanitarian principles. Doing that requires constant attention to the tension between the pursuit of interests versus the pursuit of values.



Let me be very clear about our choices: we can stick to the high ground and appeal largely to moral values and sentiment. In our splendid isolation from the real world of politics, we would be making the same mistake made by Canadians and Americans whenever attitude pollsters ask them to estimate "What percentage of Canadians and Americans donate blood every year to the Red Cross?" Most respondents answer "25 percent" because they assume that Canadians and Americans are very altruistic, but the real number is about 2.5 percent. We must always remember that we are addressing national leaders who understand that most of their constituents do not awaken every morning yearning to donate blood to the Red Cross without being paid for it.

Thinking about and seeing the world through the eyes of the elected leaders of a democratic state will help. This means demonstrating to politicians that in the real world national governments and ambitious leaders often derive concrete political benefits from preventing genocide and other crimes against humanity. Concomitantly, it means reminding them that they risk their careers if they ignore mass violence in other countries. And, finally, in cases where there is a good chance of successfully protecting civilians and resolving differences, it means showing them that a) governments which credibly possess the capacity and the will to use military force can compel even the most recalcitrant perpetrators to adapt peaceful tools for change and b) that acting early, while the causes of mass violence are nascent, is vital so that we are not always forced at the last minute to choose between deploying military force and sitting on our hands.

As we argue in our book, *Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Leadership to Prevent Mass Atrocities* (McGill-Queen's Press, 2010):

First, mass atrocities raise the incidence of terrorism, piracy and other forms of lawlessness on land and at sea. Neglect of this fact costs money, increases insecurity and produces sanctuaries for terrorism and piracy that we can ill-afford today.

Second, mass atrocities facilitate the spread of warlordism, reducing access to vital raw materials at economically sustainable prices.

Third, mass atrocities are one of the major triggers of forced migration and displacement, as is well illustrated by the situation in the Mediterranean today arising from the long term neglect of the mass violence and sectarian divisions in Syria and Iraq.

Fourth, mass crimes accelerate the incidence and spread of life threatening infectious diseases which can erupt into pandemics, especially as some of the last generation antibiotics become obsolete. With over one billion airplane tickets sold every year, long distance air travel is the world's chief vector for the spread of infectious diseases. Mass violence and forced migration make potable water, vaccination and modern sanitation inaccessible to millions of refugees and internally displaced people.

Fifth, mass atrocities destabilize countries and fuel trans-national crimes and criminal networks, as developments in Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia have already shown. Indeed, facilitating this descent into profitable criminality from smuggling arms, drugs and prostitutes is the goal of some of the perpetrators of mass atrocity crimes.

In seeing and thinking like a state, scholars and activists have the opportunity to reduce the number of violent mass crimes and shortened lives which the human race suffers. And in so doing, the lives we save may very well be our own. We all have a stake in research and advocacy to prevent mass violence.

One of the great supporters of the principle of the Responsibility to Protect over the last decade or more has been Louise Arbour, the brilliant international lawyer who headed the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the International Crisis Group. But recently she candidly revealed her growing doubts about the current understanding of the Responsibility to Protect as a practical model for genocide prevention. And because she is a very thoughtful person and comes to these doubts after many years of seeking to prevent mass-atrocity crimes and to punish the people who commit them, I think we should take her doubts seriously and so I address them here.

Louise Arbour appeals for something that comes very close to political empathy for the perpetrators. She asks us to consider what motivates them and to see the world through their eyes and the eyes of their people. This is very close to one of the major pillars of the Responsibility to Protect. She is also urging us to be pragmatic and, in my terms, to see like a state. In this case to see a little bit like a state run by the perpetrators or the regime of the perpetrators.

At the core of her argument, Louise Arbour pinpoints an important contradiction within the Responsibility to Protect: the failure of the U.S., Russia and China—three of the permanent members of the UN Security Council—to ratify the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. She is especially criti-

cal of the fact that, in her view, the most powerful members of the General Assembly and the Security Council only support intervention to prevent genocide when it coincides with their interests. Thus, what I see as a virtue—developing the ability to demonstrate to the Great Powers that their interests coincide with genocide prevention—Louise Arbour presently sees as part of a moral problem. In her view, it is a moral problem because of the tension between values and interests, which in this instance favors interests over values. What Justice Arbour has set aside, in my opinion, is the importance of national and personal political interests as the fulcrums if not the springs of propelling Great Power interest in preventing mass violence. I agree with her that the leaders of the Great Powers will only intervene to prevent mass violence when they perceive that their interests are at stake. While this compromises the purity of the humanitarian intentions of intervening states and increases suspicion of their motives, I believe that the convergence of their interests and our values offers our best hope for mobilizing the will to intervene in the future. That I fear is the very nature of the world that we live in. We must work within that world as it is as we work persistently to build a better one, imperfect as it, too, may be.



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CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

MODERN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW proposes four broad categories of what David Scheffer has called "international atrocity crimes".¹ The authoritative list is provided by article 5(1) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court:

The jurisdiction of the Court shall be limited to the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole. The Court has jurisdiction in accordance with this Statute with respect to the following crimes:

- (a) The crime of genocide;
- (b) Crimes against humanity;
- (c) War crimes;
- (d) The crime of aggression².

Most or all of these crimes have formed the basis of the work of the international criminal tribunals, like the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, as well as of the "hybrid" courts that apply international law, like the Extraordinary Chambers of the Courts of Cambodia. They also, using somewhat different nomenclature, were applied in the post-Second World War initiatives at Nuremberg and Tokyo.

Only the first two categories, genocide and crimes against humanity, concern us here for their possible application to the period prior to the Second World War and

¹ David Scheffer, 'Genocide and Atrocity Crimes,' in *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 1, 3 (2006), p. 229

² Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, (2002) 2187 UNTS 90, art. 5(1). What are the asterisks for? Is f. 2 same as f. 1? If, so, it is *ibid*. Or should f. 2 be to a text that has a reproduction of the Rome Statute? I simply forgot to add the footnote, which should be: Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, (2002) 2187 UNTS 90.

in particular to what the Treaty of Sèvres referred to as "the massacres committed during the continuance of the state of war on territory which formed part of the Turkish Empire on August 1, 1914"³ and what today we call the Armenian genocide.

The term "genocide" appeared for the first time in November 1944.

It was the invention of Raphael Lemkin, who considered that it would apply to a range of acts of persecution, up to and including physical extermination, conducted by a State against its own minority population or that of a territory that it occupied⁴.

Genocide was subsequently defined by the United Nations General Assembly on two occasions. Initially, in December 1946, it adopted a resolution that declared: "Genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups, as homicide is the denial of the right to live of individual human beings; such denial of the right of existence shocks the conscience of mankind, results in great losses to humanity in the form of cultural and other contributions represented by these human groups, and is contrary to the moral law and to the spirit and aims of the United Nations.



Many instances of such crime of genocide have occurred when racial, religious, political and other groups have been destroyed, entirely or in part.⁵ Two years later, it adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which contains the authoritative definition, reproduced in the Rome Statute and in other modern international criminal law instruments as well as the domestic legislation of many States.

The term "crimes against humanity" was first defined in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, adopted on 8 August 1945⁶. It was proposed as a more elegant formulation to replace what the negotiators of the Charter previously had described as "atrocities, persecutions and deportations" or "atrocities, massacres and cold-blooded mass executions." Although the expression "crimes against humanity" was employed in a legal context in 1945 for the first time, it seems to have had some popular usage going back to the eighteenth century. Probably Voltaire was the first to employ the term. There are many references to crimes against hu-

manity in books and newspaper articles during the nineteenth century, with respect to such conduct as the African slave trade and the abuses of colonialism. The initial use of the term in the context of international relations is the reference in the May 1915 declaration by Russia, France and the United Kingdom concerning the treatment of the Armenians to "...these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization...". The original draft, apparently proposed by Russia, spoke of "...crimes committed by Turkey against Christianity and civilization...", perhaps evoking the capitulations that the Ottoman Empire had made with European powers concerning the protection of Christian populations. The British and French are said to have found the reference to Christianity to be undesirable. The actual statement was delivered to the Turkish authorities in Constantinople by the American Ambassador, acting on behalf of France; "Christianity" was replaced with "humanity". The British version referred to "...these fresh crimes committed by Turkey..."⁷

As defined at Nuremberg, crimes against humanity were limited in scope to atrocities perpetrated in association with an aggressive war, a feature of the definition that is known to specialists as the "nexus". It was in reaction to the confirmation by the International Military Tribunal of this limited scope of crimes against humanity that Raphael Lemkin campaigned, during the first session of the United Nations General Assembly, for recognition of genocide as an international crime that could be committed in time of peace as well as in wartime.

He encouraged three Member States of the United Nations, India, Cuba and Panama, at the first session of the General Assembly, proposed a resolution whose text, apparently, was drafted by Lemkin himself.

Explaining why the resolution was necessary, the Cuban delegate, Ernesto Dihigo, said it was to address a shortcoming in the Nuremberg trial by which acts committed prior to the war were left unpunished⁸. One of the preambular paragraphs in the draft resolution stated: "Whereas the punishment of the very serious crime of genocide when committed in time of peace lies within the exclusive territorial jurisdiction of the judiciary of every State concerned, while crimes of a relatively lesser importance such as piracy, trade in women, children, drugs, obscene publications are declared as international crimes and have been made matters of international concern..."⁹ Thus, it was Nuremberg's failure to recognize the international criminality of atrocities committed in peacetime that prompted the first initiatives at codifying the crime of genocide. Had Nuremberg recognized the reach of international criminal law into peacetime atrocities, we therefore might never have seen a Genocide Convention.

³ Treaty of Sèvres, [1920] UKTS 11, Martens, Recueil général des traités, 99, 3e série, 12, 1924, p. 720 (French version), art. 230.

⁴ Raphael Lemkin, Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress, Washington: Carnegie Endowment for World Peace, 1944.

⁵ The Crime of Genocide, GA Res. 96(1).

⁶ Agreement for the Prosecution and Punishment of Major War Criminals of the European Axis, and Establishing the Charter of the International Military Tribunal (IMT), (1951) 82 UNTS 279, annex, art. VI(c).

⁷ The sources for these are FO371/2488/58387 and FO371/2488/65759. See: Ara Sarafian and Eric Avebury, British Parliamentary Debates on the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1918, Reading: Gomidas Institute, 2003, p. 60.

⁸ UN Doc. A/C.6/SR.22.

⁹ UN Doc. A/BUR/50.

The remarks by Ernesto Dihigo during the first session of the General Assembly were only the prelude to a protracted debate about the relationship between genocide and crimes against humanity. Controversy arose repeatedly on the subject in 1947 and 1948 as the Genocide Convention was being drafted. General Assembly Resolution 96(I) was adopted immediately after another resolution, Resolution 95(I), which called for the preparation of the "Nuremberg Principles."¹⁰ Reference to Nuremberg suggested crimes against humanity, rather than genocide. Although there were occasional references to the word "genocide" during the Nuremberg trial, the Charter of the Tribunal dealt with Nazi atrocities against Jews and other vulnerable minorities under the concept of crimes against humanity.

At the time of their codification in the 1940s, both genocide and crimes against humanity were understood to apply to the past as well as to the present and the future. Crimes against humanity, defined in 1945 in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, were intended to apply to the Nazi atrocities perpetrated during the war. There was no difficulty, in principle, with application of the concept to earlier events. With respect to the massacres of the Armenians, the controversial issue of application of crimes against humanity in peacetime did not arise. The events of 1915 were legally indistinguishable, in this respect, from the attacks on European Jews by the Nazis.

*With respect to genocide, the 1948 Convention itself made it clear that "at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity". Shortly after its adoption, in submissions to the International Court of Justice, the United States government declared that "[t]he practice of genocide has occurred throughout human history. The Roman persecution of the Christians, the Turkish massacres of Armenians, the extermination of millions of Jews and Poles by the Nazis are outstanding examples of the crime of genocide."*¹¹

The two categories of crime, as defined in the 1940s, manifested significant distinctions. Crimes against humanity encompassed a range of acts of persecution falling short of actual extermination. It applied to "any civilian population". In these respects it was much broader in scope than genocide, which required intent to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. However, crimes against humanity, unlike genocide, could not be punished if perpetrated in peacetime. Moreover, and no doubt because of the narrower scope of genocide, it was possible to adopt an international convention. To this day, nothing similar exists with respect to crimes against humanity.

By the 1990s, international law recognized that crimes against humanity could be perpetrated in peacetime.

¹⁰ GA Res. 95(I).

¹¹ Reservations to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Advisory Opinion of 28th May 1951, Pleadings, Oral Arguments, Documents, Written Statement of the US, pp. 23-47, at p. 25.

Thus, the major shortcoming in the concept, and the one that provoked Lemkin to pursue the codification of the crime of genocide, no longer exists. From a legal standpoint, there is now little or no consequence to the distinction between genocide and crimes against humanity. Nevertheless, there undoubtedly remains an important rhetorical component to use of the term genocide. Sometimes, suggestions that crimes against humanity may be just as suitable a description of past events as genocide are met with the words "only crimes against humanity". Yet crimes against humanity was the term used in 1915 to describe the atrocities perpetrated against the Armenians as well as the term used in 1945 to describe those perpetrated against European Jews. In one sense, it is advantageous to use the description crimes against humanity as opposed to genocide with respect to these criminal acts because there is less objection to any retroactive application of law. Today the British government seems to contest using the term genocide to events prior to 1948. But as an author of the 1915 declaration to the Turks and of the 1945 Charter of the International Military Tribunal, it can hardly quarrel with the application of the term crimes against humanity to events in 1915 and in 1945.

In its February 2015 judgment in the *Croatia v. Serbia* case, the International Court of Justice confirmed that the Genocide Convention could not be applied to events prior to its entry into force in 1951.¹² This does not mean that the legal notion of genocide cannot be applied to prior events.

Regardless of the Convention itself, genocide is a crime under customary international law. This is confirmed by the 1946 General Assembly resolution. But the non-retroactivity of the Convention means that with respect to events in the first half of the twentieth century, the status of genocide and crimes against humanity as international crimes stands on the same footing.

Both are established categories under customary international law. Both would seem to operate, as international crimes, in the same way and according to the same principles of liability and responsibility. As far as individual criminal responsibility is concerned, human longevity is such that there can no longer be a meaningful issue with respect to the events of 1915. All of the suspected perpetrators are no longer living and cannot therefore be subject to criminal prosecution. State responsibility is a separate issue, however. The application of notions of State responsibility to the 1915 massacres is beyond the scope of this presentation. Suffice to say that there appears to be no useful distinction between crimes against humanity and genocide as far as addressing State responsibility for the 1915 massacres of the Armenians is concerned.

¹² Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (*Croatia v. Serbia*), Judgment, 3 February 2015, para. 100.



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HONORING THE CENTENNIAL OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE BY DEDICATING NEW INITIATIVES FOR PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE IN OUR WORLD

A Tribute to the Armenian People, Its Memory, Dignity, and Future

The occasion is an awesome one that touches every piece of our hearts. The occasion of the 100th Anniversary Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide is a shattering event that evokes our concentrated memory, reverence, deep anger at the perpetrators, and deep wishes and commitments to the reconstruction of the Armenian nation and land.

In today's language of "We are all Hrant Dink," and "Je suis Charlie," I say today, "Je suis Arménien," and "Je suis a victim of the roundup on April 24" (with the hope that I qualify to be among the intellectuals and artists).

In truth, the cry of our pain and protest of the Armenian Genocide is also the cry and protest of our contemporary times.

A Core Process in the Armenian Genocide: Expelling and Killing the Infidels

Here is a fatwa from July 1915: A "JIHAD" APPEAL TO MOSLEMS¹

Kill them:

Your enemies are trembling under your hand. Attack them from every side. Whenever you meet them, kill them... by the fire of your rifles and cannon, and by the blows of your swords and knives.

Jihad! Jihad! Oh, Moslems, blow the trumpet everywhere, of people of the Unity. The great God is ordering you to fight with your foes everywhere. God will put them to shame in your hands.

¹ Translation of a call distributed to the millions of Islam. From *The Missionary Review of the World*, 1915.

Or listen to the report in the New York Times on March 20, 1895 entitled, THE ARMENIAN ATROCITY OF LAST YEAR THE ARMENIAN CRISIS IN TURKEY² – which we know was the slaughter of "only" 200,000 Armenians, and which I personally consider both the beginning of what we call the Armenian Genocide and clear cut proof of basic Turkish hatred of the infidel Armenians as the ultimate cause of the genocide over and beyond any political considerations.

The official prayer of Islam runs like this: I seek refuge with Allah from Satan the accursed. In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful! O Lord of all creatures! O Allah! Destroy the infidels and the polytheists, thine enemies, the enemies of the religion. O Allah! Make their children orphans and defile their abodes! Cause their feet to slip; give them and their families, their households and their women, their children and their relatives by marriage, their brothers and their friends, their possessions and their race, their wealth and their lands, as booty to the Moslems, O Lord of all creatures! These frequent massacres in Turkey are the exact fulfilment of All who do not accept Mohammed. [They] are [all] included among the "Infidels."

We have learned much about the Armenian Genocide from the above vital documents, but there is a further often unrecognized frightening truth that when we hear the cries of fatwas in 1895 and 1915, it is also as if we are hearing the cries of murder in our very own times.

It is now many years that we have known that the Armenian Genocide was not only a forerunner of the Holocaust, let alone that there was significant German participation in the Armenian Genocide, and that some of the German "experts" then brought their expertise forward to the Holocaust. Now we are also hearing the sounds of ISIS (Syria and Iraq), Al Qaeda (USA 9/11, and add today many places like Syria, Iraq, Yemen), Boko Haram (Nigeria), Hamas (Gaza, Palestine and Israel), Bedouins allied with Al Qaeda or ISIS (Egypt), Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan), Taliban (Pakistan, Afghanistan), Abu Sayyaf (Philippines), Pan Turkism Uyghur nationalism and Islamism (Chechnya, China), Sunni killing Shi'ites and Shi'ites killing Sunni, and more – spreading like a metastasizing cancer around the world. The world today – our world – is boiling in its own blood.

All over the world, we hear the same cries of "Kill." In Australia, the Sydney Morning Herald reports that ISIS officially called for their followers to attack civilians in the West and that Australia is conspicuously singled out. The ISIS declaration extols the virtues of killing "infidels".³

² New York Times; March 20, 1895 The Massacre of 1894. Its Antecedents and Significance. With a Consideration of Some of the Factors Which Enter Into the Solution of This Phase of the Eastern Question by Frederick Davis Greene, for several years a resident of Armenia, New-York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Reported in Vahan Ohanian & Ara Ketibian (Eds.) (2015). *The Armenian Genocide Prelude and Aftermath as Reported in the U.S. Press*. New York Times. Volume 1 (1890-1909). Yerevan, 2015 (quotation on p. 160).

³ Wroe, David (September 22, 2014). Islamic State followers urged to attack Australians by any means possible, Sydney Morning Herald/ <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/islamic-state-followers-urged-to-attack-australians-by-any-means-possible-20140922-10kg74.html>

Rely upon Allah, and kill in any manner or way however, it may be. Do not ask for anyone's advice and do not seek anyone's verdict. Kill the disbeliever, whether he is a civilian or military... O soldiers of the Islamic State, be ready for the final campaign of the crusaders. Yes, by Allah's will, it will be the final one. We will conquer your Rome, break your crosses and enslave your women... and sell your sons as slaves at the slave market... by the permission of Allah the exalted.

Here is another of the endless statements of hell and degradation by ISIS in Iraq:⁴
Islamic State

Office of the Judiciary

Praise be to God and glory to Islam in its victory, humiliation to the polytheist in their subjugation, and renderer of his righteousness, and peace and blessings on whoever God lifted the illumination of Islam with his sword...

The statement continues with reference to "the khalifate (sic – this is the spelling in the document) state in the Wilaya (State) of Nineveh" where the preacher speaks to the Christians who are being given a choice:

It was decided to offer them one of the three:

- Islam (to become Muslim)
- Pay Jizya (taking tribute for being Christians)
- If they refuse, there is nothing for them but the sword

The Prince of the Faithful Caliph Ibrahim – God Glorify him - will allow them to evacuate themselves from the border of the State Alkhalafah by Saturday, Ramadan 21, 1435 [July 19, 2014] noon hour, and after this date the only thing between us and them is the sword.

Glory to God, his Prophet and the Believers that the hypocrites do not know.

The blood cries of hate are everywhere in our world. We normally associate Gaza with relentless missiles fired at the Jewish state and an avowed wish to destroy Israel, but the Gaza Islamists join many of their terrorist compatriots with a worldview that extends far beyond Gaza.⁵

Gaza Salafis Rally in Support of Paris Attack, Warn "Worshippers of the Cross" to Expect More Attacks; Our Sheikh, Al Baghdadi, has Armies Everywhere that Drink Blood and are Entertained by Body Parts. Salafi-jihadi in Gaza demonstrated in front of the French Cultural Institute to protest the insults to the Prophet Muhammad by the French satirical weekly, Charlie Hebdo. The mostly black-clothed demonstrators raised

⁴ ISIS Statement Ordering Christians to Convert or Die." *Voltaire Network*, 18 July 2014/ www.voltairenet.org/article184805.html
⁵ MEMRI (January 20, 2015). Gaza Salafis rally in support of Paris attack. www.memri.org. See also Reuters (January 19, 2015). Gaza jihadist supporters rally against France, praise Islamic State/ <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/19/us-mideast-palestinians-france-idUSKBN0KS1AH20150119>

black flags and threatened attacks on French citizens. Posters featuring [those] who perpetrated the attack on Charlie Hebdo and a Paris kosher supermarket respectively were also held by the demonstrators... They shouted slogans such as "Curse France," and "We were going to cut off [i.e., boycott] your products and now we will cut off your heads."

I personally reject blanket condemnation of Islam. I say the enemy is Islamic fundamentalism or Jihadist Islam. Second, it has to be clear to all of us that crimes against humanity and genocide are not only the work of Jihadist Islam. It is the hand mark of an endless number of countries and cultures in our world: It is Germany's Nazism under Hitler, but along with them endless other fascists in other countries who shared in the process of exterminating innocent lives, for example, the Vichy government of France notwithstanding the ethos of *liberté, égalité, et fraternité*; it is the USSR of communism under Stalin who is "credited" by the great scholar R.J. Rummel, University of Hawaii, with no less than the incredible number of 54 million citizens of the U.S.S.R. dead from genocide; it is China and its communism under Mao Tse Tung whose "credit" line for dead citizens in China according to Rummel is 36 million; it is religious-like nationalism in Japan in its brutal occupation of Manchuria in the 1930's, and its treatment of captive populations and POW's in WWII; it is Sri Lanka with the revolutionary nationalist Tamil, who in many ways were the originators and progenitors of suicide bombing of civilians in this world -- but then the Buddhist government fighting back against the Tamil also devotedly employed genocidal massacres more than once; it is Christianity's Crusades against both Jews and Muslims during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries killing over 200,000 people; it is Serbia's Orthodox Christians seeking to cleanse themselves of defiling Muslims; it is the Ottoman Turkish government destroying millions of Armenians, Greeks, Yezidis and smaller numbers of other "infidel" minorities; it is Rwanda where definitions of ethnic entities were not that old and not that rooted in tradition, yet they served as the basis for the bloodiest face-to-face genocide of 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu in 100 days; it is Cambodia where a basically nameless part of the population that showed political allegiance to the mad leader Pol Pot proceeded to exterminate 1/3 of their fellow countrymen.

In horrible truth, past and present human history proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the capacity, inclination, indeed desire to commit genocide lies available in human creatures everywhere.

Nonetheless, in our contemporary times, an immediate world-threatening enemy is in fact Islamic fundamentalism or Jihadist Islam. (In 2006 before I found a publisher for my manuscript on suicide bombers, I had two publishers turn down my proposed manuscript on the grounds that I was "Islamophobic" ⁶).

⁶ Charny, Israel W. (2007). *Fighting Suicide Bombing: A Worldwide Campaign for Life*. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International.

There are deep roots of violence in Islam, the most dangerous of them embodied in the Prophet himself being heralded as a killer who espouses openly killing the infidels. The academic doyen of genocide studies in his time, a dear man, Professor Leo Kuper at UCLA, published a study before his death comparing the world's three great religions with respect to their inherent calls for violence.⁷ Kuper pointed out very clearly that all three religions contain within their fundamental ideas and revered documents calls for violence, but he also concluded that the more extensive calls for violence were rooted in Islam. A few thinkers, both non-Muslims and Muslims have concluded, I think very correctly, that the only hope is for Islam is to round the corner and be inspired by a new charismatic leadership to transform the intent of Islamic religion to non-violence – as is the stated intention of other religions however much, sadly and infuriatingly, in practice they continue to stray.

Salman Masalha is an Israeli Palestinian who has written of such a hope:⁸

One of the fundamental problems with Islam is the view that its doctrines – exactly as written, exactly as they were developed and forged in the Arabian desert in the 7th century – “are good for all times and all places”... According to Islam, the world is divided into two: the camp of the faithful and the camp of the infidels... [Islamic terrorists] aren't ashamed to proclaim their worldview in public. From their perspective [as one writer has said] Islam is “an aggressive religion, a religion of war, a religion of jihad, a religion of beheadings and bloodshed”... Mohammed was sent out with his sword until Judgment Day... All those who want Islam to be in the image of Mandela or Gandhi without bloodshed or beheadings, ... all those who try to paint Islam as a religion of peace, doves, and love... are doing so under the influence of the West's false views and its evil ideas. [Masalha concludes] Islam needs a serious ideological shake-up... it needs a revolution that will bring it into alignment with the modern era... For only a root canal of Islam's ideas can move the Arab and Muslim world toward modernity.

A Jordanian prince with a very distinguished career at the United Nations, Prince Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein said:⁹

The massacres, beheadings, rape and torture reveal only what a Takfiri (i.e., ‘infidel’ in Arabic) state would look like, should this movement actually try to govern in the future. It would be a harsh, mean-spirited house of blood, where no shade would be offered, nor shelter given to any non-Takfiri in their midst.

⁷ Kuper, Leo (1990). Theological warrants for genocide: Judaism, Islam and Christianity. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2(3), 351-379. Published online 21 December, 2007.

⁸ Masalha, Salman (January 21, 2015). To end Islamic terror Islam needs a revolution: Only a serious ideological shake-up will move the Arab and the Muslim world toward modernity. *Haaretz*.

⁹ In Wikipedia Prince Zeid bin Ra'ad/ https://en.wikipedia.org/?title=Prince_Zeid_bin_Ra%27ad

In an article in the New York Times, the Prince described travelling in a U.N. convoy when a Bosnian Serb fighter passed by and on the hood of his car was the severed head of a Bosnian Muslim child adorned with a U.N. peacekeeping blue helmet. He asks emotionally, “How can you comprehend this?”¹⁰



The Battle for Memorial of the Armenian Genocide is a Battle for LIFE

I return to our concentration on the memory of the Armenian Genocide. The battle for memorial of the Armenian Genocide is a battle for LIFE. It is also a battle for the current victims in so, so many countries around the world. It is a battle for Christians whose communities are being extinguished in so, so many places around the world. It is a battle for freedom, intelligent minds, culture and creativity.

In this spirit, I am now going to propose a series of projects towards the prevention of genocide in our world. Under our circumstances, I will do so with a brief mention of each until the last which is a specific proposal that I make to the Armenian people on this awesome occasion, namely the establishment of a new worldwide organization for the victims of all genocides along with other well-meaning people who stand for LIFE for everyone: R2 L – Right to Life.

Each of the initiatives that I propose is intended to make a contribution in its own right, but the list as a whole is also intended as an illustration of how we genocide victim-peoples – and all peoples – can think Prevention and not only Memorial:¹¹

• A World Genocide Early Warning System (GEWS)¹²

It took ten years for Chanan Rapaport and me to develop GEWS – a Genocide Early Warning System. It was hailed by many world leaders, and has been applied successfully by scholars to several cases of genocide in addition to the Holocaust, but it has never gained the funding and

¹⁰ Cumming-Bruce, Nick (February 1, 2015). U.N. human rights advocate vows to start pulling all levers: Jordanian wants to hold state accountable for full spectrum of injustices. *International New York Times*.

¹¹ There is some information on several of these projects in the following article Charny, Israel W., “Requiem for the Prevention of Genocide in Our Time: Working toward an improbable possibility but not giving up.” *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 7, 1 (April 2012), 108–122.

¹² Charny, Israel W., in collaboration with Rapaport, Chanan (1982). *Toward a Genocide Early Warning System*. In Charny, Israel W. *How Can We Commit the Unthinkable: Genocide, The Human Cancer*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 283-331.

support necessary to make it an ongoing institution, and its development has stopped.

- Israel Charny's Worksheet for Describing and Categorizing a Genocidal Event¹³

The purpose of this worksheet is to create an organized frame (which can be revised by other scholars) for recording first of all the facts of a genocidal event, and only after that has been done to proceed to an evaluation of the legal and social science definitions of the event.

- Legislation against Incitement to Violence and Genocide, including Legislation against Denials of Genocide¹⁴

Americans traditionally are up in arms against any legislation that appears to restrict the cardinal value of freedom of speech, while Europeans feel freer to enact legislation against denials of genocide. This is a compromise proposal for legislation also in the United States against incitement to violence and genocide, which content analysis can show is a message in many denials of genocide.

- Exhibits about the genocides of many different peoples in genocide museums, including museums that naturally specialize in a given people's genocide

I have not written about this proposal in any full way, but over the years, I have spoken several times with the directors of Holocaust or Armenian Genocide museums and urged them to include exhibits about other peoples, and especially to create a World Situation Room in their museum showing ongoing events of genocide in the world. To date I have not succeeded – despite the spirited enthusiasm of some of the directors, but they could not pass it by their Boards of Directors.

- International Licenses for Leaders of National Governments who Demonstrate a Firm Commitment against Genocide and Terrorism

Here too I have not as yet written up this proposal which is that international government would issue licenses to the major leaders of national governments who stand up to the test of whether they have not committed crimes against humanity and whether they are committed to the protection of human life. Such licensing can be considered similar to the licenses issued for many other professions such as medicine and law.

- Creation of an International Peace Army (IPA): An Integrated Use of Military Force, Medical and Health Programs, and Informed Tools of Community Organization¹⁵

There is any number of meaningful proposals for an international Rapid

¹³ Charny, Israel W. (2012). Israel Charny's Worksheet for Describing and Categorizing a Genocidal Event. GPN Genocide Prevention No. Issue 12/ <http://genocidepreventionnow.org/Home/GPNISSUES/Issue12/Winter2012/tabid/193/c/DisplayArticle/mid/1165/aid/648/Default.aspx>

¹⁴ Charny, Israel W. (2015). Legislating about genocide denial. *Politique Internationale*, 147, 29-46; also in French, pp. 31-48.

¹⁵ Charny, Israel W. (1999). International Peace Army. In Charny, Israel W. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Genocide*. Santa Barbara, CA and Oxford, UK: ABC Clio, pp. 649-653.

Reaction Force to intervene in clear-cut cases of mass murder of civilians. This proposal is for an integration of three "armies", the first a military force that goes in with military power to stop the killings, the second a medical and health army that from the outset makes medical assistance available to the victims; and the third an army devoted to restoring reasonably democratic governance, including paying specific attention to historic ethnic/religious or other conflicts built into a society.

R 2 L: Right to Life and a Worldwide Campaign for Life

About the proposal for a new organization, R 2 L which stands for Right to Life: R 2 L is A Worldwide Union of Genocide Victim Peoples - and All Caring People - On Behalf of a Right to Life of All People.

There will be an inherent appeal to being part of such an identity for many victim peoples. I am suggesting now on this awesome occasion of the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide that by leading such a worldwide organization, Armenians could create contacts with many peoples beyond the usual circles which you reach currently, and thereby could expand recognition of the Armenian Genocide considerably. And at the same time the Armenian people will be raising themselves to a leadership role in the world, and of course make a major contribution to genocide awareness and prevention.

My further proposal is that the abovementioned organization take the lead -- be the world leaders-- for launching a Worldwide Campaign For Life.

The first goal of this project will be to gain major funding from international sources such as UNESCO, International Red Cross, international companies like Microsoft and Apple, a major media network, a world-class publishing house, and more. Since the project will be carried out in many different locales in the world, local or national agencies and companies can also be solicited for contributions to their area programs.

The Campaign would be built around the simultaneous participation of many major leaders, first of all of all the priests of different religions appearing and presenting together "songs of life", but not only them. Also appearing in the project should be well-known and beloved stars of sports, music, and entertainment, heroes and respected leaders in medicine and science, military heroes and statesmen, and great writers and other culture heroes all drawn from many of the world's nationalities, biological races, ethnicities, religions, and political movements — all working TOGETHER on behalf of LIFE. Their presentations should be designed by teams of proven capable media script writers and directors, musicians—in different modes of music, advertising specialists, public opinion pollsters, and more. Joining together

in dozens of repeated genuinely attractive programs over a several year period, using music and Internet and various media, and working with famous people of each culture, the goal will be to sell and shape a new level of respect, caring and commitment to protecting human life. The purpose is to make a change in the current human mind "software" which – let us not fool ourselves-- has a built-in interest in mass killing, and millions are available to use this software. But not everybody! And our project is to enlarge the numbers of millions who will not be available to kill promiscuously, and to instill a kind of powerful Kantian categorical imperative that makes it wrong to be a genocider -- just like for the majority today it is wrong to be a cannibal.

The 100th (!) Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide carries profound messages to our entire world, beginning of course with the specific history of this first major genocide in modern history, but also continuing on to several pounding messages of truths for our contemporary world. My thinking is that the 100th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide is such an awesome occasion that it can be a springboard for such a major initiative in the world.

In fact, the Armenian people have already taken at least three giant steps this momentous year towards linking the Armenian Genocide to the genocides of all peoples.

1) First, I congratulate Armenia for the resolution to honor the Assyrians and Greeks as co-victims of the Armenian Genocide (but I will also express the hope that in the future other peoples will also be included, especially the Yezidis but also smaller numbers of Kurds (notwithstanding the fact that many Kurds were murderers for the Turks, and also Arabs, and Jews).¹⁶ The Turks did not spare all sorts of infidels!

2) Second, I congratulate Armenia further for approving December 9 as a Day of Commemoration of Victims of All Genocides. As far as I know this is the first of its kind in the world, and here we see the Armenian people not only creating an important new contribution for Armenia, but also providing a sterling example to other nations.¹⁷

3) Third, as I will also remark at the dedication in Yerevan of a new library room in my name devoted to a genocide library and to genocide studies, I congratulate the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute for taking this unusual step as well towards a concern with the genocides of all peoples. (Among my several shames about the second of the two countries, in which I live (I am a citizen of America and Israel and live in Israel) and do

¹⁶ ArmeniaNow.com (March 24, 2015). Armenian Parliament recognizes Ottoman-era genocide of Greeks, Assyrians/ https://www.armenianow.com/genocide/61709/armenia_genocide_greeks_assyrians

¹⁷ Ghazamchyan, Siranush. Armenia declare December 9 as day of remembrance of all genocides. Reported in the California Courier, February 19, 2015.

indeed love, our national memorial to genocide [the Holocaust] does not recall and connect to the awful crime of genocides of other peoples such as the Armenian Genocide).



Addendum:

The Sad - but Not Yet Completed - Tale of Israel's Failure to Recognize the Armenian Genocide

On every one of my growing number of trips to Armenia, it is inevitable, and logically so, that I am quizzed about Israel's failure to recognize the Armenia Genocide. I am therefore appending to the above talk on the moving occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide several items that will convey the state of affairs on this painful subject.

The first is an article written jointly by myself and Professor Yair Auron that was published in the English edition of Haaretz a few days after my return from Armenia in April of this year.

The second is an excerpt from a news story in Israel which reports that President Rivlin used the term "Armenian Genocide", and discusses carefully the quality of "almost recognition" by the President who remains slightly careful to keep in line with the government headed by the Prime Minister who continues in error to believe that it is geopolitically unwise to give full recognition (many, many Israelis are firmly in favor of full recognition).

The third are excerpts from a Washington Post article by an American rabbi who describes why recognition of the Armenian Genocide is critical for Judaism.

Charny, Israel W. and Auron, Yair. (April 30, 2015). Would Israel tolerate calling the Holocaust only a "Massacre?" Haaretz

There is no political or economic situation that would justify for us Israelis – and worldwide Jewry – any other nation denying the Holocaust or the full scale of its killings and torture. We would be hurt, insulted, horrified, and also we would experience the denial as a kind of approval or even a repetition of the degradation we suffered in the Holocaust.

The Armenian people are no different. They are hurt, insulted, and horrified by the minimization of the Armenian Genocide by our State of Israel.

For many years, they looked up to with great respect and a deep sense of kinship as a people who, like them, suffered a massive genocide. They also admired us enormously for our amazing rebuilding of a vibrant and thriving nation. They themselves are just beginning on their path of reconstruction.

Now, although many Armenians continue to admire Israel greatly – both writers of this piece have been awarded the Presidential Gold Medal in Armenia for our contributions to the memory and recognition of the Armenian Genocide – a degree of hate of Israel is mounting. How could the people of the Holocaust fail to extend full recognition to the Armenian Genocide (which at times, especially in Hebrew, such as in an article in Bar Ilan University Magazine is also referred to as the “Armenian Holocaust”)?

Israel has had its “excuses”. But would we accept any such excuses from a government that denies the Holocaust?

Moreover, we the proud people who are not to be led like lambs to humiliation would look for ways to fight back hard and resolutely.

The history of our denial of the Armenian Genocide casts us in a light of being a manipulative, self-serving, and dishonorable people. Justifiably. It makes us cowards that to protect our once upon a time relationship with Turkey and now to an increasing extent with Azerbaijan – a Moslem Turkic-speaking state – we have sacrificed basic principle and integrity. Is that the Israel we believe ourselves to be and want to be?

When the Knesset Education Committee met in June 2012 to consider the unanimous resolution of the Knesset to recognize the Armenian Genocide, almost everyone who spoke – including then Knesset Chairman Reuven Rivlin – was firmly and warmly for recognition. There were two parties who were opposed. One was a spokesperson for the Azerbaijan Jewish community and the other was the spokesperson for our Ministry of Foreign Affairs – do you remember how America's State Department was at the head of the opposition to rescue Jews in the Holocaust and then recognizing the new State of Israel? The atmosphere in the Education Committee was overwhelmingly in favor of recognition of the Armenian Genocide, and then suddenly the chairperson of the committee, a representative of Lieberman's Yisrael Beiteinu party, stood up, banged his gavel, and announced, “The meeting is now adjourned. I will arrange for a vote in the future.” Not surprisingly, he never arranged for a vote.

For many years, the government of Israel did not even allow mention of the Armenian Genocide. The brother of one of the writers of this article, the late poet T. Carmi (Charny), was editor in the 1960's of Ariel, the respected magazine of our Foreign

Ministry that was published in a number of languages in thousands of copies and for those days on an unusually expensive glossy paper. In a totally innocent article on the Armenian Quarter in Jerusalem, there was a passing reference to the survivors of the Armenian Genocide who had found refuge in Jerusalem – the same survivors to whom our current President Rivlin referred emotionally in his address to the United Nations this year on International Holocaust Day. After all the copies of the magazine were printed and bound, this terrible infraction of the sheer mention of the Armenian Genocide led to the Foreign Ministry to order the withdrawal of all the copies of the issue so that the one sinful page could be removed.

For many years, the Israeli government literally forbade mention of the Armenian Genocide in our media (until a principled Ya'akov Ahimeir took the daring leap). During those days too there was at least one situation when the Israel Broadcasting Authority (Reshut HaShidur) met for a detailed discussion whether to show a documentary on the Armenian Genocide and voted overwhelmingly to do so, but the next morning the Prime Minister (Yitzhak Shamir) exercised his veto power to cancel the broadcast. (Our Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide in Jerusalem did show the film in the Cinemateque auditorium with the participation of the legendary mayor Teddy Kollek, the wife of the Russian freedom fighter Andrei Sakharov, the Armenian Patriarch and others).

Our beloved Israel has been shamefully cowardly, unethical, and cheaply self-serving (including on behalf of its highly questionable lucrative arms export businesses). Are we ready now to salvage some of our self-respect and express a full fellowship with the victims of the major genocide that preceded ours, and in fact is known to have contributed a good deal to the subsequent execution of the Holocaust?

Ahren, Raphael (April 28, 2015). Rivlin used term “Armenian Genocide” two weeks ago. Times of Israel.

Local Armenian leaders were disappointed that President Reuven Rivlin carefully avoided speaking of “genocide” when he officially marked the centennial of the killing of nearly 1.5 million Armenians this week, but he did in fact call it “genocide” earlier this month.

Briefing foreign journalists at his official Jerusalem residence on April 13, Rivlin recalled that he was the first Israeli president to speak about the issue at the United Nations in January, and that he quoted Zionist leader Avshalom Feinberg speaking about the Armenians' fate 100 years ago.

“It was Avshalom Feinberg, one of my eldest brothers, who said 25 years before the Holocaust that if we do not warn against what is going on with the Armenians, what will happen afterwards when they try to do to us...?” Rivlin said, speaking in English.

"There is a saying that the Nazis used the Armenian genocide as something that gave them permission to bring the Holocaust into reality, according to their belief that they have to discriminate against the Jewish people. "Never again" belongs to every one of you, all the nations. We cannot allow something like that to happen."

Salkin, Jeffrey (April 15, 2015). Why the Armenian Genocide holds a lesson for Jews. Washington Post.

This month is the 100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide.

That is right: genocide. That's exactly what Pope Francis said recently — much to the chagrin of the Turkish government, which recalled its Ambassador to the Vatican.

"Who talks about the Armenians anymore?" Hitler quipped.

In 1915, in the small town of Kourd Belen, the Turks ordered 800 Armenian families to abandon their homes. The priest was Khoren Hampartsoomian, age 85. As he led his people from the village, neighboring Turks taunted the priest: "Good luck, old man. Whom are you going to bury today?"

The old priest replied: "God. God is dead and we are rushing to his funeral."

After the Shoah, Jews cried aloud to God: "O God, how could You do this to us, the children of Your covenant?"

After the genocide, Armenian theologians cried: "O God, how could this have happened to us — for we were the first people to adopt Christianity as a state religion?" But, if Jews do not allow the world to compare the Holocaust to other genocides, then its relevance to the world will wither.

And when that happens, Jews would be inflicted by moral laryngitis, losing their ability to speak truth to the world.

(Rabbi Jeffrey K. Salkin is the spiritual leader of Temple Beth Am of Bayonne, N.J.)



Prof. Michael Bohlander

DURHAM LAW SCHOOL, UK

From 1991 until joining the Law School in 2004, Michael had been a civil and criminal trial and appellate judge in the courts of the East German Free State of Thuringia, in the transitional stage after German unification. He sat on proceedings dealing with regime crime in the former GDR, including cases involving the use of minefields at the former inner-German border, the cassation of politically motivated judgments of former GDR courts and the rehabilitation of persons who had been convicted for political reasons; his general criminal docket covered serious crime such as, for example, murder, rape, child sexual abuse and armed robbery, both in the juvenile and adult courts. From October 1989 to April 1990, he served a pupillage with Geoffrey Mercer QC at what is now Walnut House Chambers in Exeter, mainly in criminal cases. In 1996, he was a judicial visitor at a Juzgado de Primera Instancia e Instrucción in Spain. From 1999 until 2001 he served as the Senior Legal Officer of a Trial Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in the Hague, where he was among other proceedings involved in the Kupreškić et al. trial related to the Ahmići massacre in the Lašva Valley, in the Kunarac et al. case on the so-called "Rape Camps" in the town of Foča, and in the confirmation of the first indictment against Slobodan Milošević. He helped train the judges of the Iraqi High Tribunal which tried Saddam Hussein and has been active in judicial training and advising governments on law reform in transitional contexts since 2001. Professor Bohlander is the founding editor-in-chief of the International Criminal Law Review, the general editor of Studies in International and Comparative Criminal Law with Hart Publishing and a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Criminal Law. Together with Professor Alan Reed he edits the series Substantive Issues in Criminal Law with Ashgate. In 2012, he was the first non-Muslim visiting scholar ever to teach at the Faculty of Law of Al-Azhar University in Cairo.

THE POLITICS OF AVOIDING THE G-WORD

Genocide is considered to be the most serious of international crimes. It has become part of compulsory, non-derogable customary international law. States are called upon not only to punish those who commit genocide, but to prevent genocide from happening in the first instance. The political will of states and the international community to face up to the obligations is not always commensurate with the seriousness of the situation. Similarly, victims face the problem of obtaining recognition of their plight as genocide after the event, in effect leading to possible secondary traumatisation by adding insult to injury.

Genocide, a word reportedly coined by Raphael Lemkin in 1944 in the context of the Nazi regime of terror, has often been called the "crime of crimes". Yet, the Nazi period was by no means the first incident of genocide in modern times. The very reason we are assembled here today, the 1915 campaign against the Armenians in the dying years of the Ottoman Empire, predates the Nazi period by decades. Turkey as the successor to the Ottoman Empire still officially denies that what took place was genocide, and there are still repercussions of the 1915 episode today, when we look at the treatment, for example, of Armenian property claims and especially the restitution of pieces of real estate of the Armenian churches which had been turned into so-called awqaf or Muslim foundations. The crime of genocide was made the object of an international treaty only in the 1948 Genocide Conven-

tion, and this treaty does not apply to the Armenian case. Nonetheless, it is obvious that were Turkey to admit the characterisation of what had happened as genocide, the moral imperative to provide adequate recognition and compensation would be next to impossible to evade. It would, however, mean a radical change in the Turks' perception of their country's history – an unwelcome and difficult prospect.

Germany, the country, which in the darkest period of its history committed the worst instance of genocide at the very least in the 20th century, also had to struggle with the recognition of its unspeakable past. However, with some prodding from the Allied Powers its attitude over time underwent a drastic change after the Nuremberg trials and increasingly the acceptance of that dark stain, the communal shame and the realisation that the memory of the Holocaust must be kept alive for future generations, won over. Today, Germany is at the forefront of the development of international criminal law – not despite but because of its history, and the recognition that genocide happened and that it must never happen again.

Genocide did not stop in the 1940s: As recently as in the late 1980s, Saddam Hussein engaged in a campaign of genocide against the Kurds, the so-called Anfal Campaign. Here we face another instance of a government's refusal, this time the UK, to recognise a set of historical events as genocide. The traditional stance of the UK Government is that it is for international courts to formally recognise any acts of

persecution, including the Anfal Campaign, as amounting to the legal category of genocide. This despite the fact that the House of Commons on 28 February 2013 unanimously agreed to the following motion:

"That this House formally recognises the genocide against the people of Iraqi Kurdistan; encourages governments, the EU and UN to do likewise; believes that this will enable Kurdish people, many in the UK, to achieve justice for their considerable loss; and further believes that it would enable the UK, the home of democracy and freedom, to send out a message of support for international conventions and human rights, which is made even more pressing by the slaughter in Syria and the possible use of chemical arsenals."

That the UK government's view is wrong is borne out by the consideration that in ex-ante scenarios, when governments are called upon to prevent acts of genocide rather than punish them ex-post, they must make that determination themselves without the help of any international judicial body. The UK as a signatory to the 1948 Genocide Convention is under a duty to prevent genocide. Any Party to the Convention may call also upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations, as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide. This logically presupposes that a government will have to adopt a clear stance ex ante on whether certain acts constitute genocide, as a matter of global political leadership,

long before there will be any judicial body with jurisdiction to punish. Until today, despite the efforts of the Genocide Task Force of the High Representative of the KRG in the UK, the government refuses to change its stance.

This brings us to the most recent example of avoidance of the G-word: the atrocities committed by ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Despite all the evidence of murder, cruelty and destruction, the international community has failed to use even all the rhetorical tools at its disposal. On August 25, 2014, the office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights issued a statement¹ about the atrocities committed by IS:

Such cold-blooded, systematic and intentional killings of civilians, after singling them out for their religious affiliation may amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity.



The statement stopped short of using the G-word. The tentative language here is sadly familiar. Recall the genocide in Darfur. In that case, the report of the UN International Commission of Inquiry concluded:

The Government of the Sudan has not pursued a policy of genocide [...] The conclusion that no genocidal policy has been pursued and implemented [...] should not be taken in any way as detracting from the gravity of the crimes perpetrated in that region. International offences such as the crimes against humanity and war crimes that have been committed in Darfur may be no less serious and heinous than genocide.

A similar reluctance was later displayed at the International Criminal Court, whose Pre-Trial Chamber initially declined to classify the acts as genocide. The Appeals Chamber reversed that decision and finally a warrant of arrest² was issued against the president of Sudan, Omar al-Bashir, which included counts of genocide. The initial reluctance regarding ISIS was remedied to some extent by the UN High Commissioner's statement of 13 March 2015:

Information also pointed to the intent of ISIL to destroy the Yazidi as a group when perpetrating these acts and to the existence of a manifest pattern of attacks against this community whose identity is based on their religious beliefs. If confirmed, such conduct may amount to genocide.

¹ Iraqi civilians suffering "horrific" widespread and systematic persecution – Pillay/ <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14961&#sthash.GBBw8eZK.dpuf>

² Situation in Darfur, Sudan in the Case of the Prosecutor v. Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir ("Omar Al Bashir")/ Public Document/ Warrant of Arrest for Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir/ <https://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/doc/doc639078.pdf>

What had changed in the behaviour of ISIS since August 2014? Nothing.

The ICC's Prosecutor was beginning to feel the pressure, too, and issued the following press statement on 8 April 2015:

Since the summer of 2014, my Office has been receiving and reviewing ... allegations of widespread atrocities committed in Syria and Iraq by the so-called Islamic State ... Crimes of unspeakable cruelty have been reported, such as ... the persecution of ethnic and religious minorities.... The commission of the crime of genocide has also been alleged.

The Prosecutor – correctly – averred that the ICC did lack proper jurisdiction to try the masterminds and she may have been trying to shame the UN SC into referring the situation to the Court. That, however, would be a political minefield of almost unparalleled proportions.

Where does all that leave us?

Using the G-word is more than just a rhetorical gesture. It can trigger obligations to prevent and punish, and to urge the UN to take appropriate steps. Perhaps most importantly, its legal and political force puts governments under real pressure to respond. Which is why they do their best – or their worst – to avoid its use. It can no longer be left only to the victims of genocide all over the world to stand up for their right to recognition as genocide victims and some sign of compensation for their suffering, which can never be any-

where near adequate to begin with. The governments of the world need to put their money where their mouth is – and not just where their money is. This may, for example, mean intervention in economically irrelevant regions while the genocide is ongoing and not just a token tribunal expressing the international community's indignation and horror when it is all over. The Armenians, like so many others, have had their own experience of what happens when politics meets human suffering. A century on – and still there is that splinter in their mind.

None of us is so naïve as to think that anything will change international politics – or indeed that perennial flawed human desire of discriminating against “others” – anytime soon. The stark choice, then, is that we can either simply give in to cynicism – or we keep working towards a state of affairs, however remote in the future, and step by step, however small, where protective mechanisms will be in place that are built upon the realisation that every genocide starts with the first victim.

NOTE: This paper is a modified version of the lecture delivered at the Global Forum, before the author's appointment as the reserve international co-investigating judge in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). The opinions expressed are solely those of the author and do not represent those of the UN, the ECCC or the Cambodian Government.



Dr. Donna-Lee Frieze

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Dr Donna-Lee Frieze is a Visiting Scholar at the Centre for Genocide and Human Rights at Rutgers University, a genocide scholar in residence at the Jewish Holocaust Centre in Melbourne and teaches the Holocaust at Deakin University. She taught a graduate unit, Genocide, for over 10 years and has published widely on the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust and the Bosnian genocides in relation to testimony, film and philosophy. She was the 2013-2014 Prins Senior Scholar at the Centre for Jewish History in NYC. She is the editor and transcriber of Raphael Lemkin's autobiography, *Totally Unofficial* and co-author with Steven Cooke of *"The Interior of Our Memories": A History of Melbourne's Jewish Holocaust Centre*, (Hybrid, forthcoming 2015). She is the First Vice-President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars.

LEMKIN'S LEGACY: "VALID FOR ALL TIMES, SITUATIONS, AND CULTURES"

While it could be argued that Lemkin would be rejoicing in the moral condemnation of the denial of the Armenian genocide, as evidenced recently in opinion pieces and editorials in prominent newspapers from Madrid to Los Angeles and from Sao Paulo to Melbourne, and, in particular, from the Pope's condemnation to the nation-state that committed the paradigmatic genocide, Germany, it could likewise be argued that he would be outraged by the international community's reluctance to prevent and punish genocides after his death in 1959. The moral and ethical splinters from genocide have been largely left to collective memorialization and imagination. The law, and in the case of genocide, international criminal law, is important for memorization, and that these acts, through intangible culture and more explicit means such as statues and memorials of genocide, informs and illuminates international criminal law, and vice versa. Post Lemkin, and in the age where acts of crimes against humanity and genocide are committed repeatedly, we are flooded with collective public memory: with memorialization, commemoration and remembering no matter how fraught and political that collective memory is.

Some have argued, such as David Reiff in his book *Against Remembrance* (not against memory or remembering) that memorialization and collective memory is as “stabilizing” for rouge nation-states as it is for what we would deem democratic nation states, and memorialization and collective memory are as cohesive for victims of genocide as they are for perpetrators of genocide. The Turkish nation-state is as fuelled to remember the events from 1915 -1923 in a particular way, as we, genocide studies scholars, are compelled and driven to remember the events as genocidal. Solid scholarship, like the law, has some bearing on the memorialization of the Armenian genocide.

International criminal law may provide justice for victims, and also, we can see from the transcripts of trials at the ICTY and ICTR that act of memorialization and schol-

arship affect the language of these trials. However, it can also be argued that international criminal law affects collective memory and memorialism in the ways in which we remember, and it validates collective memory no matter how fraught and politicized this is. Lemkin understood this connection, which is one reason why, in his later years, he argued for an interdisciplinary understanding of genocide. He appreciated the connection between the law and its affect and effect.



However, Lemkin has left a legacy of how genocide is understood today. Trying to avoid any loopholes he stated, when devising the concept and Article 2 that "it is necessary to describe the division of the roles and to foresee all modalities and all possible techniques [of genocide]...the formulation must

be made valid for all times, situations, and cultures." As we know, Lemkin and the developers of the genocide law focused intensely on the acts of genocide and "all possible techniques of genocide" without illuminating the causes and barely, and they barely made a nod towards prevention. After the Holocaust, it was automatically presumed that genocide was immoral, and perhaps skewed morality was the cause. The recent Human Rights Council resolution dated 23 March of this year, "Promotion and protection of all human rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development" follows a similar vein, when its authors argue that they are concerned about the recent instances of genocide "and bearing in mind that massive, serious and systematic violations of human rights and international humanitarian law might result in genocide."

Lemkin's contribution especially to the draft of the Genocide Convention in Paris in 1948 was strategic and not always with foresight and not always with legal astuteness, at least as far as preventing genocide. He had goals that were legal in nature and moral in tone, but his major goal was to see the adoption of Convention by the UN. Thus, he was extremely strategic. For instance, when the French delegate demanded an International Criminal Tribunal and even threatened "not to sign or ratify the convention should their demand not be met",¹ Lemkin was worried. France was the host country. If it didn't sign the Convention it would politically embarrassing. With Lemkin's help, a

¹ Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial*, pp. 173 & 174.

compromise was made: an International Criminal Tribunal was included in the text of the convention with a "provision that only those nation-states, who accepted its jurisdiction, would have binding hold".²

*The issue of extradition for those accused of committing genocide was clear. As Lemkin wrote, "those who have committed genocide should not enjoy asylum in other countries."*³ However, he had to fight for the inclusion of Article VIII which verifies international United Nations control over acts of genocide. One delegate, who spoke for many, argued the article was unnecessary because it is self-evident that the UN can take action on genocide. "No" Lemkin argued. A Convention must not be "left to interpretation",⁴ a interesting comment from a lawyer. The importance of Article VIII lies in its explicit statement that all organs of the UN can raise the issue of genocide, thereby, avoiding the veto power of some nation-states in the Security Council.⁵

However, did he carve the legal understanding of genocide too broadly or too narrowly for effective legal implementation? Was he wrong to argue for a unique crime that was more difficult to prosecute than crimes against humanity? Many struggle with different interpretations, where they argue, like my colleague William Schabas that it is easier to prosecute Crimes against Humanity and that a perpetrator of this crime is easier to prosecute.

² Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial*, p. 174.

³ Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial*, p. 174.

⁴ Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial*, pp. 174-175.

⁵ Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial*, p. 175.

On the other hand, an in-depth investigation of Lemkin's archival writings demonstrates that he understood, as well as he could in his time, the pertinence of remembering and commemoration of genocide and collective grievance. He also understood the consequences and political aftermath, arguing in an article titled "To Outlaw Genocide" in the St Louis Post Dispatch that: "To those who would say that the genocide convention is inconsistent with American tradition or interests I pose the following question... Do you know that the United States is on the receiving end of evil of genocide because it is called upon to spend millions for rehabilitation of survivors of genocide?" Thus, Lemkin, at times, pondered the worldwide consequences of genocide and pointed out why it is a crime that affects the world.

Lemkin wanted to ensure that the Genocide Convention would be, in his words "valid for all times, situations, and cultures", and who could argue that the Genocide Convention that we have, that was written in the moral atmosphere that often briefly follows genocides, could have written and devised any other way? That moral weight of the Convention, however, that was just as important for Lemkin as was the law, has added a dimension of hierarchy, a moral and possibly an unhealthy hierarchy, a hierarchy that may be moral but not necessarily ethical. Do we remember and memorialize victims of crimes against humanity with same weight as victims of genocide? On the other hand, shouldn't genocide be named for its group destruction? Lemkin was adamant that the Genocide Convention be

adamant for all times, situations and cultures, but he knew, not only as a lawyer, but as an intellectual, that it couldn't reach any of those ambitions, about so many unknown layers the future would carve.

Despite this brief for himself, and the Convention, the document is a product of its time. This is not to dispute Lemkin's intentions: his terrain for victory meant working in strained relationships with diplomats and politicians who despised him and his law, and with people who struggled and manipulated others to ensure this Convention would not be law. However, it is impossible to predict all situations (how, for instance, would Lemkin define such murky case studies as Cambodia, Kosovo and East Timor?), and that courts would struggle to convict perpetrators with the intent mandate attached to group crimes. On the other hand, while crimes against humanity, that is crimes against individuals, is no less heinous and destructive to our ethical understanding of the Other (to use Emmanuel Levinas' terminology), nor to court convictions, for many victims and their descendants of group crimes, the difference is palpable. In the words of a Holocaust survivor, Kitia Altman, group crimes stain what is lost and how important it is to memorialize that loss:

Those of us who survived have a mandate from those who perished, to remember...You lost a brother and that is a real tragedy, but mercifully, you don't have to rebuild a whole people. You have not lost hundreds of years of culture, you do not have to re-define your identity. You continue to live as a citizen of your country, you have retained your nationality. In your heart, you carry human joys and human sorrows. We died a different death and even though we are alive, we live with our dead.



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GENOCIDE STUDIES: FROM COMPARATIVE TO CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

I am a comparative historian, even if a slightly unusual one (see below), and when I engage in thinking whether or not something qualifies as a genocide, that is a byproduct of my work rather than a direct aim of it. I am mainly interested in establishing patterns of causation. If historians can offer anything to the prevention of genocide, it is, perhaps, in that area, thinking comparatively about genocide, thinking comparatively about patterns of murder, about patterns of group destruction that go beyond murder, and about the sort of deep historical and societal causation that can under certain circumstances culminate in mass murder.

One parenthetical note about the G-word, though, is that one scarcely needs to be an international lawyer to recognize that the Armenian case qualifies easily for the epithet 'genocide'. This is not, as I think some of the softer denialist literature suggests, a sort of borderline case. The Armenian genocide is actually one of the more complete genocides, with a very high level of killing relative to the size of the targeted group. The sheer numbers killed, and deliberately put in positions where life was impossible, makes it a very obvious case of genocide.

Now I hinted that I am not an orthodox comparative historian, and I would like to move today from what I have called comparative scholarship to something like connective scholarship. I mean scholarship that thinks in terms of the links between one case of genocide and another, not just in terms of analogies, but in terms of causal connectivity, shared patterns of government, shared patterns of destruction, shared proximate contexts of genocidal explosion.

One of the patterns joining very many genocidal regimes is a multiplicity of victim group-targets.

The Nazis, while putting the 'final solution of the Jewish question' in the centre of their agenda, also self-evidently targeted Romanies in the hundreds of thousands, and Slavs in their millions, as well as other groups besides. The Khmer Rouge targeted ethnic Vietnamese, Muslim Chams and Buddhist monks as well as large sections of the general Khmer population deemed socio-culturally tainted by previous lifestyle and places of life. The Ittihadist regime, the 'Young Turk' regime that presided over the Armenian genocide, is another example. Beyond Armenians, 'Assyrians', Syriac-speaking Christian communities, were targeted for genocide too. You have mass expulsions of Ottoman Rum (members of the Greek orthodox community) and other Ottoman Greeks before WWI, and internal deportations of the same groups during the war as well.

Moving now to shared contexts of perpetration, of course there are many different ways of the cutting up the cake. I would like to focus on a historical nexus, a series of related process and moments that tie together a variety of genocides, ethnic cleansings and a whole host of related phenomena – some of which do qualify, it seems to me, for the G-word, some of which do not.

I want to talk to you about an interesting pattern which develops in what one might call Greater Europe in the late 19th to mid-20th centuries. My intellectual point of departure here, bearing in mind that we are gathered to talk about the Armenian genocide, is that

one cannot understand the Armenian Genocide without extensive reference to the decline of the Ottoman Empire and its major crisis during the WWI era.

The question of imperial collapse, of geopolitical shift under pressures associated with political and economic 'modernity', puts the Ottoman Empire into a broader picture, because it was not just the Ottoman Empire that was under stress, or under threat of collapse in the WWI era. In fact, all of what one might call the Greater European dynastic empires – the Romanov, Habsburg, and Ottoman imperia – a fit this pattern to some degree. They were under great pressure from the rise of the industrialized nation-states with their own blue water empires to the north of the continent, but also under pressure from internal minorities with their own drives for emancipation, rights, and in some cases autonomy or full independence.

What we see in Europe from the late 19th through to the mid-20th century is the following pattern: the crisis and the ultimate collapse of the Ottoman, Romanov, Habsburg empires in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and North Africa; their replacement by new, often heterophobic, often paranoid new nation-states; then the establishment of three new imperial forms - the Bolshevik empire, taking the land space of the old Romanov empire, the Nazi Empire filling much of the space of the old Habsburg Empire and contesting the Bolshevik Empire for the space between them, and the Italian Fascist Empire, seeking to step into the shoes of the Ottoman

Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. In this three-phase process we see the targeting of many minorities for anything ranging from forced assimilation through ethnic cleansing to genocide.

It is also important to note that the territories affected so severely by these geopolitical shifts are also a meeting point for the three largest monotheistic religions: Christianity, Judaism and Islam. In the period in question, for all the understandable focus on modern concepts like racism and ethnonationalism, the most intensive and extensive group destruction and murder is very frequently enacted along ethnoreligious cleavages. During the Second World War the primary victims were the European Jews, in the Holocaust, as is well known. In the later nineteenth century Muslims in particular had been targeted, in 'ethnic cleansing' from the new emerging nation states in the southern Balkan peninsula, and by Tsarist Russia as it expanded its territory through the Caucasus. Among the results was the massive inflow of Muslim refugees into Anatolia and the radicalization and 'Islamization' of internal politics in the Ottoman Empire too, as it lost some of its Christian dominions and people, and incorporated constituencies of often embittered, newly anti-Christian Muslims. During the First World War, the victims of the most intensive and extensive anti-civilian violence were Christians. In this case we move again to full scale genocide, of Armenians and Syriac Christians especially. These and other groups were victims of the reconfiguration of the political and de-

mographic space of the collapsing Ottoman Empire as its Anatolian lands gradually emerged in the modern new nation state of Turkey. From the end of the Greco-Turkish war of 1921-2, the fate of Christians and Muslims was brought together as Ottoman Rum and Greek Muslims were made subjects of the infamous 'population exchange' in both directions across the Aegean.

In concluding, allow me to reflect for a moment on what is involved in this key context of the Armenian genocide, the decline and reconfiguration of the Ottoman empire. That process was in train for generations but accelerated during the era of the First World War, from around 1911-1922. As outlying territories were lost, successive Ottoman leaderships created new political visions of the future based on revised conceptions of identity among the peoples of the empire, and this entailed conceiving of some peoples as better fitting, more worthy, and more trustworthy, than others.

The more territories that were lost, the more radical and ruthless the Ottoman leaderships became in their views of those who were no longer seen to fit (as is clear in the Ittihadist use of biological metaphors like tumors and microbes to describe Armenians), developing a belief that Armenians were disloyal by the very nature of their group identity. In that moment of existential Ottoman crisis in the First World War the CUP leadership sought to address what it thought of as its major population problem: the 'solution' to that 'problem' was mass murder.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The Armenian Genocide was committed in the Ottoman Empire and the surrounding regions during 1915-1923.

Those massacres were masterminded and perpetrated by the government of Young Turks and were later finalized by the Kemalist government.

The First World War gave the Young Turks the opportunity to settle accounts with Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, thus implementing the decision of the secret meeting of 1911 in Thessaloniki. The plan was to turkify the Muslims and to exterminate the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. Talaat Pasha (Interior Minister), Enver Pasha (Minister of Military Affairs), Djemal Pasha (commander of the Palestinian Front), Behaeddin Shakir Bey (Young Turk Central Committee member) and others were among the masterminds of this heinous plan.

Intending to annihilate Armenians, they wanted to eliminate the Armenian Question. Armenia and Armenians were an obstacle on the way of the project of the Young Turks. Their dream of "Great Turan" was to stretch from the Bosphorus to Altai. During the First World War the Young Turks perpetrated massacres against Assyrians, Greeks and Arabs living in the Ottoman Empire.

In February 1915 the military minister Enver Pasha ordered to eliminate the Armenian soldiers serving in the Army. On April 24 and the following days 800 Armenians were arrested in Constantinople and exiled to the depths of Anatolia. Armenian writers, journalists, doctors, scientists, clergymen, intellectuals including Armenian members of the parliament were among them. Some of them died on the way of the exile, while others died after reaching there. The first international response to the violence resulted in a joint statement by France, Russia and the Great Britain in May 1915, where the Turkish atrocities against the Armenians were defined as "a crime against humanity and civilization". According to them, Turkish government was responsible for the implementation of the crime.



There were an estimated two million Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire before the First World War. Approximately one and a half million Armenians were killed from 1915-1923. The remaining part was either Islamized or exiled.

Soldiers standing over skulls of victims from the Armenian village of Sheykhalan during the First World War • 1915 • Mush valley





PANEL

The Issue of Accountability and Elimination
of the Consequences of Genocide



HIGHLIGHTS

Moderator Prof. **Frank Chalk**
Prof. **Roger W. Smith**
Dr. **Henry Theriault**
Dr. **Patrick Dumbery**
Prof. **Cengiz Aktar**
Prof. **Yair Auron**
Ragip Zarakolu
Esther-Mujawayo Keiner
Donald Wilson Bush



The Issue of Accountability and Elimination of the Consequences of Genocide

CONCEPT PAPER

OBJECTIVE:

The second Panel focused on the accountability, recovery, restoration of rights and guarantees of non-recurrence, the existing good practices and the outstanding issues. Like any other legal norm, the primary means of the prevention of the crime of genocide is the existence of an efficient accountability system.

Addressing the consequences of the crime of genocide has specific complexity: the issue is connected with a crime aimed at annihilation, irreversible loss of life of a group of people, the complete elimination of the consequences of which is impossible. The existing practice in this issue is not unified: in some cases for the addressing the consequences of genocides various approaches were applied and continue to be implemented, while in some other cases no steps were taken at all.

Currently, the international community has adopted an extended approach to the prevention of genocide, highlighting the importance of the reduction of the possibility of genocide through early warning, human rights protection, and through education and public awareness campaigns.

DISCUSSION:

Does the responsibility for the crime of genocide in international law apply only to individuals, those who organized and carried it out, or it similarly applies to the relevant state as well?

What are the criteria to be applied to identify liabilities of individuals involved in committing genocide?

Does the establishment of the International Criminal Court rule out the necessity to set up special criminal tribunals?

Is there an effective model of addressing the consequences of genocide? /lessons learnt and good practices/

- What is the role of the memory and truth in overcoming legacy of genocide?
- What are the forms of restoration of individual and collective rights contributing towards recovery and rehabilitation of victimized communities?

What are the gaps in addressing issues related to the post genocide rehabilitation, restoration of rights and guarantees of non-recurrence?



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A CENTURY OF DENIAL: TURKEY AND THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

April 24 is the day the Armenian Genocide of 1915 is commemorated around the world. It is now recognized as the first large-scale genocide of the twentieth century, and is often described as the first modern genocide, in that the full power of the state, its fury and calculation, was used to destroy an integral part of the society over which the state ruled. Scholars describe this in terms of domestic and external genocide, and, of course, the two can take place at the same time, as they did with attacks on Armenians in both Turkey and what is now the territory of the Republic of Armenia, then lying within the Russian Empire. But the Young Turk government that unleashed the slaughter of the Armenians never publicly acknowledged the genocide and its successors have continued to deny it over the course of one hundred years.

The term genocide refers to the destruction of a group, in whole or in substantial part: an ethnic, religious, racial, or national one. The destruction is of the group, not of individuals (genocide involves murder but it is not the same as killing an individual). For most of us, it is the greatest crime that can be committed, a crime against the body of a particular people, but also against humanity: it destroys life, culture, and biological possibilities and reduces the very idea of humanity. It is also a crime against humankind in that when any group declares it has a right to kill other groups, it is a threat to us all: who knows who will be next?

Denial of well-documented genocides and crimes against humanity is deeply offensive to survivors, their descendants, and all those who care about fellow humans without regard to ethnic, racial, or religious identity. There are also other consequenc-

es of denial: would-be perpetrators will be encouraged to commit atrocities if it suits them: with denial comes silence, and if individuals, groups, and states do not remember and do not resist denial, their inaction sends a signal that genocide and crimes against humanity can be committed with impunity. The lesson can be drawn: commit genocide and deny it.

In due time, the world will forget it ever happened or set it aside out of expediency. Put differently, perceptions of interest will trump history. Genocides that are denied tend also to be forgotten, cutting us off from knowledge about why genocide takes place, who is responsible, and how such crimes can be prevented. Such forgotten genocides can lead us away from a sense that genocide is a recurrent phenomenon and that means must be found to prevent and mitigate it, and in so doing, denial erodes or obfuscates the sense that prevention of genocide is part of national interest. While genocide causes immense human misery to the intended victims, it also leads to local and regional wars (for example, the Congo and its devastation as a result to a large extent of the Rwandan genocide), vast outflows of refugees, years of humanitarian assistance, and disruption of international commerce, contributing to further impoverishment of populations in the region. And further on the international plane, with regard to the Turkish denial of the Armenian Genocide, there have been threats by Turkey to leave NATO, recall diplomats, and cancel contracts amounting to billions of dollars, should a govern-

ment affirm the historical reality of the Genocide.

George Orwell said that those who control the past control the future. Thus, it is not surprising that genocide and denial are twins and that denial is a common strategy of those who destroy whole groups. This was not always so: the ancients boasted of the elimination of whole peoples and erected monuments to their "victories." But in the modern era, we deny committing genocide while pursuing it nonetheless.

What is striking, perhaps unique, about denial of the Armenian case is that it has now gone on for a century (from 1915 to 2015) and shows no signs of abating, that it has been practiced by all of the Turkish regimes since 1915, that it is state sponsored and enacted (unlike the Holocaust), and that the Turkish state has spent millions of dollars in the United States and other Western countries to hire lobbyists and public relations firms to assist in defeating any legislative resolutions or presidential statements that would recognize it.

In many ways those who deny the Genocide have an advantage: they don't have to prove anything, just sow doubt and confusion. Nevertheless, they have used several arguments which have changed little over time. First they claim that the events described as genocide did not take place, that few Armenians "died" during the period of 1915-17, and most of those that did, died due to war or disease. All of the evidence to the contrary is hearsay, wartime propaganda, the result of personal bias, or sheer fabrication.

Having rejected the factual basis for genocide, Turkey goes on to deny that it bears any responsibility for the death of Armenians. Most deaths were due to the breakdown of authority, not its intensification directed against the Armenians. Wartime conditions led to chaos; the few atrocities and massacres that did occur were done by overzealous officials, common criminals [who had in fact been released for that very purpose] and Kurds and other tribal groups. In none of these cases, it is claimed, was the violence against Armenians the result of a deliberate act by the Turkish state; responsibility for such acts must rest with others. Finally, there is the claim of self-defence against a group that was viewed as engaged in a civil war against the Turks. The Turkish argument, in other words, denies responsibility for genocide on three grounds: circumstances were beyond Turkey's control; the infrequent acts of violence against Armenians were done by others; and the Turkish government and people acted in self-defence – the "victims" were in reality, the perpetrators.

A further argument is that the concept of "genocide" is not applicable to the events that took place with regard to the Armenians in 1915-17. Armenians were not killed systematically in pursuit of a plan; there was no intent to eliminate a people. Rather, it is argued, there was the wartime necessity of relocating the Armenians for the sake of military security. A few Armenians were murdered and some died during the process of relocation, but neither in the case of murders committed by common criminals nor acts of military necessity can one speak of genocide.

There are then three main elements of denial: the facts, the responsibility, and the applicability of the crime of "genocide" to whatever happened.

Lately a new theme, offering yet another logical possibility in the denial of genocide, has gained traction: trivialization and rationalization. This creates many new opportunities for denial arguments. There could be a moral equivalency argument: both sides engaged in genocide. Hence, it is concluded there were no victims or perpetrators. But Turkey has not pursued this stance: it wants to blame Armenians for provoking violence, and exonerate itself. What it has done, however, is to convert the equivalency into equal pain: both Turks and Armenians shared the pain inflicted by the "Great Catastrophe," of World War 1. Each group should sympathize with the loss of the other. The unstated premise is: don't ask about the source of the pain, and the difference between genocide and the hardships of a war that the country had entered voluntarily.

Other arguments along these lines could be made: similar events have been recurrent throughout history and there are far worse cases that could be cited. Indeed, apologists frequently claim that Turks suffered far more, and many more died, than Armenians. Then there is the argument that genocide, though tragic, is just a part of development: through genocide Turkey emerged with a largely homogeneous population and a strengthened and more unified nation. Talk of "development" is the discourse of professors; the man in the street might say it more bluntly: "We are better off without 'them'".

Denial involves both arguments and tactics. The arguments are finite in number and have changed relatively little over the years. Tactics of denial, on the other hand, have been flexible, calculated, and closely attuned to circumstances, and I shall turn to them in a moment.

But sometimes it is not easy to distinguish between the tactics and the arguments. For example, the American scholar Marc Mamigonian suggests that Turkey has launched a new front in its campaign of denial: it is based on making the historical narratives of those who say there was a genocide and those who say there was not into a controversy, with equal places on the historical and public stage. The goal is to create a new reality (denial as construction) with both "sides" engaged in an unending debate in which a consensus will never arrive and for which there will be a need for unending research to establish the facts. Public relations firms perfected this technique with regard to the harmfulness of tobacco. Some of these firms were later hired by the Turkish government to further denial of the Armenian Genocide.

The arguments have remained more or less the same, but the tactics have changed with circumstances. In the period immediately after World War 1 the tactic was to find scapegoats to blame for what was said to be a security measure that had gone awry due to out of control officials, Kurds, common criminals. This was followed by an attempt to avoid the whole issue, with silence, diplomatic efforts, and political pressure used where possible. In the 1930s, for

example, Turkey pressured the U.S. State Department into preventing MGM Studios from producing a film based on Franz Werfel's *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, a book that depicted aspects of the genocide in a district located west of Antioch on the Mediterranean Sea, far from the Russian front.

In the 1960s, prompted by the worldwide commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the genocide, efforts were made to influence journalists, teachers, and public officials by telling "the other side of the story." Foreign scholars were encouraged to revise the record of genocide, presenting an account largely blaming the Armenians or, in another version, wartime conditions which claimed the lives of more Turks than Armenians. Thereafter, Turkey succeeded in prohibiting any mention of the genocide in a United Nations report and was successful in its pressure of the Reagan and Bush administrations, and all others since, in defeating Congressional resolutions that would have designated April 24 as a national day of remembrance of the Armenian Genocide. The Turkish government has also attempted to exclude any mention of the genocide from American textbooks, and from having the discussion of the genocide being formally included in social studies as part of Holocaust and genocide studies. In Ontario, it succeeded in having an asterisk placed after the Armenian Genocide in a high school course that was to consider the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust and Rwanda. The reference was that many [?] historians did not agree that the Armenian case was a matter of genocide.

There have also been attempts by the Turkish government to disrupt academic conferences and public discussions of the genocide. A notable example was the attempt by Turkish officials to force cancellation of a conference in Tel Aviv in 1982 if the Armenian Genocide were to be discussed, demands backed up with threats to the safety of Jews in Turkey.

Then in the 1980s the Turkish government supported the establishment of "institutes," whose apparent purpose was to further research on Turkish history and culture. But at least one of these was used to further denial of the Genocide, with the director writing letters for the Turkish Ambassador in Washington to discredit, and inhibit, scholarship on the Armenian Genocide. More recently still, there have been a series of lawsuits against various professors and institutions, alleging discrimination and violation of freedom of speech of those who questioned the reality of "Armenian claims."

Perhaps they are within the letter of the law to make should claims (they were all dismissed), but the effect, perhaps the intent, was to create an atmosphere of self-censorship. What is odd about all this, though, is to base one's case on freedom of speech in America, when in Turkey it is a criminal offense under Article 301 of the criminal code to publicly acknowledge the reality of the Armenian Genocide. The crime was "insulting Turkishness;" this has now been changed to read "Turkish nation."

With Article 301 there is judicial punishment, to be sure. Nobel Prize winner,

Orhan Pamuk, and many others have now been tried under this law. But in the current climate of denial, also extra-judicial punishment: Hrant Dink was assassinated not long after having been charged under the criminal code for affirmation of the Armenian Genocide.

Finally, there is the attempt by denialists to gain a foothold in universities to further their goals. Part of it is to create Turkish chairs in major American universities (and perhaps in other countries): one can have no objection to



that provided that the usual academic standards for appointment are met. But they often are not (proposed professorships at UCLA and Berkeley were both turned down precisely because of such issues), and in some cases it is also a question of academic procedures altogether: in the Berkeley proposal, the Turkish consul general was to be on

the appointment committee and would have a continuing role in the activities associated with the professorship.

In some other cases, Turkish government money and that of Turkish associations in the US have sponsored conferences that promote denial, and Ph.D. programs in which graduate students regularly complete dissertations that indicate there was no genocide, or that it is too early to tell, that much more research must be done before one can conclude either way. The power of doubt is always in evidence. To my knowledge no university press has yet to publish a denialist account that flatly rejects the historical reality of the Armenian Genocide, but at least one university press has certainly bought into the argument that we just don't know what the facts are and whether genocide was committed or not. There is also a major British publisher, not affiliated with a university that has recently published denialist works on first the Armenian and then the Rwandan genocide. What is going on?

Though it may be unusual, I would be remiss if I did not end this discussion on a personal note. It is not, however, really a matter of "ending the discussion" — more of an opening it up to further consideration, of turning it into a dialogue. We all come to an awareness of the crime of crimes in different ways; and while it is sometimes difficult to get such a crime into focus and to think about its implications, the Czech writer Milan Kundera got it right when he said that "the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting." By "memory" Kundera does

not mean remembrance alone, but remembrance that is accompanied by understanding, and understanding that leads to commitment and action.

Genocide is an abstract thing to most of us; scholars sometimes reduce it to a set of definitions and statistics that eliminate the human elements, the pain, the loss of community, the long-term consequences. But, for survivors and their descendants, genocide has



concrete meaning, and the pain is encountered in daily living, even many years after the decimation of their people took place.

The study of genocide is about what happened, why it happened, who is responsible, and how it can be prevented in the future. But it is also, or should be, about human beings, about communities, about long-term consequences. And it should also be about building bridges between victim groups in order that they might work together in an attempt to end, to use the language of the UN convention, the "odious scourge" of genocide. And in the end, it is a question, a very ancient one, of who is my neighbor?

For many years, I thought of my "neighbor" as anyone who was in need, who was persecuted, who needed help; it was not a matter of my tribe or theirs, my religion or theirs. But it was only in 1985, when I attended a conference in Boston on the Armenian Genocide and its lessons, that I met Armenian survivors, their children, and their grandchildren, all of whom shared their stories with me, bearing witness to a proud and tragic history. And it was there, that first evening of the conference, that I sat at a banquet table with a group of Armenians who began to sing in Armenian, a language I had never heard before, songs of home and long ago, songs sad yet sweet, coming from the heart, and accompanied with tears. Little did I know that a few years later on April 24th, I would stand before the Martyrs' Memorial in Yerevan, Armenia, and that I too would weep. But in the end, tears of sadness and anger are not enough; they must also become tears of resolution and action. And because of that commitment much progress in expanding recognition of the Genocide has taken place and denial exposed for the hurtful sham that it is. But as long as there is denial of the historical reality of the Armenian Genocide, resolution and action will be, not only in order, but necessary.



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REPARATIONS AND THE FUTURE OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION BEYOND 2015

The year 2015 has, predictably, occasioned great interest in the Armenian Genocide. New books have been timed for release in the year, while the news media is highlighting the 100th anniversary of the official beginning of the Genocide. Academic conferences and commemorative activities abound. Predictably, those committed to denying the Armenian Genocide are also very active, with their own publications and conferences, in an attempt to prevent the surge of attention from leading once and for all to universal recognition of the case as genocide and defeat of denial. To these efforts are added such obvious ploys to divert attention from the anniversary as the Turkish government's organizing of an international program on the Gallipoli battle on April 24, the day the Armenian Genocide is commemorated across the world.

There is a clear danger in focusing so much on 2015 and especially April 24 of this year. It is likely that, by 2016, the surge of interest in the Armenian case will have subsided. If the Armenian Genocide is the human rights fashion of 2015, it will soon give way to the next cause of the hour. Even within the Armenian community a kind of "Genocide fatigue" could well set in, against the unrealistic expectation that a sustained push for this year will finally achieve the goal of a just resolution of the issue.

It is understandable that those within the Armenian community and the growing number of scholars, political leaders, human rights activists, and private citizens committed to an appropriate recognition of and response to the Armenian Genocide would have so much hope for 2015. Many have, for decades, expended great energy and made personal sacrifices in time and resources, not to mention facing attacks by deniers and marginalization in academic and political settings for choos-

ing a cause without cache on behalf of a group with little power or realpolitical value. How can it be that decades of labor and sacrifice will give way only to more labor and sacrifice for the foreseeable future?

In this context, there is a real danger that the Turkish government and other denialist forces might be correct in holding that they have merely to get through this year, that if the Genocide becomes more than a century past, it will be relegated to the long historical past and no longer be viewed as politically relevant to the contemporary world. Even for some Armenians, passing the threshold of a full century might dull their commitment to the issue.

Instead of viewing 2015 as a climax, however, it is possible to see it as a key transition point. In the same way that 1965 represented the shift from an internally-focused mourning process among Armenians to public presentation of the Genocide for a global, non-Armenian audience, first through municipal and national commemorations and later through significant academic work and political activism on the issue. After 50 years, the Armenian Genocide is not merely a field of study in its own right, but a reference base case of genocide that in part grounds the field of genocide studies.

It is the subject of fiction and film, and a significant political issue both in Turkey's region and as a matter of domestic politics in a host of nation-states around the world. Where once those concerned about the Genocide had to

struggle simply to make others aware of the issue, now there is broad awareness and denial considered the divergent or minority view at best. With this in mind, rather than 2015 being seen as the culmination of the profound exertions that have driven the dramatic increase in awareness of the Genocide, we can see it as the beginning of the final stage of engagement with the Genocide, its just resolution.

Recognizing the potential of 2015 as a beginning point has been made very difficult by the presence of denial. The denial pervades Turkish political realm. Government propaganda has made it central to "official" Turkish national identity, which political and social forces have made the foundation of typical personal identity. The reality and legacy of the Armenian Genocide is thus at once a profound existential challenge for Turkey and many Turks and a practical threat to retention of the benefits gained through the Genocide. As a result, the Turkish government and others promoting denial inside Turkey, in Europe, in North and South America, and elsewhere have devoted immense financial, diplomatic, and educational resources to their campaign. It is not a surprise that, for Armenians and others committed to the truth of 1915 facing this campaign, denial has long occupied center-stage in discussions of the Armenian case in scholarly, political, and activist circles.

It is true that tremendous strides have been made against denial, which went from the default position of newspapers, politicians, and most countries,

to less and less credible minority "position" that many people in Turkey no longer countenance. But the cost has been high, not simply in material terms, but at a deeper conceptual level. Denial – of necessity – was for a long time the nearly exclusive focus regarding the Genocide. Years of denial have actually skewed the very framework through which the Genocide is perceived and understood. Faced with a strong denial campaign, survivors and concerned others, including in the perpetrator group, have found themselves in a seemingly endless, disheartening, degrading, and exhausting struggle simply to get the truth recognized by enough people that it will not be erased from the annals of human history. This has folded the Genocide itself into the struggle against denial: the struggle against denial became for many an end in itself. The defeat of denial came to be seen as justice for the Genocide. If defeat of denial is allowed to stand as the endpoint of the process, defeated or not, denial will have won the day, by manipulating Armenians and well-intentioned third-parties into missing the key point that the defeat of denial does not represent justice, but merely gets the victim back to the post-genocide starting point from which a justice process can finally be initiated. Only by directly and substantially engaging the harms done by a Genocide through a comprehensive reparations process can the world do what it can to bring justice to the victim group and all of humanity.¹

¹ This line of argument is developed in Henry C. Theriault, "From Unfair to Shared Burden: The Armenian Genocide's Outstanding Damage and the Complexities of Repair," *The Armenian Review* 53:1-4 (2012): 121-166.

So long as denial is the focus, the agenda is set by those who resist a full and forward-looking engagement of the legacy of the Armenian Genocide. For a path to justice truly to be taken, the reactive anti-denial struggle must give way to an active to a process driven by the victims and their supporters, toward a just resolution of the case.

This process has emerged in the past decade, as an earlier general but unspecific sense among some Armenians that reparations are necessary to resolve the Genocide issue has solidified into clear, detailed analyses and even some preliminary legal cases. For instance, the Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group, which I chaired, began work in 2007 and recently released its final comprehensive report. The AGRSG final report² analyzes the harms done and the legal, historical, and ethical justifications for repair, and then proposes an innovative transitional justice process to effect it. The report includes determinations of territorial and other restitution that should be made by Turkey and discussion of the ways in which reparations should be used by the Armenian group as a whole to ensure the future viability of its state and its global identity.

A number of important elements of the report bear mentioning here.

First, while historical justice certainly grounds Armenian reparations claims, the crucial issue is that the legacy of the Genocide has devastating material and identity/psychological on Armenians

² The full report is available at www.armeniangenocidereparations.info.

today. The enduring harms include the dramatic demographic impact on the Armenian population through direct and indirect killing as well as forced assimilation that reduced the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire to less than 40 percent of its pre-genocide number, but also the compounding impact on birthrates and retention of members by rape and other torture; rampant poverty; long-term effects of malnutrition; global dispersion; loss of religious, educational, and other institutions necessary for the cohesion of Armenian communities; and much more. To these harms are added the extensive lost property of Armenians. Not only were virtually all land, businesses, farms, warehouse inventories, food stocks, and other such property taken from Armenians, but the mass expropriation reached down to the most trivial items, from kitchen pots and pans to the clothes on deportees' backs and shoes on their feet.

*Turkish activist and writer Temel Demirer has stated of this mass theft that it was with this Armenian property that the national economy of the new 1923 Turkish Republic was founded.*³

What is more, since this time, Armenians have lost all that would have been built on this wealth, which compounds daily, with many living out their lives over the past century impoverished because denied what was theirs. And this mass of material resources has not just disappeared: wealthy Turkish families, the government, and average people

³ Temel Demirer, presentation, "The 'Armenian Issue': What Is and How It Is to Be Done?" panel, "1915 within Its Pre- and Post-historical Periods: Denial and Confrontation" symposium, Ankara, Turkey, April 25, 2010.

have received the cumulative benefits of all that this wealth has allowed them to build, its daily compounding interest.

*In fact, scholars such as Ugur Ungor and Mehmet Polatel have traced expropriated Armenian property right through to contemporary national and regional elite families, some of whose family fortunes were built with the property pilfered from exterminated Armenians.*⁴

The destruction of religious, educational, cultural and artistic, and other aspects of Armenian communal existence, coupled with demographic collapse and global dispersion, have rendered Armenian identity and peoplehood fragile, requiring continual, draining efforts by members of the community just to prevent their erasure. The demographic destruction and individual as well as state territorial expropriations of the 1915-23 period are the most important factor in the verity that today's Armenian Republic is a small, landlocked country of barely 3 million facing a gigantic, economically and militarily powerful Turkey of 70 million – a hostile Turkey that enjoys tremendous regional power and geopolitical prominence that allows it nearly free reign in its treatment of the Armenian Republic. Even had the Genocide occurred but Atatürk's ultra-nationalist forces not invaded and conquered the bulk of the 1918 Armenian Republic, historian Richard Hovannisian has estimated that the Armenian Republic today would be a much larger and secure state with a population on the order of

⁴ Ugur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property* (London, UK: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011).

20 million.⁵ What would it mean for such an Armenia to face a territorially and demographically smaller Turkey today? Surely Armenians in the Republic and around the world would be infinitely more secure and enjoy a level of community well-being that became a fantasy on April 24, 1915.

Armenians in Turkey have borne a great share of the Genocide's impact. Far beyond the painful, demeaning effects of denial for a group that has escaped, the situation of those still under perpetrator hegemony is to be constantly forced to live within in the world of violence and power of the original harm, feeling always on the edge of being pushed back into the violence, with no escape from the terror nor space simply to mourn what happened. And perpetrator groups and individuals seem never content even with that level of continuing harm to their victims, but as we have seen with Turkey, continue with such things as repression of non-Muslim minority foundations and expropriation of their property⁶ and the assassination of Hrant Dink.

Reparations for the Armenian Genocide are certainly legally, historically, and morally justified in abstract terms. But, as the Armenian Republic struggles economically and politically, the Armenian Diaspora expends greater and greater energy to be less and less effective in preserving Armenian identity, and Armenians in Turkey continue

to live under threat and oppression, reparations are an absolute need if the Republic, Diaspora, and Turkish Armenian community have any future at all, and the 1915 genocide is not to succeed by 2065. For the current trends make is real possibilities that the state will fail in the next half century, the Armenian Turkish community will become a perpetually subjugated group with no hope of true participation as full citizens in their state and its society, and Armenian identity will become a residual and decaying aftereffect of genocide, rather than the vibrant, living community anchor it should be. The full history of the Armenian Genocide is far from written.

Second, as the foregoing suggests, "reparations" as I am discussing it concerns the entire Armenian group, not individual Armenians. While individuals should certainly feel free to pursue legitimate claims for, say, expropriated property, a focus on group reparations is necessary to address the broad forces of group destruction that still operate against Armenians.

*Preservation and reconstitution of the group requires that even financial compensation be devoted to projects and institutions that will serve the broad Armenian community, rather than specific individual interests.*⁷

Third, land claims are typically a sticking point, but should not be. But even a substantial territorial return to the Armenian Republic, which seems to cause an existential crisis for some Turks, is

not an absurdly irrational imposition. *How dare, many Turks say or think, Armenians demand Turkish land? But that very thought betrays the problem. This land became Turkish through the genocidal ideology that depopulated it of Armenians.*

Holding that land against what is right means holding on to that genocidal ideology. That is why land reparations are crucial for Turkey's rehabilitation away from genocide.

Fourth, there is a false truism that time heals all wounds. Nothing could be more wrong, unless we mean by healing that perpetrator groups and the world in general eventually can forget about a past genocide when the victim group finally fades away in the ultimate triumph of genocide. Unless the harms of a genocide are addressed, then they persist and in fact compound over time, with each generation of the victim group grappling with them. Indeed, with each passing year, as the harms compound and the refusal by Turkey to address to the Genocide issue in the past has meant an additional harm done, to all Armenians



Fifth, even setting aside the legal status of Turkey as the Ottoman Empire's continuing state and Turkish Republic's forces' perpetration of the second phase of the Armenian Genocide from 1919 to 1923, Turks in the Turkish Republic today do bear responsibility for addressing the harms of the Genocide. They are not in any way to blame for it,⁸ even when they deny it (though they are separately culpable for denial). But, as their state and society continue to hold the gains made and benefit from them, and Armenians continue to suffer from the material, political, and identity losses sustained, today's Turks have an obligation to repair the damage as much as possible. Of course, nothing approaching full repair is possible – they cannot bring back the dead, nor can they turn back the denial clock to erase all the damage done as the harms to Armenians who have lived and died have compounded for a century. But, as the AGRSG report lays out, significant symbolic and material reparations are very possible today – they require only the political and ethical will to make them. Making them is not unfair to present-day Turks. This is not a burden forced on them by Armenians, who should just go away quietly. On the contrary, the burden of genocide has been forced on present-day Turks and Armenians by the perpetrators of the Genocide, who damned their progeny to the moral taint of genocide for this past century and beyond. However extensive a reparations package is made by Turks today, the burden they assume in giving reparations is the barest

⁵ Richard G. Hovannisian, public lecture, Armenian Relief Society Armenian Summer Studies Program, Amherst College, July 1991.

⁶ Sait Çetinoğlu, "Foundations of Non-Muslim Communities: The Last Object of Confiscation," *International Criminal Law Review* 14:2 (2014): 396-406.

⁷ See Henry C. Theriault, "Reparations for Genocide: Group Harm and the Limits of Liberal Individualism," *International Criminal Law Review* 14:2 (2014): 441-469.

⁸ This distinction is informed by George Sher's treatment of the difference between "blame" and "responsibility" in "Blame for Traits," plenary address, 28th Conference on Value Inquiry, Lamar University, Beaumont, TX, USA, April 14, 2000.

tiny fraction of the burden of loss and suffering the Genocide still imposes on Armenians.

The push for reparations is asking Turks today to shoulder just a small part of the burden borne by Armenians; to share just a part of the unfairness history has imposed. If this is a sacrifice for Turks today, this is appropriate: such a sacrifice confirms the true rehabilitation of the Turkish state and society, which were formed in part by the many genocide perpetrators in the Republic's government and military, and which has retained deep within its political culture the same genocidal attitudes toward its past victims as drove genocide in the first place.

Reparations are necessary for the rehabilitation of the Turkish state and society, as surely the Kurds and those residual Armenian and other communities in Turkey could attest.

Finally, it is crucial to understand that the Armenian case is in no way unique or exceptional. On the contrary, many groups struggle today to achieve repair for the historical harm done them. The Holocaust is perhaps the best example, but the descendants of the Herero Genocide victims, of Native American Genocide victims, Aboriginal Genocide victims, and many others continue to pursue justice, in many cases for events well over 100 years ago. Beyond only genocide, other groups pursue justice similarly, including the former Comfort Women sexually enslaved by Japan in the 1931 to 1945 era, African Americans regarding the heritage of slav-

ery, South African victims of Apartheid, and many more push for reparations. Indeed, there has emerged in recent years is what might be called a "global reparations movement." The Armenian case is more and more an important part of this movement,⁹ which links the particular victim groups together not just by the shared features of their struggles, but because in fact they face the same overarching mechanism of destruction and denial. The current reality we live in across the globe is a world order formed through the forces of aggressive war, colonialism, slavery, apartheid, economic exploitation, mass rape and sexism, and, of course, genocide. While setting right each instance of such a historical wrong is a step in the right direction, this approach to reparations is not simply an aggregation of cases by single groups.

Reparations is the process of global transformation through which we can finally begin to rework our world away from the structures resulting from genocide and all these other destructive, terrible forces, toward a vision in which all human beings have dignity and enough to eat, in which all people can live free from violence and degradation.

This is the project that we can say is beginning in 2015. Beyond simply shifting focus from recognition to repair, the transition is taking the Armenian case and its victim group out of isolation, and joining them into a global social justice movement of victims.

⁹ Henry C. Theriault, "Introduction: The Global Reparations Movement," *The Armenian Review* 53:1-4 (2012): 1-10.



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THE CONSEQUENCES OF TURKEY BEING THE "CONTINUING" STATE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTERNATIONALLY WRONGFUL ACTS

INTRODUCTION

It is now well documented that the Ottoman Empire committed 'internationally wrongful acts' against the Armenian population during and shortly after World War I (the 'War').¹ According to Article 1 of the International Law Commission (I.L.C.)'s Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts, the commission of an internationally wrongful act by a State entails its international responsibility.² The responsible State must make full reparation for the injury caused by the internationally wrongful act.³

The problem at the centre of this article is the fact that the Ottoman Empire ceased to exist as a State in 1923. The present paper examines the following question: can the modern State of Turkey (which was officially proclaimed on 29 October 1923, i.e. only after the wrongful acts were committed) be held responsible under international law for internationally wrongful acts which were committed by the Ottoman Empire before its disintegration?

¹ This paper does not discuss whether or not these acts qualify as genocide under international law.

² Titles and Texts of the Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts Adopted by the Drafting Committee on Second Reading (Doc. A/CN.4/L.602/Rev.1).

³ *Ibid.*, Article 31.

This article is structured in two parts. The first Part briefly examines whether Turkey should be considered under international law as the 'continuing' State (or 'continuator' State) of the Ottoman Empire or whether it should instead be deemed as a 'new' State. Part 2 will examine the legal consequences of considering Turkey as the 'continuing' State of the Ottoman Empire.

1. TURKEY IS THE CONTINUING STATE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The first section (1.1) of this Part examines some of the criteria that have been used in international law to determine whether two entities are in fact 'identical' and therefore constitute the same State having a continuing international legal personality. These criteria will then be applied to the specific case of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. In a second section (1.2) I will examine provisions of the Lausanne Treaty, two international arbitration cases and one municipal court decision, all dealing with the question of continuity between the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

1.1 RELEVANT CRITERIA TO DETERMINE STATE IDENTITY AND THEIR APPLICATION TO TURKEY

The decline of the Ottoman Empire took place in the 19th and early 20th Centuries; it is a case of 'partial' succession where the Empire continued to exist despite important losses of territories. This slow decline eventually led to the official proclamation of the 'Republic of Turkey' in 1923. This section examines the question of whether or not the Republic of Turkey that emerged in 1923 should be considered a 'new' State under international law.⁴

To assess any questions related to State identity, one must examine the characteristics of an entity at two different moments in time: before and after the events that led to the territorial transformation.⁵ When the two entities, examined at two different moments, are considered as being 'identical', this means that there is a 'continuing' international legal personality.⁶ This is, of course, a legal fiction insofar as the State that exists now is necessarily not perfectly 'identical' to the one that existed back then.⁷ Thus, the very question of continuity arises precisely because some doubt may exist as to whether two entities are in fact truly identical. In fact, the relevant question to be asked is whether two entities have the same international legal personality despite substantial changes to its territory, name, and government.⁸

4 This question is further examined in: Patrick Dumberry, 'Is Turkey the "Continuing" State of the Ottoman Empire under International Law' 59(2) *Netherlands International Law Review* (2012), p. 235-262.

5 Władysław Czapliński, 'La continuité, l'identité et la succession d'États: évaluation de cas récents', 26 *Revue belge de droit international* (1993) p. 374.

6 Krystyna Marek, *Identity and Continuity of States in Public International Law* (Librairie Droz, Geneva, 1968), p. 6.

7 Brigitte Stern, 'La succession d'États', *Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law*, vol. 262, (1996) p. 40.

8 *Ibid.*

There is a presumption in favour of continuity under international law. According to this presumption, a State will continue to exist unless sufficient evidence demonstrates its extinction.⁹

There are no 'formal' criteria under international law that help to categorically distinguish cases of continuity from those of discontinuity.¹⁰ Some criteria have nevertheless been identified in doctrine to determine concretely whether there is State identity.

The first such criterion is territory.

A State does not necessarily lose its international legal personality as a result of a change to its territory. Thus, it is clear that territorial losses, per se, do not affect a State's identity.¹¹

Some authors have nevertheless argued that a significant or "very considerable" loss of territory could lead to a conclusion of non-identity.¹² For them, a State with a significantly reduced territory would be somewhat too different to be considered as identical to the one that existed before.

By some accounts, between 1878 and 1918 the Ottoman Empire lost some 85 per cent of its territory.¹³ But as explained by Judge Kreca in his Dissenting Opinion in the Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide case, a diminution of territory, even a substantial one, does not in itself affect the legal personality of a State.¹⁴

In fact, Judge Kreca gave the example of Turkey as an illustration. Other authors have also used Turkey's example as an illustration of this phenomenon.¹⁵ It is generally recognised in doctrine that the identity of a State is not affected even when the territory lost is substantially greater than the remaining territory.¹⁶ This is the case of Turkey in 1923. It was not a new State under international law; it was the same State as the Ottoman Empire, only with a much smaller territory.¹⁷

9 James Crawford, 'The Criteria For Statehood in International Law', 48 *British Yearbook of International Law* (1975-76) p. 139; Czapliński, *supra* note 5, p. 375, 379.

10 Stern, *supra* note 7, p. 52; Czapliński, *supra* note 5, p. 379; Marek, *supra* note 6, p. 7, 9.

11 Josef L. Kunz, 'Identity of States Under International Law', 49 *American Journal of International Law* (1955) p. 72; James Crawford, *The Creation of States in International Law*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2006), p. 673; Wilfried Fiedler, 'Continuity', in R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Public International Law*, Vol. 1, (North Holland, Max Planck Institute, 1984) p. 807.

12 Marek, *supra* note 6, p. 23-24 (for a review of doctrine); E.J. Castren, 'Aspects récents de la succession d'États', *Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law*, vol. 78(I) (1951) p. 393.

13 T. Akcam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, (Metropolitan Books, 2006), at p. 11.

14 International Court of Justice, *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*, Judgment of 11 July 1996, Preliminary Objections, ICJ Rep. 1996, p. 762-3, Judge Kreca, Dissenting Opinion, at para. 87.

15 Kunz, *supra* note 11, p. 72.

16 Crawford, *supra* note 11, p. 673; Konrad G. Bühler, *State Succession and Membership in International Organizations: Legal Theories versus Political Pragmatism*, (Martinus Nijhoff, 2001), p. 15; Ineta Ziemele, 'Is the Distinction between State Continuity and State Succession Reality or Fiction? The Russian Federation, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Germany', *Baltic Yearbook of International Law* (2001) p. 216; Kunz, *supra* note 11, p. 72; G. Cansacchi, 'Identité et continuité des sujets de droit international', *Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law*, vol. 130(I) (1970) p. 25.

17 Ziemele, *supra* note 16, p. 215; Marek, *supra* note 6, p. 40; Crawford, *supra* note 11, p. 676.

Similarly, a change of government does not in itself amount to the creation of a new State.¹⁸ The identity of a State is not affected by a change of government even when it arises as a result of a revolution or a coup d'Etat.¹⁹

It is not disputed that Turkey went through fundamental changes in the 1920s. The changes were not limited to the replacement of the Monarchy by a Republic-far-reaching changes also affected the society more globally. Despite these changes, it cannot be concluded that Turkey is a new State under international law.²⁰

It is also clear that changes in population do not affect the identity of a State.²¹ By some accounts, the Ottoman Empire lost some 75% of its population between 1878 and 1918.²² While this is no doubt a significant loss of population, it is not in itself proof of discontinuity. Similarly, changes to the name of a State are clearly not decisive to determine questions of identity.²³

Thus, from the fact that in 1923 the country's name was changed from the 'Ottoman Empire' to the 'Republic of Turkey', it simply cannot be automatically deduced that this is a new State.²⁴ In fact, the two terms had long been used interchangeably in treaties thought-out the 19th Century.²⁵

There is one important criterion that has been used by some writers to decide issues of identity in the context of considerable losses of territory. Writers have looked at whether what is left of a State's territory following a significant reduction in its size is the 'essential portion' (its core or its nucleus) of the State that existed before its disintegration.²⁶ In other words, they assess whether what remains of a territory after a radical change can be considered as the 'essential portion' of the territory of the 'old' State.²⁷ For others, there is also identity of State when the dismembered State is still populated by its 'core' ethnic/national group, which was the largest, the most dominant and the most powerful in the 'old' State.²⁸

It can be argued that after centuries of territorial expansion of the Empire, which was then followed by slow disintegration, modern Turkey was reduced in 1923 to its nucleus, its 'essential' part, i.e. the 'historical home-

¹⁸ Marek, supra note 6, p. 24 ff.

¹⁹ Kunz, supra note 11, p. 73.

²⁰ Marek, supra note 6, p. 40. Contra: Enrico Zamuner, 'Le Rapport entre Empire ottoman et République turque face au droit international', 6 *Journal of History of International Law* (2004) p. 230-231.

²¹ Kunz, supra note 11, p. 71; Czaplinski, supra note 5, p. 378.

²² Akcam, supra note 13, p. 11.

²³ Stern, supra note 7, p. 74; Czaplinski, supra note 5, p. 377.

²⁴ Stern, *Ibid.*; Czaplinski, *Ibid.*

²⁵ Ennre Oktem, 'Turkey: Successor or Continuing State of the Ottoman Empire?' 24(3) *Leiden Journal of International Law* (2011) p. 577. See, *inter alia*, the Treaty of Sévres (1920), which although signed by the Ottoman Empire in 1920, nevertheless contains a reference to 'Turkey' (the preamble mentions that 'on the request of the Imperial Ottoman Government an Armistice was granted to Turkey on October 30, 1918').

²⁶ Stern, supra note 7, p. 80.

²⁷ W.E. Hall, *A Treatise on International Law*, 8th ed., (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 21; Oscar Schachter, 'The Development of International Law through the Legal Opinions of the United Nations' 20 *British Yearbook of International Law* (1948) p. 105.

²⁸ Cansacchi, supra note 16, p. 31.

land' of the Turkish nation.²⁹ Thus, the dominant ethnic group in the Ottoman government were the Turks and the official language of the Empire was indeed Turkish.³⁰

The territories that the Empire gradually lost in the 20th Century were essentially non-Turkish (they were populated mainly by Arabs, Jews, and Kurds). In that sense, modern Turkey is the historical homeland of the Turkish population.³¹ It is also important to note in this context that non-Turkish peoples (Arabs, Jews and Kurds) were fighting for independence from the Empire. Only the Turks were favourable to the integrity of the Empire.³² In sum, the criterion of the core or the nucleus of the State strongly supports the proposition that there is an identity of State between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey.³³

Any assessment of continuity regarding a State affected by territorial changes will have to be made by other States.³⁴ They will decide whether or not to recognise any claim of continuity or non-continuity.³⁵ Recognition will ultimately be the decisive factor to determine issues of identity in cases where substantial territorial changes occurred and where a claim of continuity is controversial or has been contested by other States.³⁶ Recent State practice in the context of the break-up of Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R. shows the importance of third States' recognition when it comes to deciding the fate of controversial and contested claims of continuity.³⁷

Post-1923 Turkey is a prime illustration of a situation involving a substantial modification of territory coupled with a controversial claim of discontinuity. Turkey claimed to be a new State in 1923. One of the many reasons explaining why Turkey took this position has to do with the fate of the Ottoman Empire's financial obligations. Turkey argued that because it was a new State, it should not be held responsible for the entire debt of the defunct Ottoman Empire; but rather, only for a portion of it just like all the other new States. This position was clearly taken during negotiations at the Lausanne Conference leading to the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne.³⁸

Turkey's claim of discontinuity was rejected by other States; it was never recognized as a 'new' State.³⁹ One of the reasons why other States reject-

ed Turkey's claim of discontinuity was to ensure that its responsibility for

²⁹ Zamuner, supra note 20, p. 210; Aram Kuyumjian, 'The Armenian Genocide: International Legal And Political Avenues For Turkey's Responsibility', 41 *Revue de droit de l'Université de Sherbrooke* (2011), p. 283; Oktem, supra note 25, p. 575-576.

³⁰ Oktem, supra note 25, p. 577.

³¹ Shavarsh Toriugian, *The Armenian Question and International Law*, 2nd ed. (Univ. La Verne Press, 1988), p. 111.

³² Cansacchi, supra note 16, p. 32.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Czaplinski, supra note 5, p. 379.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Stern, supra note 7, p. 66-67, 60, 85.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁸ Declaration by Hassan Bey, *Recueil des Actes de la Conférence de Lausanne*, Série I, tome 3, Paris 1923, p. 130 (quoted in: Zamuner, supra note 20, p. 227): 'Le gouvernement d'Angora prendra à sa charge une part équitable de la dette au même titre que les autres États détachés de l'ancien Empire ottoman, étant donné qu'il n'est que l'un des États successeurs de cet Empire'.

³⁹ Oktem, supra note 25, p. 577; Cansacchi, supra note 16, p. 32; M. Udina, 'La succession des États quant aux obligations internationales autres que les dettes publiques', *Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law*, vol. 44 (1933) p. 688.

*the Ottoman Empire's financial obligations would remain intact.*⁴⁰

In sum, the application of the objective criterion of the 'essential' part strongly supports the conclusion that there is an identity of State between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. This conclusion that Turkey is continuing the international legal personality of the Ottoman Empire is also supported by one subjective criterion: other States' refusal to recognise Turkey's claim to be a new State. In this context, it is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of writers believe that despite Turkey's considerable losses of territory and population, as well as radical changes to its government (and its society), it continues the international personality of the Ottoman Empire.⁴¹ In fact, only a few writers support the discontinuity thesis.⁴²

1.2 THE POSITION ADOPTED BY INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND TRIBUNALS

*As discussed above, other States' firm refusal to recognise Turkey's claim to be a new State ultimately prevented such claim from having any effectiveness. Several provisions of the Lausanne Treaty support the conclusion of continuity between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.*⁴³

For instance, Article 1 indicates that "from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the state of peace will be definitely re-established between" the different parties to the treaty.⁴⁴ Any 're-establishment' of the peace that existed before the War necessarily presupposes the idea of continuity between the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.⁴⁵ Another example is Article 58 where the State that existed between 1914 (beginning of the War) and 1924 (coming into force of the Treaty) is described as being 'Turkey' notwithstanding the fact that it did not yet formally exist until 1923.⁴⁶ This is a clear sign that the Parties to the Treaty believed that both entities were essentially the same. Moreover, the fact that under this provision the Contracting Powers renounced to submit any claims against Turkey for damages, which had been committed by the Ottoman Empire also shows that the two entities were con-

⁴⁰ Vladimir D. Degani, 'Création et disparition de l'Etat (à la lumière du démembrement de trois fédérations multiethniques en Europe)', *Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law*, vol. 279 (1999) p. 304; Cansacchi, *supra* note 16, p. 35; Zamuner, *supra* note 20, p. 225.

⁴¹ Oktom, *supra* note 25, p. 575 et seq.; A. Sottile, 'Eugène Borel: Son rôle dans la jurisprudence internationale, sa sentence arbitrale sur la répartition de la dette ottomane', 4 *Revue de droit international, de sciences diplomatiques et politiques*, (1926), 88, at p. 106; Kunz, *supra* note 11, p. 68, 72; Kuyumjian, *supra* note 29, p. 283; Cansacchi, *supra* note 16, p. 29, 32; Czapinski, *supra* note 5, p. 376; Pekka T. Talari, 'State Succession in Respect to Debts: the Effect of State Succession in the 1990's on the Rule of Law', 7 *Finnish Yearbook of International Law* (1996) p. 150; Vahakn N. Dadrian, 'The Armenian Genocide as a Dual Problem of National and International Law', 4 *University of St. Thomas Journal of Law & Public Policy* (2009-2010) p. 75; M. Biłkowski, 'The Armenian Genocide: Legacies and Challenges of a Silenced Past', 16 *Sri Lanka Journal of International Law* (2004) p. 41; Toriugian, *supra* note 3, p. 109-112; Verhoeven, *supra* note 31, p. 206-7; Ziemele, *supra* note 16, p. 215.

⁴² Zamuner, *supra* note 20, p. 230-231.

⁴³ Zamuner, *supra* note 20, p. 224-7; Cansacchi, *supra* note 16, p. 32.

⁴⁴ Emphasis added.

⁴⁵ Zamuner, *supra* note 20, p. 224.

⁴⁶ Article 58 reads as follows: 'Turkey, on the one hand, and the other Contracting Powers (except Greece) on the other hand, reciprocally renounce to all pecuniary claims for the loss and damage suffered respectively by Turkey and the said Powers and their nationals (including juridical persons) between the 1st August 1914, and the coming into force of the present Treaty, as the results of acts of war or measures of requisition, sequestration, disposal or confiscation.'

sidered as identical from a legal stand point.⁴⁷

The same conclusion of continuity was also reached by the arbitral tribunal in the Ottoman Public Debt case (1925). Sole arbitrator Borel concluded that Turkey was the continuing State of the Ottoman Empire: "[À] l'égard de la D.P.O., [Ottoman public debt] la situation juridique de la Turquie n'est nullement identique à celle des autres États intéressés. En droit international, la République turque doit être considérée comme continuant la personnalité de l'Empire ottoman."⁴⁸ The District Court of Amsterdam in the 1925 case of Roselius also arrived at the same conclusion:

*"Although Turkey was no longer an Empire but a Republic and its size had been considerably curtailed after the Great War by loss of territory, yet it could not be considered that the Republic was not the successor of the Empire. The remaining part, which was the main portion of the country, was the continuation of the State which, under another form of government and larger in size, had formed Turkey, and it had retained all its rights and duties except such as were attached to the lost territories."*⁴⁹

The Lighthouse Arbitration case (further discussed below) decided in 1956 by the French-Greek Arbitral Tribunal also explicitly recognised that Turkey was the continuing State of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁰

2. RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTINUING STATE

My position is that Turkey is, in legal terms, "identical" to the Ottoman Empire and is therefore "continuing" the international legal personality of the Empire. Since Turkey is not deemed a new State, the controversial question of State succession to international responsibility simply does not arise.⁵¹ I have addressed elsewhere the other hypothetical question as to whether or not Turkey could be held responsible for the obligations arising from internationally wrongful acts originally committed by the Ottoman Empire even if the break-up of the Empire was considered as a case of dissolution of State and modern Turkey as a new State (with no legal continuity with the Empire).⁵²

⁴⁷ Other provisions of the Lausanne Treaty also support this continuity thesis: Articles 30, 46, 60, 65, 240, 241.

⁴⁸ *Affaire de la dette publique ottomane*, 18 April 1925, in: *United Nations Reports of International Arbitral Awards*, vol. 1 (1948) p. 529, at p. 573.

⁴⁹ Roselius and Company of Bremen in Germany (plaintiff) v. (1) Dr. Ch. F. Karsten, Advocate of Huizen in Holland (defendant); (2) The Turkish Republic at Angora (intervener), 1925, District Court of Amsterdam, in: *Annual Digest*, (1925-1926), no. 26.

⁵⁰ Lighthouse Arbitration case (Sentence arbitrale en date des 24/27 juillet 1956 rendue par le Tribunal d'arbitrage constitué en vertu du Compromis signé à Paris le 15 juillet 1932 entre la France et la Grèce) French-Greek Arbitral Tribunal, Award of 24/27 July 1956, in: *United Nations Reports of International Arbitral Awards*, vol. 12, p. 155; in: 23 *International Legal Reports*, (1956), p. 81, at p. 91, 93.

⁵¹ On this issue, see: Patrick Dumberry, *State Succession to International Responsibility*, (Martinus Nijhoff), 2007.

⁵² P. Dumberry, 'Responsibility for Crimes Committed by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenian Population: Are the Rules of State Succession to International Responsibility of any Use?', 26 *Hague Yearbook of International Law* (2013), p. 141-167.

The logical consequence of an identity of State is the continuity of rights and obligations between the two entities.⁵³ Thus, if one concludes that entity A (at one point in time) is, in legal terms, identical to entity B (at another point in time), it must logically follow that the rights and obligations which were those of entity A will remain those of entity B. Thus, because entities A and B have the same international personality, it follows that there is a continuity of rights and obligations.⁵⁴ This section examines whether the same principle applies to obligations arising from international wrongful acts, which were committed before any territorial changes took place.⁵⁵

In other words,
does the continuing State also remain responsible for such wrongful acts?

First, I will examine case law and State practice in the context of cession of territories. This is relevant because the Ottoman Empire's decline was marked by a number of 'cessions' of territories (where territories formally part of the Empire were ceded to other already existing States).⁵⁶ Case law and State practice show that the State which continues to exist (the continuing State) after the cession of part of its territory to another State (the successor State), will continue to be held responsible for its own internationally wrongful acts committed before the date of succession (i.e. the date when the cession of territory took place).⁵⁷

This principle was applied, *inter alia*, by several municipal courts of the successor State (to which the ceded territory was now attached) in the context of the transfer of the territory of Bessarabia from Soviet Russia to Romania in April 1918⁵⁸ as well as by French courts⁵⁹ and the French-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal⁶⁰ in the context of the cession of the territory of Alsace-Lorraine from Germany to France in 1919.

Another illustration of the application of this principle is the Lighthouse Arbitration case involving concession rights obtained in 1860 by a French company from the

53 P. Dumberry, 'Responsibility for Crimes Committed by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenian Population: Are the Rules of State Succession to International Responsibility of any Use?', 26 *Hague Yearbook of International Law* (2013), p. 141-167.

54 Stern, *supra* note 7, p. 41.

55 This question is further examined in: Patrick Dumberry, 'Turkey's International Responsibility for Internationally Wrongful Acts Committed by the Ottoman Empire' 42 *Revue générale de droit*, (2012), p. 562-589.

56 See, for instance, the territories of Bessarabia (ceded to Russia in 1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina (ceded to the Austria-Hungary Empire in 1908), the Island of Crete (ceded to Greece in 1913), Macedonia (ceded to Greece in 1913), and the Island of Cyprus (which was leased to the United Kingdom in 1878, and later became a British Protectorate in 1914). Several other territories were also ceded to the Allies after the War, which established protectorates over them: the United Kingdom in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and Palestine; France in Syria and Lebanon.

57 Case law and State practice is examined in detail in: Dumberry, *supra* note 51, p. 124.

58 *Mordocovici v. P.T.T.*, 29 October, 1929, Romania, Court of Cassation, in: *Buletinul deciziunilor Inaltei Curti de Casatie*, LXVI (1929), Part 2, p. 150, in: *Annual Digest*, (1929-1930) at p. 62; *Sechter v. Ministry of the Interior*, 1929, Romania, Court of Cassation, in: *Jurisprudentia Română a Inaltei Curti de Casatie si Justitie*, vol. XVII, N° 4 (1930), p. 58, in: *Annual Digest*, (1929-1930) case no. 37; *Vozneac v. Autonomous Administration of Posts and Telegraphs*, 22 June 1931, Romania, Court of Cassation, in: *Jurisprudentia Română a Inaltei Curti de Casatie si Justitie*, 1932, pp. 36-38, in: *Annual Digest*, (1931-1932) case no. 30.

59 *Alsace-Lorraine Railway v. Ducreux Es-qualité*, 30 March 1927, French Court of Cassation, *Civil Chamber*, in: 55 *J.D.I.* (1928) at p. 1034; *Sirey*, 1928, Part 1, p. 300; *Annual Digest*, (1927-1928) p. 85; *Kern v. Chemin de fer d'Alsace-Lorraine*, 16 May 1927, *Cour de Colmar (Première Ch. civile)*, in: 56 *J.D.I.* (1929) pp. 446 et seq.

60 *Levy v. German State*, French-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, Award of 10 July 1924, in: *Recueil des décisions des tribunaux arbitraux mixtes*, vol. IV, at p. 726, in: *Annual Digest* (1923-1924) case no. 27.

Ottoman Empire for maintaining lighthouses in Crete a Greek territory under Ottoman sovereignty at the time. Several claims (contractual and delictual) against Greece were brought by the French owner of the concession (la Société Collas et Michel) after Greece gained sovereignty over the territory (in 1913) and decided to expropriate the concession during World War I. In Claim no. 12-a, France was seeking damages against Greece (as successor State) for acts committed by the authorities of the Ottoman Empire on the Island of Crete. The Arbitral Tribunal ultimately ruled that the Ottoman authorities had not committed any wrongful act. It added that had the Ottoman Empire committed such an act, Greece could nevertheless not be held liable since Turkey was the continuing State of the Ottoman Empire and as such it would be liable for its 'own' acts committed before the loss of a substantial portion of its territory.⁶¹

Second, let's examine case law and State practice in the context of secession. Again, this is pertinent since the Ottoman Empire's decline was also marked by a series of 'secessions' (where new States were created).⁶² Case law and State practice show that the continuing State remains responsible for any international wrongful acts committed before changes affecting its territory.⁶³

For instance, this is the situation, which prevailed in the context of the break-up of the Austria-Hungary Dual Monarchy after World War I, which was considered by the 'Allied and Associated Powers' as a case of a series of secessions by Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (which all became new States) with both Austria and Hungary remaining the continuing States.⁶⁴ The Allied insisted on both States being considered as continuing States precisely to ensure that they would be held responsible for internationally wrongful acts committed by the Dual Monarchy during the War.⁶⁵ The Peace Treaty of St. Germain (entered into by the Allied Powers and Austria) clearly considers the break-up of Austria-Hungary as a case of secession with Austria as the continuing State. The Treaty contains a provision indicating Austria's responsibility for the War.⁶⁶

In sum, case law and State practice in both contexts of cession of territories and secession shows that the continuing State remains responsible for any international wrongful acts committed before changes affecting its territory. Since the Turkish Republic is the same State as the Ottoman Empire, it follows that there is a continuity of rights and obligations between the two entities.

61 Lighthouse Arbitration case, *supra* note 50, at p. 108.

62 See, for instance, secessions by Greece (1832), Serbia (1878), Romania (1878), Montenegro (1878), Bulgaria (1908) and Albania (1913). Several new States were also created in the Arabian Peninsula after the War: Hejaz, Idrisi Emirate of Asir and Yemen.

63 See the analysis in: Dumberry, *supra* note 51, p. 142.

64 See the discussion in: Marek, *supra* note 6, p. 220 et seq.

65 J.H.W. Verzijl *International Law in Historical Perspective*, t. VII (State Succession), (Leiden, A.W. Sijthoff, 1974), at p. 126.

66 Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria; Protocol, Declaration and Special Declaration, St. Germain-en-Laye, 10 September 1919, entered into force on 16 July 1920, see at Article 177, in: U.K.T.S. 1919 No. 11 (Cmd. 400), Article 177.

As a result, under international law the Turkish Republic is responsible for any internationally wrongful acts that took place before 1923. This conclusion applies to all wrongful acts, including acts of genocide. This is the position adopted by a number of writers.⁶⁷

CONCLUSION

My conclusion is that Turkey should be considered under international law as the 'continuing' State of the Ottoman Empire. This has some important consequences in terms of responsibility for internationally wrongful acts. Case law and State practice in the context of secession and cession of territory are clear: the continuing State remains responsible for its own internationally wrongful acts committed before the date of succession. Turkey should therefore be held responsible for all internationally wrongful acts committed by the Ottoman Empire (including acts of genocide) which were committed before, during, and after World War I. This being said, many different hurdles (including issues of jurisdiction) remain before Turkey is actually held responsible for any acts committed by the Ottoman Empire. Thus, which international court would have jurisdiction over such claim? The possibility to submit a claim before a municipal court against Turkey seems remote considering State's jurisdictional immunity. Also in a post-War agreement between Turkey and the United States, the latter waived its rights (as well as that of its nationals) to claim any reparation against Turkey for acts that took place during the War.⁶⁸ Similarly, under Article 58 of the Lausanne Treaty, the Contracting Powers have renounced to "all pecuniary claims for the loss and damage" suffered by them (and their nationals) as a result of "acts of war or measures of requisition sequestration, disposal or confiscation" committed by Turkey during the War in exchange for Turkey's reciprocal renunciation to any damage claims against Contracting Powers.

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⁶⁷ Alfred de Zayas, 'The Twentieth Century's First Genocide: International Law, Impunity, the Right to Reparations, and the Ethnic Cleansing Against the Armenians, 1915-16', in: S.B. Vardy & T. Hunt Tooley (eds.), *Ethnic Cleansing in 20th Century Europe*, (Columbia Univ. Press, 2003); Dadrian, *supra* note 41, p. 75, 76; Bibilowicz, *supra* note 41, p. 41; Oktem, *supra* note 25, p. 581.

⁶⁸ Agreement regarding the Settlement of the Claims Embraced by the Agreement, 24 December 1923, signed at Ankara, 25 October 1934, in: League of Nations: Treaty Series, 1935, 391, 392. It provides for a final settlement of the claims of American citizens for acts committed during the First World War in return for a lump-sum payment by Turkey of US\$1,300,000. Under the Agreement, Turkey is effectively released from any liability with respect to all such claims by US nationals. The Agreement was recently enforced in the context of court proceedings in US Courts: *Deirmenjian v. Deutsche Bank, A.G.*, 525 F. Supp. 2d 1068 (C.D. Cal., 14 December 2007). See: "California District Court Finds Post-World War I Agreements with Turkey Trump California Armenian Genocide Statute", 102 *American Journal of International Law*, (2008), p. 349.



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MEMORY RETURNING IN TURKEY

The Turkish nation and the master national narrative that were imagined by the founding elites of modern Turkey had to be new and eventually homogeneous, i.e. clear of non-Muslims and of any particular ethnicity but Sunni Muslims. Greatly helped by the dynamics of change taking place since 1983, which has noticeably accelerated with Turkey's EU candidacy in 1999, societal action is at work to "deliver" vast areas of dark as well as positive memory that were forbidden or erased in the course of the long nation-building process. The action is not limited to the Armenian case but encompasses all ethnic and religious heterogeneity of the late Ottoman Empire.

DELIVERANCE OF MEMORY

We will see over time the tangible consequences of this quest for sense by Turkish society, a quest, as mentioned before, in which the Apology Campaign of December 2008 constituted an important milestone.¹ But already public actions, perhaps not so numerous, but certainly significant, are building up at all levels. Supported by the authorities from time to time, they rely basically on voluntary citizens' initiatives. It is important to shed the light on these actions and bring them to the attention of the international and Armenian public opinion as they contain the seeds of a better future regarding Armenian-Turkish relations. I present here a non-exhaustive list of significant actions and activities.

ACADEMIA AND PUBLISHING:

- Following pioneering publishers like Belge (1977) and Aras (1993), many publishing houses now make known works in connection with the bad memory, but also in relation to the rich cosmopolitan past of the Ottoman Empire;
- A noticeable non-Armenian publishing endeavour consists of books published

¹ www.ozurdiliyoruz.com

in Kurdish on the genocide (Peri Publishing House);

- Similarly following vanguard research work by some scholars, such as Taner Akçam, more and more young scholars are now involved in historical research to revisit and challenge the "official narrative";
- Following the landmark conference of 2005 at Istanbul Bilgi University on Ottoman Armenians, research and academic meetings on Armenians hold an increasingly important place in the academic landscape. One should note in particular the international conference that took place on the "scene of the crime" in Diyarbakir, in November 2011, on the theme of "Economic and Social History of Diyarbakir and Region between 1838 and 1938" which brought together the grandchildren of both victims and perpetrators to discuss common memory;
- An increasing number of university chairs is devoted to the language, history and culture of minorities;
- In February 2009 a scholar of the Diaspora, Marc Nichanian, taught for the first time topics directly related to the genocide at Sabancı University in Istanbul.

INDIVIDUAL MEMORY SEARCH:

- Many people seek, discover or rediscover ancestors of non-Muslim origin in their families, ancestors who converted or were forced to convert or orphans whose parents and families were massacred following the landmark testimony of Fethiye Çetin, granddaughter of an Armenian orphan girl who was forced to convert "My Grandmother: An Armenian-Turkish Memoir" Verso, 2012;
- The work of sociologist Laurence Ritter together with Max Sivaslian, "Les Restes de l'Épée" (The Remains of the Sword) Thaddée, 2012, and that of journalist Ferda Balancar, "The Sounds of Silence", Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2012 evoke the survivors of the genocide, those crypto-Armenians of Anatolia who discover or uncover their Armenian identity; as of early 2015 there are 15 books published on the topic;
- Many written and filmed testimonies appear on the genealogy of families and entire tribes, resurrecting the erased data.

PUBLIC AWARENESS AND VISIBILITY:

Non-Muslim minorities literally discover themselves and are "discovered" by Turkish society. Here are a few examples:

- No less than seven associations of mutual aid and culture have been created since 2010 by Armenians of Arapgir, Burunkışla, Dersim, Malatya, Sasoun, Sivas and Vakıflı. The latter is the only authentically Armenian one in Turkey, the association that bears its name was created in 2000, before the others;
- Following the Apology Campaign, public commemorations of the genocide have now started to take place on April 24 since 2010 in various cities, in public and outdoors. On the centenary of the genocide no less than 28 cities held public commemorations.
- A landmark conference on those crypto-Armenians of Anatolia who discover or uncover their Armenian identity has taken place on November 2013 in Istanbul;

- Meetings between Armenians and Turks are taking place in increasing numbers, in Armenia, Turkey and third countries; Armenian Diaspora organizations such as Civiltas Foundation, National Congress of Western Armenians, Yerkir, Terre et Culture are now visible in Turkey;
- Public use of the word "genocide", while still prohibited by law, is becoming common;
- Academic and amateur research on the notorious and anonymous righteous people who saved lives during the massacres are increasing, a special History Fund is created with the Hrant Dink Foundation to support research;
- Studies on the former names of settlements that have been renamed in Turkish are launched. Names are sometimes claimed by the inhabitants themselves and restored by the public authorities. (cf. Index Anatolicus, a substantial research project that is now accessible on the Web);
- Itinerant exhibitions on the life of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, based on postcards of the time, are criss-crossing Anatolia;
- A project on a comprehensive catalogue of Armenian foundations in Ottoman territory was launched by the Hrant Dink Foundation. The project has now been extended to cover Greek, Jewish and Syriac heritages;
- A photo exhibition has taken place for the first time in Merzifon pertaining to an Armenian family of the town;
- Some real-estate belonging to Armenian foundations confiscated by the authorities since 1930ies are returned back to the owners in Istanbul and Diyarbakir;
- Since 2013 the Armenian-Turkish platform REPAIR managed by the French-Armenian NGO Yerkir Europe in partnership with the Turkish foundation Anadolu Kültür allows the exchange of different viewpoints on issues of common concern;

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL DISCOVERY:

- Several works for the restoration of Armenian monuments and buildings (Surp Harch of Aghtamar, Surp Giragos of Diyarbakir, Surp Krikor Lusarevitch of Kayseri, Surp Vortvots Vorodmans of Istanbul) are undertaken;
- Itinerant exhibitions on Armenians architects of Istanbul travel throughout Turkey and abroad;
- A ring of abandoned fountains in Habab (Elazığ), a formerly Armenian village is restored. Initially reluctant Kurdish population of the village finally participates in the restoration works;
- For the first time an Armenian cemetery, that of Arapgir, a city with an important Armenian population before 1915, is restored;
- A brand new Armenian chapel, a first worship building since the genocide is erected in the Armenian cemetery of Malatya, a city where only a handful of Armenians remain;
- Armenian-Turkish co-productions on shared memory are multiplying. Inter alia the documentary of film maker Serge Avédikian: "Barking Island", which was

awarded at the Cannes Festival in 2010;

- An international consortium supports the first meaningful restoration works at the ancient Armenian capital city of Ani at the Armenian-Turkish border.
- Several books by Armenian authors of the late Ottoman Empire are re-edited.



IMPACT AND PERSPECTIVES OF SOCIETAL MEMORY WORKS

For the civil society of Turkey remembering its heterogeneity, learning History other than the artificial official narrative, comparing conflicting memories, mutually opening up the memories to each other means empathy and acknowledgment of the injustices and sufferings that various religious, ethnic, and linguistic entities had to bear for the sake of nation building and transfer of wealth.

Liberals have two assets in order to face duly those challenges. First there is now a society acquainted to free speech, that raises objections, enjoys the state of freedom and which is slowly abolishing the guardianship of the former elite thanks to government's reformist action of 2002-2005. Such society stands against the lies and taboos imposed by the former elite -- and this is happening for the first time. Is it easy to control such a society that enjoys democracy and controls its own fate? It should be noted that the process of change and transformation has not only taken place thanks to the external dynamic or the government's early reformism. The society has also paid a substantial price for it, probably symbolized by the murdered journalist Hrant Dink² whose assassination became a turning point in the dynamic of memory works. Today the social maturation looks as Turkey's key asset.

Secondly and within this framework, the more the pious people will realize that the founding national ideology has alienated non-Turks, non-Sunni Muslims and

² Born in 1954 Hrant Dink was the key figure of the Armenianness in Turkey. He privileged the democratization as the potential driving force for the recollection of truth, worked relentlessly to create a public consciousness about the atrocities committed against Armenians and other non-Muslim groups through the weekly *Agos* he launched in 1996 with some others.

non-Muslims no less than themselves the Sunni Muslims, the more they will assume a leading role to reveal the facts and past pains, address injustices and distance themselves from this ideology, the more Turkish democracy will be consolidated and will allow more empathy. In fact today we can observe an emergent and very promising reassessment by Sunni Muslim intellectuals of the founding ideology that ethnically, religiously, socially and economically engineered and remodeled entire Anatolia during over a century.

On the other hand civil society needs interlocutors to interact with. Indeed there is not yet sufficient interface to Turkish civil actions in Armenia yet. Actually the most engaging and active elements among the Armenian activists are mainly from Diaspora. With them a mutual discovery process is underway as those who interact speak the same language as they are from similar intellectual backgrounds. There are however unenthusiastic elements especially in France and U.S., mainly the Dashnak structures which try to put breaks to the dialogue but without tangible results. As for Armenia a growingly empowered civil society is becoming a valuable interlocutor in interaction with its counterpart in Turkey.

A final observation on the respective roles of the State and society in policies of memory is unavoidable. The society is the natural actor of the policies of memory. In order to be perennial, substantial and coherent, policies of memory need societal dynamics whatever the capacity of the society to influence the lawmaker is. In the Turkish case this assertion is even more tangible. For three reasons: First, a society cannot be healed so to recover its memory by the very actor, the State of the Republic of Turkey that precisely lobotomized it. Secondly large chunks of Ottoman and later Turkish elites have happily adhered to de-memorization works proposed by the official denialist narrative in order to justify the massive seizure of property and wealth as well as to excuse the ethnic cleansing of Armenians for "holy national interests". There is not only a legal but also an historical continuity between the two States. Thirdly, a review of societal sub-consciousness needs to be anchored in the very core of society to bear any value, and by symmetry not dictated by the cold and selfish interests of a State. A telling example is the public reaction to Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt's apology for Nazi crimes in Warsaw in 1970, the famous *Kniefall von Warschau*. German public opinion largely disapproved Chancellor's act despite the official responsibility of the Federal Republic. A similar disapproval was seen during the construction works of the Jüdisches Museum in Berlin.

Thus, even slow, lengthy and understandably forcing the limits of one's patience waiting for a due recognition and reparation of century-old crimes committed during Ottoman era, the development of policies of memory growing out of a painstaking yet convulsive societal recollection remains a healthy and perennial endeavour. And although the road for civil activism is largely clear, the "State Highway" looks as much obstructed by structural roadblocks.

HOLOCAUST

The Holocaust was an unprecedented genocide, total and systematic, perpetrated by Nazi Germany and its collaborators, with the aim of annihilating the Jewish people. The primary motivation was the Nazis' antisemitic racist ideology. Between 1933 and 1941, Nazi Germany pursued a policy that dispossessed the Jews of their rights and their property, followed by the branding and concentration of the Jewish population. This policy gained broad support in Germany and much of occupied Europe. In 1941, following the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Nazis and their collaborators launched the systematic extermination of the Jews.

Millions of Jews from all over Europe were rounded up and deported on freight trains to extermination camps – industrial murder facilities in which the Jews were gassed to death. During the entire process, the Germans deceived the victims as to the real purpose of their journey. In this way, some three million Jews were murdered in the extermination camps, including Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor, and Majdanek. Nearly six million Jews were murdered throughout Europe in 1941-1945.



The State of Israel, on behalf of the Jewish people, conferred upon Yad Vashem the task of bestowing the title of "Righteous Among the Nations" on non-Jewish rescuers who risked their lives to save Jews. Their stories serve as a model of heroism and humane and moral behavior, as well as the preservation of the sanctity of human life.



▲ German citizens watching the burning of the Horowitz Synagogue in Frankfurt am Main on Kristallnacht, Germany, November 10, 1938



▲ Birkenau entrance gate, Poland, 1945

September 19, 1941 ►
Starving Jewish children
in the streets of
the Warsaw Ghetto, Poland



Yad Vashem provided photos
for the Global Forum



Prof. Yair Auron

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY, ISRAEL



Yair Auron (born April 30, 1945) is an Israeli historian, scholar and expert specializing on Holocaust and Genocide studies, racism and contemporary Jewry. Auron is a full professor at The Open University of Israel. Auron studied history and sociology at Tel-Aviv University, received his MA from The Hebrew University, and Ph.D. diploma from the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris III, France. From 1974 to 1976

Auron worked as the Director of the Education Department, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, in 1980's he was a researcher of the Center for Jewish Education, Hebrew University and Academic director of European Section, The Israel Diaspora Institute, Tel-Aviv University. In 1996-1999 he was a Senior Lecturer in College of Yezreel, Head of the Division of Cultural Studies. Auron is a member of the Academic Board of Directors, Zoryan Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts; An Associate Director and Member of the Academic Board of Directors, The Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem; and an Advisory Board member of The Genocide Education Project, San Francisco.

DENYING GENOCIDE PREPARES THE GROUND TO A NEW GENOCIDE

Professor Yair Auron from the Open University of Israel started his presentation with a brief remark on the indifference of international community to the genocide in Rwanda back in 1994. He said: "While teaching at the American University of Armenia I spoke about the genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda, about 1 million victims killed during 100 days. I dared to think how many were killed in a day. And one of my students took the computer and he said that every second between 6 to 7 people were killed during 100 days. And what did we do? There were the Olympic Games and the Football World Championship in the USA at that time. 1 million people were killed, massacred and all of us knew that, there was no protest during the football games, and the games continued to be played, with many spectators from US and all over the world."

Commenting on genocide denial and prevention efforts Professor Auron noted,

"When we deny a genocide we prepare ground for a new one. And this is the case with the Armenian genocide. We can talk endlessly. But if until now only 24 countries have recognized the Armenian genocide, we have no possibilities to prevent future ones. The recognition of the Armenian Genocide is not an issue between Armenians and the Turks, it is an issue for humanity ... You are victims twice. You are victims of the genocide and you are victims of the denial."

When I speak with young Armenians nowadays, they do not know anyone from their families who were survivors, as they were the parents of their grandparents. However, the genocide is in the bottom of their life because of the denial. I know that there are many people that say, they should give up with the genocide de-

nial or that we have to move forward. Honestly, you can go forward, you can just go forward only if the genocide is recognized. You will continue to suffer from the trauma of the genocide and the trauma of the denial.

And I think you have to find the way to combine the struggle for the recognition and the struggle for the survival of Armenia and survival of Nagorno-Karabakh. Your struggle for survival is not over unfortunately. When you see Armenia, when you see Karabakh you understand that it is unfortunately not over."

Talking about the necessity of Turkey's recognition of the Armenian genocide he underlined: "I was in Turkey 6 years ago and I told the Turks that without the recognition of the Armenian genocide Turkey will not be a democratic society. The Turks, for their own purposes must recognize the Armenian genocide. Otherwise, they will be in the same circle of denial, which will not let them become a genuine democratic society."

Professor Auron emphasized the importance of the recognition of the Armenia genocide by the United States of America and Germany. "Germany does not recognize the Armenian genocide, while Germany has to be one of the first countries to recognize, because of their responsibility. When the Parliament recognized in a quite complicated way the genocide, it was not recognition per se, it was a declarative statement, not to deal with deep moral issue of responsibility and guilt. Germany especially, because of its past, must

recognize the Armenian genocide, as it recognized the Jewish genocide – the Holocaust."

"When we speak about the genocide, we speak about the perpetrators and about the victims. And we say there is the third party. The third party is the absolute majority of humanity. In other genocides only a small part of the humanity was involved directly. The third party is those few who support the victims, they are few on the ground and there are few outside. The one who support the victims and try to save them are righteous, in each genocide



there are righteous people. They are few, but we have to remember them. At the same time there are quite many who support the perpetrators. Why? They are strong. They benefit by supporting the strong party. They hope that they would get something that belonged to the victims after the genocide. And the third part of the third party is the bystanders. We, most of us are bystanders. What is happening now, whether we call it officially genocide or not, people are killing now, every day, every hour, probably every minute in different parts of the world? What we

are doing, honestly? Nothing! It is ongoing. And I want to say, that I become more and more convinced that there are not three parties: you are with the victim, or not! If you are not with the victim, then you are with the perpetrators. And I want to use this category, to implement it in the case of denial.

When you do not recognize the Armenian genocide, you deny it, you are with the Turkish side.

You have to decide. It is a moral issue. And we have to decide. For me, dealing with the Armenian genocide is a moral issue, not political, or legal issue, we have to deal with the Armenian genocide because we are human beings.

As a Jew, I want to say something very clear about Israel. We cannot avoid it. Israel does not recognize the Armenian genocide; even sometimes, we go farther. In some way we EVEN DENY the Armenian genocide, unfortunately. Israel should be the first country to recognize the Armenian genocide, but we do not.

When we deny the Armenian genocide we betray the memory of our victims, because, for me, after having worked on genocide studies for many years, I came to the conclusion, the legacy of genocides is the holiness of the life of human beings. And second, equivalence of life of human beings, whether it is a Jewish, an Armenian, or Turkish, Palestinian or Tutsi. If we do not understand these two lessons for genocide, we can say many times "never again", but it will happen again and again."



Ragıp Zarakolu

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST, TURKEY

Ragıp Zarakolu (born 1948) is a human rights activist and publisher who has long faced legal harassment for publishing books on controversial subjects in Turkey, especially on minority and human rights in Turkey. In 1977 R. Zarakolu and his wife Ayşenur established the Belge Publishing House in Istanbul, which has been a focus for Turkish censorship laws ever since. Charges brought against the couple resulted in imprisonment for both Ayşenur and Ragıp Zarakolu, the wholesale confiscation and destruction of books and the imposition of heavy fines. In 1979 Ragıp Zarakolu was one of the founders of the daily newspaper Demokrat and took responsibility for the news desk on foreign affairs. The paper was banned with the military coup of 12 September 1980 and Ragıp Zarakolu was shortly imprisoned in 1982 in connection with this position in Demokrat. He also has published several books on the Armenian Genocide, such as George Jerjian's *The Truth Will Set Us Free: Armenians and Turks Reconciled* and Professor Dora Sakayan's *An Armenian Doctor in Turkey: Garabed Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922* — which brought new criminal charges in 2005. In November 2007 Zarakolu published David Gaunt's book "Massacres, resistance, protectors" about the Assyrian Genocide in Turkish ("Katliamlar, Direniş, Koruyucular").

100 YEARS OF REALITY AND DENIAL

The first commemoration held in Istanbul.

5 days remain till the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Armenian, as well as Assyrian and Greek genocides in the world and in Turkey.

Six months after the end of WWI, the commemoration and mourning events were held at three different churches in Istanbul for the first time. We know that representatives of diplomatic community participated in those events, however we do not know whether any Ottoman official participated or not. Later, the day of arrests of Armenian intellectuals and community leaders in Istanbul was considered the launch of the Genocide. Mass arrests of intellectuals were periodically exercised towards the opposition circles. For example the mass arrest of intellectuals, known as "sledgehammer movement", was carried out in 1971, when the curfew was declared the army/parliament joint coup. But there is an important difference between 24 April and this event- the chance of surviving. After 1980 there was another arrest operations carried out against writers' organizations, peace organizations. After the 1980 coup, the largest migration of intellectuals and writers to Europe took place.

Meanwhile, the 1919 symbolizes the launch of parliamentary investigation on people responsible for the Genocide, and some of the trials were reviewed by military tribunal. As a result of these trials Talaat, Enver and some other high ranking officials were sentenced to death in absentia. But meantime ITF (Committee of Union and Progress) network, which was still powerful in the city, was able to silence the voices of writers like Hasan Amca and Ahmet Refik, who were testifying about the Armenian Genocide in their writings.

However upon the testimony of the Armenian Patriarchate, some of the ITF officials were arrested and sent to Malta, being sentenced for the crimes against humanity. The brave Interior Minister, who carried out these arrests, journalist and academician Ali Kemal was labelled Artin Kemal by ITF circles. Later he was removed from the Ministry in the result of those campaigns. The new Istanbul Government started openly cooperating with Ankara. Ali Kemal was arrested by the agents of Sakallı Nurettin Pasha, whose Central Army was organizing massacres of Greeks and Kurds in Pontus and Kochgiri regions, burning Izmir in September 1922, killing the civilian population and lynching Izmir Metropolitan. Ankara started again appointing the people, responsible for genocide, to government positions, allotting salary to the families of Bogazliyan Governor, Talaat pasha and others, as a token of appreciation for dying for their homeland. This money came from confiscated property of the Armenians and the Greeks.

Denial of the Genocide was part of the national security policy of Turkey since its foundation. In 2001 denialism was elevated to the highest level and ASİMKA (Coordination Committee for Fight Against Baseless Genocide Allegations) was created. The first chairman of this committee was Deputy Prime Minister Devlet Bahçeli. Since Abdullah Gül the chairmanship has been assumed by the Foreign Minister.

Another spark for creating this kind of body was the dialogue, organized between Armenian and Turkish academicians under the auspices of the French Senate. Until that day parliamentary resolutions on the Genocide were adopted by the lower chamber, but prevented by Senate as a result of long negotiations, because state interests were at a stake. But this time it was different. Even friends of Turkey at Senate were affected by this meeting, thinking that "even Turkish civil society admits the reality and debates it and after that we shall endorse the resolution". Some of them preferred to stay neutral. Thus French state officially recognized the Armenian genocide. The Armenian diaspora representatives were not invited to participate in this dialogue. And that's the reason there were protests in front of the Senate. Therefore after the meeting no joint declaration was adopted.

The organizers of the meeting were the Center for the Armenian Diaspora Studies, created by Jean Claude Kebabjian, and Belge International Printing, headed by Ayşe Nur Zarakolu, with the mediation of Murat Belge (who cancelled the visit because of cancer). Mete Tunçay, Oral Çalışlar, Baskın Oran (who sent a text) participated in the meeting. I participated too. The speakers of Armenia were president of the Genocide Museum Lavrenti Barseghyan, academician and journalist Hakob Cağırman and former Deputy Foreign Minister Gerard Libaridian. The chairman of the meeting was Henri Alleg, who is an icon of justice of Algerian war and was imprisoned and tortured by the French army. This can be considered an indirect apology from French Parliament to Alleg. Alleg said in his remarks that recognition of the Armenian Genocide is a moral duty and reminded that France apologised for the

Algerian war. Thus the Algerian trump card was taken from the Turkish Republic. After the meeting the government sent our public presentations to YOK (Supreme Education Board) as if they were confidential, and demanded to disprove them. Meanwhile one of the centers of denialism, Dogu Perincek's Aydınlık magazine, claimed that they were confiscated, started attacks and later printed these disapproved papers without writers' permission. With the state's sponsorship, this pirate book was printed twice.

The so-called right/left coalition government, formed by Bulent Ecevit and Devlet Bahçeli, issued a decree creating the ASİMKA. Genocide denialism became the core component of the national security policy.

The militarists were the power behind this, those who organized post modern coup on February 28. For the first time two branches of İttihat ve Terakki – the Turanists and the Kemalists, created after WWI, joined together. Ecevit already was not in CHP but was the bearer of anti-Kurdish and denialist political traditions.

In 1990s the Turkish Republic described the first intellectual, who recognized the Genocide and human rights movement, as marginal and did not pay enough attention. But after the February 28 coup genocide denialism became one of the important elements of Turkish state system, that is claimed to be 1000 years old.

Meanwhile, that also included some anti-Christian elements. The so-called radical secular Neo-Ataturkism and the group of Dogu Perincek, which presented the missionaries as a threat in a famous book, started a campaign full of hate speech, that not only portrayed the genocide as a missionary play but targeted Greek Orthodox and Armenian churches, which had nothing to do with missionaries. There were serious attacks on Catholic clergymen, Little Turk Protestant church, because they did not have any status under Lausanne Treaty. Throughout this period the organization of numerous denialist conferences and seminars, distribution of tens of thousands CDs by General Staff to schools, printing of tens of thousands denialist books were culminated by the assassination of Hrant Dink in 2007 and, afterwards, the massacre of Malatya missionaries.

Hrant Dink's assassination, apart from creating a split in society, demonstrated the depth of plotting against an elected government. The protests of Hrant's assassination gave the government courage to resist the plot and call for an early election.

The documents, leaked in result of the clashes between government and Gulen movement-controlled Justice and Police departments, as well as the clashes within the leadership, included the plans to kill the Armenian and Greek religious leaders and community members. Plans targeting a few genocide researchers also leaked, which were never disclaimed.

No one will deny that there are improvements in the conditions of Christian minorities. Christian foundations got a little relief. But even after these "improvements" there was a worry that win/win principle will be surpassed while using city centre rents. There was a growing perception, that as these foundations become independent from the center's control, communities will isolate themselves from the heads of this foundations. While this was happening, seemingly pacified ASIMKK continued its existence. An assistant of each governor had a task to assist in the job of this body. But it was already a tacit work.



The Turkish state's position on the 1915 genocide, which was first presented to the international community by İtihat ve Terakki in 1916 in French, will be represented in a new fashion in 2015. The only change will be the condolence expressed after 99 years:

- There was no plan to annihilate all Armenians.
- Because of the WWI, the Young Turks government organized not even a deportation, but a relocation within the borders of the empire.
- The fact of some casualties are not denied but meanwhile Armenian revolutionaries are responsible for Van rebellion and activates behind the front. (Official historiography of the Republic has developed rhetoric of laying the responsibility of Van rebellion not on the Armenian revolutionaries, but on all Armenians. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain the systematic killings of religious leaders, heads of all Armenian organizations and parties).
- Mutual clashes also took place. Losses are casualties of war which is a quite normal.
- Armenians on their part killed Muslims under the patronage of the Russian army
- We forgot the deportation of Muslims from the Balkans, the same we expect from you regarding the events of 1915.

As a result, Turkey will try to put forward and legitimize other dimensions of WWI to balance Genocide commemorations worldwide in 2015.

- According to the official thesis, Turkey was fighting for its survival and Armenians and other Anatolian Christians betrayed it, collaborating with the enemy. Within this thesis Gallipoli battle commemoration events were moved from March 18 to April to neutralize April 24 commemorations. But this turned into a scandal, with the strange participation of England and Australia.
- In all publications, TV programs, journal publications the declaration of Jihad with Germany was hidden, because this will demonstrate the similarities between 1915 and current atrocities in the Middle East. There is an attempt to cover the link between jihadist ideology and ethnic cleansing and genocide.
- Turkey even avoids a shallow, personal apology that would not include compensation; however, it could serve as a diplomatic move to alleviate the international pressure.
- Even moves aimed to relieve diaspora, such as issuing passports, waving visas and other gestures were not undertaken.
- Just the opposite, Turkey returned to an aggressive rhetoric, initiating the use of Genocide as a non-ethical tool to gain votes from extreme nationalist circles for June elections.

New denialist historians were sent to research the Russian archives. Thus, they were trying to prove that the Armenians were traitors and were organizing massacres of Muslims with the assistance of the Russian. Here again a selective approach was displayed.

So what is the result of this?

- The loss of civilian population is linked to the war and wartime conditions such as diseases, starvation, etc. and on the other hand, number of losses is reduced to tens of thousands of people. Moreover, some of so-called academicians say that so many people did not die, because many Armenians converted into Islam.
- Armenians deserved the genocide. Thus, denialists in an indirect way recognize that genocide was committed.
- If such genocide would happen, the Armenian diaspora would have not existed. Look, some Armenians stayed alive.

By saying these things they do not even guess that they completely confess all the provisions of 1948 Genocide Convention in other rhetoric. This approach can be described as "misery of denialism".

WHO REMEMBERS THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE?

So, how the Armenian community remembers the 1915? From the Armenian point of view the most important reason for not forgetting it was Turkey's intentional denialism. The other reason is withering away of hopes for repatriation.

Denialism deepens the wounds of genocide. Denialism deepens the pain that for 100 years dead people are not buried yet. As denialism continues the graves will still stay open. That's why one of the milestones in healing of the Bosnian genocide was the opening of mass graves, identifying of bodies by the DNA, returning of those bodies to families and burying according to their families rituals. Today in Kurdistan permission to rebury their relatives alleviates the pain.

Yes, Hitler's words, used to pacify his top military commanders before invading Poland, are quite meaningful in regard with the crimes against humanity.

"Who is remembering Genghis Khan's deeds? Who is remembering what happened to Armenians?" It is important that Hitler did not forget and recognized that event. The world had forgotten, but Hitler remembered.

Because the man, whom the Mein Kampf was dedicated to and who died in 1923 during the Munich putsch- his friend Scheubner-Richter, was the assistant to Consul in Erzurum during the Genocide. He even wrote critical reports and was reprimanded by the mastermind of German-Young Turk Jihad, Foreign Minister Max Von Oppenheim.

International politics does not give an opportunity to survivors to repatriate after genocide. That was one of the main claims of Armenians, who were forcefully replaced after the 1877 Ottoman-Russian war. The main policy of the Ottoman state was de-Armenization of the historical Armenian plateau and its surrounding regions. This policy of inciting the Armenian-Kurdish contradictions was started with Abdul Hamid and finalized by Talaat Pasha, who boasted about it to US Ambassador Morgenthau.

Armenian people, like Jews, were not completely eliminated. Along with apology and compensation one of the main claims of survivors has been the repatriation.

In different stages of world history this was manifested in different ways.

- After the 1918 Mondros Armistice those who survived the Genocide in Syria and other places, returned to Cilicia, Antep, Urfa and Maras under the French guarantees. But as a result of 1921 agreement between France and the Ankara government, the French forces withdrew and Armenians under the threat of new massacres were forced to scatter around the world for the second time.
- After Nazi surrender in 1945, the Armenian diaspora launched a new campaign to return to Homeland. Kars and Ardahan, that had become a part of the Russian Empire as a result of 1878 Berlin Agreement, were returned to Turkey by the new Soviet state under the Brest Litovsk Treaty because of the hardships, faced by German offensive. Young Turks government agreed to hold a referendum to define the final status of these lands, but as a result of de-Armenization

of the region only Muslims took part in the voting. Soviet Union did not raise this issue up until the WWII because of good neighbourly relations with Turkey. But for them it was still a debatable issue. Thus, Soviet government demanded to end this illegal annexation in return of restoration of good relations which were affected during the WWII. Since the Armenian diaspora had launched a powerful campaign, Moscow was thinking this would not become a problem with Western allies, because this kind of border rectifications happened with Finland, Poland and other states too. But the start of Cold War and atomic bomb incident made Stalin to close this case. And Anatolian Armenians, who repatriated to the Soviet Armenia with dreams of home, felt themselves imprisoned in Eastern Armenia.

- All these kept alive the enthusiasm of repatriation among the first and second generations of Armenians. And during the 50th anniversary an unexpected thing happened in Yerevan. Hundreds and thousands of people commemorated the 50th anniversary. We have to remember that Soviet Armenian sheltered a good number of genocide survivors. In Turkey there was no one remembering the Armenian Genocide, and new generations did not know about it. Official textbooks were writing about Greek and Armenian betrayals during the Kemalist movement. Even the WWI was hidden in a fog in order not to remember the crime of Ittihadists. The historical date of May 19, 1919, did not exist. Moreover, Turkish media reported that the Greek diaspora was standing behind the event, because of the Cyprus problem. The Armenian events were completely erased. There was a total amnesia also in regard with the Assyrian and Greek massacres.
- The 1980 Military Coup and dictatorship opened the door for the first return to Anatolia. But the Armenian revolutionaries organized a terrorist attack against the Military PM Bulent Ulusu at the Esenboga Airport. Palestine liberation movement became a source of inspiration for third generation of Armenians in the Middle East. Those were terrorist acts against Turkish diplomats and organizations that cannot be accepted. But state terror that was massively committed by Turkish fascist military dictatorship partly legitimized the opposite terror. ASALA activities broke international amnesia, even though with heavy price.
- General Evren upgraded the genocide denialism to the level of denying the Armenian presence. Historical Armenia was erased from textbooks of history and geography. Destruction policies against historical ruins were absolutized. The remains of the 1915 Resistance Monument were destroyed through shelling. Genocide denialism became one of the essential elements of state policy and that mission was entrusted to some academicians. General Evren is the mastermind of the wording "so-called Armenian genocide". But this approach raised the alarm in the third generation of Armenians throughout of the Diaspora. The April 24 commemorations, that have faded away, again revived.

- Turkish state, that had just suppressed its left movement, did not pay enough attention to the Kurdish freedom movement that started in 1984. But this movement, absorbing the reactions to the September 12's regime, gained mass support against state terrorism. In 1990s popular dissents broke out in Cizre district and Ankara's control started to weaken. Kurdish taboo started involving intellectuals. The State declared a state of emergency. As if this was not enough, Dirty War started spreading on every level. State propaganda again found the Armenians responsible for this. The circumcision of guerrillas was practiced. Some were even collecting ears of dead guerrillas. Again deportation policies started. 4 million people were displaced from their homes, 4 thousand villages and forests were burnt. All these horrors played an important role in breaking the amnesia of the Armenian genocide. 1995 recognition of the Armenian genocide by Human Rights Movement (which was part of International Federation for Human Rights/FIDH), had its impact on the region; genocide recognition, largely covered in free Kurdish media, paved a way for the growth of awareness on the Armenian Genocide in Kurdistan. On the other hand, the State's repressions increased the empathy.

RETURN OF THE APRIL 24 COMMEMORATIONS TO THE COUNTRY

In 1919 the Armenian community commemorated the April 24. This community is under such a great pressure by the Republic that even today does not hold commemoration services in churches.

The only Muslim country that does not commemorate the April 24 is Turkey.

Today this commemoration is a ritual in Iran. During this commemoration the Armenian community opens an exhibition on WWI newspapers which included the Genocide in their headlines. Meanwhile, the reason this is not done in some Middle Eastern countries is neo-jihadism. This is also the reason why Der Zor and Megadot commemoration church and chapel were destroyed.

That's why the mission of the April 24 commemoration has by default become a human rights campaign.

People from the Armenian community can one by one participate in these commemorations. The first modest commemoration of April 24 was held in a progressive cultural centre in Istanbul suburbs, by Genocide witness Sarkis Cherkesyan, who was born in 1916 at Meskene camp.

After this, in 2008 Bilgi University opened its doors before the panel on the April 24 commemoration, organized by IHD (Human Rights Association). Ara Sarafyan was the keynote speaker of the panel.

In 2009 events were organized by Tutun Depo, the affiliate of the Anatolian Cultural Center. This commemoration included music selection of writers and poets who died on April 24. Meanwhile another exhibition displaying the posters from the Armenian book (with Turkish translations), called "Huasharzan/ April 24 Commemoration" was held, which included the paintings and works of the Armenian intellectuals, killed on April 24. The works were first released by Teodik in 1919, during the first April 24 commemoration.

In 2010 IHD Istanbul branch organized quite a meaningful event - a seated protest at the stairs of the Haydarpasa station with the photos of victims. It was the place from where the Armenian intellectuals and of course composer Gomitas started their road to nowhere.



The first commemoration event of the Armenian community was organized by Agos newspaper in Balikli cemetery at Hrant Dinks grave and 1896-1908 Victims Monument. (Later, the Armenian youth newspaper Nor Zartonk started participating in commemorations on behalf of the Armenian community. There are rumours that the Armenian Church will participate in 100th Anniversary after keeping silence since 1919.)

On the same afternoon anti-racist DurDe Initiative organized the first public commemoration at Taksim Square. Both meetings were attacked by nationalists.

Moreover, along with the commemoration event in the capital of Turkey and despite two days of direct and indirect obstacles, a two-day conference on the Armenian Genocide was organized 'at the monster's heart', as Jose Marty would call it, with participation of brave speakers from the Armenian diaspora. Khachik Muradryan's participation, who is the editor of 130-years old and currently Boston based Hayrenik newspaper and the Armenian Weekley, as one of the main speakers, gave a special meaning to the conference.

2011 commemoration event was organized by IHD in front of Sultahmanet Mehterhane prison, where the Armenian intellectuals, arrested on April 24, stayed the first night. In the evening DurDe held a commemoration at Taksim. For the first time commemorations were organized in Ankara, Diyarbakir, Bodrum. Besides, a forum entitled "What happened on April 24" was organized at Taksim Hill hotel with participation of leftist and liberal speakers. Another painful case was military serviceman

Sevag Sahin's killing by fellow soldier. "Saturday Mothers" organization, that has been undertaking actions for human disappearances for 20 years, this time asked for justice for the Armenians, who were the first to disappear upon their detention.

Since 2012 commemoration events in Sultanahmet, Haydarpaşa, Galatasaray and Taksim have become a tradition. That year an additional commemoration was held on the grave of Sevgi Shahin, killed on April 24, 2011.

In 2013 Izmir and Adana towns also participated in commemorative events, besides, a panel entitled "Kurds tell about the Armenian genocide" was organized. During the 98th anniversary of the Genocide a conference entitled "Diyarbakir's Armenians" was organized in Diyarbakir. This was the first commemoration in Kurdistan. The main speaker Ara Sarafyan and writers and intellectuals participating in the conference threw flowers to Tigris river from On Gozlu bridge, from where the Armenians were saved by farriers. Another characteristic of that year was the participation of the members of the French Armenian community in the commemorations and conferences. Another peculiarity was the first commemoration in Zincirlikuyu at the grave of righteous Turkish official, who said no to genocide. Kutahya's governor Faik Ali Bey (Ozansoy), despite pressure by Talaat Pasa, did not obey the Deportation decrees and saved Kutahya Armenians. And also the first commemoration of the atrocities of 1915 was held in Dersim.

In 2014 Haydarpaşa station, the starting point of deportations was again a center of commemorations. Former Armenian Foreign Minister and candidate of the last presidential elections, who got 35 % of votes, Raffi Hovhannisyan spoke at the event and threw flowers into the water of Marmara in tribute for the memory of the Armenian intellectuals. This time more than 1000 people participated in the Taksim commemorations and the Armenian psalms were sung.

In 2015, the IHD, plans to commemorate and lay flowers at the places of massacres and river banks throughout in Turkey, where it has branches. A general coordination center is formed in Istanbul in order to organize more comprehensive commemoration events. This is of course from the viewpoint of civil society.

In its turn, the state is carrying out "yes, but" denialist programs, which directly and indirectly blame Armenians for the atrocities of 1915 and hold them responsible: it organizes conferences, airs TV programs, and prints books throughout the year. AKP government is about to halt the process of condolences to Armenians, that started last year, like it did with the Protocols.

PM Erdogan, while being asked by a journalist what he thinks of the EU parliament resolution on the Armenian Genocide, said "it will go in my one ear and out the other".

On his part the Foreign Minister called the document, supported by all EU parliament groups, a ridiculous text, preferring to humiliate it.

Meanwhile, this year Pope Francis, the religious leader of the Catholic world, who sends condolences on the Armenian Genocide every year since 2002, reaffirmed his position and condemned it.

Turkish nationalists hacked the official webpage of Vatican.

This was a bad coincidence, because a few days before that the ISIL followers hacked the France 5 channel and aired the motto "we are all ISIL".

Pope Francis, who is from Latin America, gave a new image to the post of Pope. Originating from the country which has witnessed political genocide and tragedy of colonels junta, he took a congruent approach towards the Armenian genocide, unlike President Obama. Even after assuming the post, he did not deviate from his personal opinion.

It's a pity that denialist policy keeps humiliating Turkey before mankind.

This year the US State Department's spokesperson Marie Harf spoke more openly and clearly: "President Obama and high ranking officials recognize that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to death in the final days of the Ottoman Empire. Obama and the officials believe that comprehensive, just and sincere acceptance of the reality is in everyone's interest, including Turkey, Armenia and the US." We hope that Obama's policy initiatives regarding Cuba and Iran will be applied to the Armenian Genocide and will not censor his own thoughts on the Genocide.

It is impossible also not to agree with Harf's words that "one of the guiding principles of state is settling accounts with the painful facts of past. Countries can only progress and become strong by recognizing the realities. Doing this is essential for building different and more tolerant future".

The condolence issued by Turkey last year, and the Gallipoli regress of this year caused a disappointment throughout the world.

The whole world is expecting from the Turkish Republic to complete the fulfilment of its moral duty.

It is impossible to delay the recognition of the Armenian Genocide for another century.



Esther Mujawayo-Keiner

GENOCIDE SURVIVOR, RWANDA

Esther Mujawayo-Keiner was born in Rwanda in 1958. She is a sociologist (Master Degree from Université de Louvain la Neuve in Belgium), trauma therapist and author; she worked for years with OXFAM UK in its development and emergency programme in the Great Lakes region (Rwanda, Burundi and Eastern Congo) as a Deputy Country Representative. During the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, her husband, parents and most of her extended family were killed. With other widows she established the self-help group AVEGA (Association des Veuves du Genocide d'Avril). For the moment she works in the PSZ (Psychosocial Center for Refugees) in Düsseldorf. With Souad Belhaddad she wrote two books. Both have been translated in German and the last one in Italian. With BBC and Comic Relief in the UK, she produced a TV documentary, *Hope in Hell* about the women who have been deliberately raped and infected with HIV during the genocide. Esther Mujawayo-Keiner received two prizes for the books, the Bundesverdienstkreuz (Distinguished Service Cross) from the President of the Federal Republic of Germany (October 2008), The Women Social Award in Vienna (Nov 2008) and recently the UN Watch Award. Esther Mujawayo-Keiner is working today in Germany, helping refugees, victims of Genocide from all around the world. And for her work she has been awarded with the 14th Bremen Solidarity Award.

REMARKS

Rwanda genocide survivor Esther Mujawayo started her moving presentation by recalling how in 1994 her parents, husband, sister, all uncles and aunts were massacred, what it means to be a survivor of a genocide.

"Being in Armenia with you, and commemorating the memory of the victims of the Armenian genocide, I feel like I am a sister, a sister in grief, somebody targeted by genocide. A genocide means that you have to die because you have been born Tutsi, you have to die, everybody has to die, we have to be annihilated. I also came here not only as a sister in grief, but also as a sister of hope, of survival and resilience."

I really think, when I look at the survivors of the genocide of Armenians, Jews, Tutsis, that when you look at those people who survived I really think of the image of a tree, when they cut all the branches or nearly all the branches, but hopefully the roots have not been deracinated, you see those branches coming out again. This is what I see in the eyes of all volunteers with such nice scarves, with the depiction of forget-me-not flower on them, those branches are growing again and in Rwanda this is the same."

Recalling some of the worst episodes of the genocide of Tutsis she noted: "I think for me it will be a sharing, when you survive, when you are forced to die, and you find yourself condemned to live, because actually in our case in Rwanda, we were not really wishing to live, as they killed everybody in your family, as they left you as mother, we have many mothers whose children, grandchildren were killed. They

told us they would not kill us, as it would be worse for us to survive without our children. Or, as they raped you. I have many clients, many young girls, who were raped, and the girls asked the rapists, the killers, "Kill me, as you killed my family". And they were told, "I am not killing you, because the life I am giving you is worse". And the young girl, who was 16, did not know what it was, what it meant, only later, she realized like many, many other women-survivors who have been raped. Nearly 70% of them have been infected with AIDS/HIV. In 1994 in Rwanda, AIDS was epidemic, so many women who were affected died slowly... It was not only the people who have been killed, houses that were destroyed, but the society of Rwanda, the country itself has lost values. For genocide to be possible, you have to kill the values first. People will have to believe, that you are not a human being, you are an animal, you are dangerous. In previous plans on committing genocide perpetrators killed men, but to kill women, children, babies was not common. In the propaganda of 1994 genocide, there was no mercy for the babies, women. Hutu women who were pregnant with Tutsi babies were not spared."

Esther Mujawayo then condemned the international community's indifference during the heinous days of the genocide of Tutsis.

"The genocide of Tutsis was a 'known' genocide. The UN was there. General Roméo Dallaire, Force Commander of UNAMIR, was there, he told New York, 'The genocide is going to happen, please, do something', but no one did anything. This is very hard to live with. Later, when you realize, that it was possible for your people to survive, but there was no political will – you were not worth enough, you did not have the same value, as others."

That is why, when I found myself alive, I was actually lucky, because my three daughters survived, they were five, three years old and six months old. Many of my colleagues did not have this chance. And when you find yourself after three months, which was the most rapid genocide – in three months they were capable of killing more than 1 million Tutsis, you are alone, you are emptied, who are you, if you do not have anybody anymore? I used to be the wife of, I used to be the daughter of, I used to be the sister, I used to be the cousin of, I used to be the auntie of, I used to be... they all are no longer there, are gone, but you have to continue to live, to live with their memories. You have to live with the memories of how they were killed. You have to live with the memories of their bodies that you had to walk over and continue to go. We want to reconstruct our lives again, there are things, we cannot change, we cannot reverse, those killed would not return. And those images, ideas that we have with us are traumatic, we have to find some ways of working if we want to move forward."

Remarking on the symbolism of her national dress Esther Mujawayo noted: "Actually what I wanted to tell the people, the survivors, the children, grand-children, grand-grand-children of Armenians who survived the genocide in 1915, that the

reason why I am wearing today my traditional cloth, is not for fashion or fancy. I wore this because it is the cloth of our moms. But the real reason is very sad. When they killed our mothers, you saw in the images, many children, many people were naked, they took the clothes off, so, how would you give back the dignity to your old mother, to your young sister, who were left naked in the street, So, I decided, I am going to wear my traditional cloth, because it has two pieces, and when you meet somebody without a cloth on your path at least we take off one of the piece and cover their nakedness. So, I decided that I would wear this for your mothers, I would wear for my mother, I would wear for your sisters."

She then told the story of her sister's loss: "My sister Stephanie was killed with her three children and husband, and we were not able to find her body because only the killers know where they put them. So, you have to negotiate with them. It takes years. Now, 20 years later, we are still trying to negotiate with them to know where they are. And, in the end, it was so difficult to me not to know where the body of Stephanie was, how can I bury her, to mourn over her? I was really lucky to find in the ruins, (because not only they killed people, they destroyed everything, the houses were destroyed, even the trees were cut, I remember, that even the small road to our parents' house does not exist anymore.) So, I was lucky to be an adult at that time, and when I went back from the main street, I remember from my neighbor's house I had to turn to the right – this was my place. But even this small road to my house is no longer there. When we went there, we were searching for a long time for the truth. What had happened? I found out in the ruins growing small plants, and when I came closer, I found out it was Stephanie's, my sister's, she was one planting the flowers, then I found out it was the flower of Stephanie. I thought to myself, even if they killed Stephanie, her children, threw everything, there is something that stays – la fleur de Stephanie – Stephanie's flower. I decided to grow it again, to fertilize it, now it is a very beautiful flower, and I think, this is the only way for us to gain on the killers. You have to once again find the life, in order to win on the death. This was la fleur de Stephanie, and I wrote a book "La fleur de Stephanie" in French and in German."

She then presented the changes of lifestyle and values in a post-genocidal society:

"In the Rwandan society there were usual greetings. But after the genocide the way you greet people changed. The eldest used to take the youngest in his/her arms and say what he/she wished, so if it is a young lady, we would wish her a husband, but after genocide you were afraid to say so, because, probably, chances are too high that she was a widow. If this was a child, we wished father and mother, this time we were afraid of wishing parents to the children, as probably, they were orphans. If it was a couple, you used to wish them children, but their children might have been killed. If that was nomad we wish a cow, but the cows have been eaten... So, you find a society, where you cannot even use very banal greetings, and to

Christians (as Rwandans are 90% Christians – Catholic and Protestant), one of the greetings is "Jesus be glorified", but people have been killed in the churches, we were wondering where was Jesus, God. He left us. So, you cannot even use this Christian greeting because you do not believe anymore.

But this society is to recover again. We have to believe again, because how can you go ahead, how can you live, if you do not trust? I cannot trust my neighbors who were the ones who did it; I cannot trust human beings, this humanity, communauté internationale de humain.

When the British, the French came to evacuate, I asked them, "Please, can you take my children", as they had a pass and a friend who was able to take them. They said "no." But they evacuated dogs and cats of expatriates. So, for me, it was clear that the value of a Tutsi child is less than that of a French dog or a British cat."

Esther Mujawayo summarized her address by presenting her activities in the AVEGA Association:

"Everything was done and really we have to make it again. This is why we created our Association AVEGA (Association des Veuves du Genocide d'Avril), we created a family, because this is symbolic, we have decided to create a family together again, the women, who came together are now strong, we all are sisters now. Now, you have somebody with whom you can laugh, you have somebody with whom you can cry, you have somebody with whom you can come together, and life can have a meaning again.

In conclusion, I would like to present using example the message that I have from my friends, from AVEGA, from adults who 21 years ago were children:

In the morning when we clean the house, there is a place, behind the fence; behind the house where we place all the manure. When the cows go to graze, we take the manure and put in the place, behind the fence. This place smells, it is not a nice place, where you can go with a friend to have a chat, but when near this place you grow a banana, or pumpkin, it grows, tasty, big and nice. So we decided, if we keep only our sadness, our "smelling past", because it was not nice at all, then everybody will keep away of us. So, we decided to plant, so let us plant bananas, pumpkins, make use of it. And this is what I advise everyone, because I think, everyone has a smelling corner behind the fence. If you leave it smelling then you are done, but if you use it, and I think this is what I see on the smiling faces of young generations of Armenians, you would produce something beautiful and nice."



Donald Wilson Bush

PRESIDENT OF THE WOODROW WILSON LEGACY FOUNDATION, USA

Donald Wilson Bush is a Woodrow Wilson family descendant through his maternal grandfather Charles Wilson McMakin. He is President of the Woodrow Wilson Legacy Foundation and has spent 25 years working as a political consultant in Virginia, Washington, D.C., and California representing candidates from underprivileged communities while advocating for the rights of mothers, children, minorities, immigrants and the poor. Mr. Bush is a peace practitioner and a global advocate for democratic causes. He is an early supporter of the Occupy Wall Street movement and he has given presentations in national and international forums championing civil activism and peace in both Eastern and Western civic traditions. He has been a friend of the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library and Birthplace for 32 years, and his media interviews and lectures have been broadcast to more than 3.5 million people worldwide. Donald Wilson Bush is one of the nation's leading experts on bullying prevention and he is author of Bully-Bully/BP3: The Bullying Prevention Peace Program.

REMARKS

Good Afternoon Your Excellency- President Sargsyan, Government leaders, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

My name is Donald Wilson Bush and I have the unique distinction of being related to at least three US Presidents representing two, seemingly irreconcilable, ideological approaches to executing American foreign policy, namely: political IDEALISM and political REALISM.

After hearing today's presentations, I am convinced now, more than ever that only one of these ideological traditions, namely: IDEALISM, is capable of inspiring the kind of effective leadership necessary to mobilize the international will to intervene in the case of genocide and to hold its perpetrators accountable. But, if we can ever hope to eliminate the consequences of genocide and it causes, we must not go to the other extreme and throw away realism in the process.

The only answer is to educate and train up a new generation of political leaders capable of striking a crucial balance between these two approaches.

As Henry David Thoreau said, "If you have built your dream up in the sky, you are not lost. Now take your time to build the stairs up to meet it."

While in purely philosophical terms these two words IDEALISM and REALISM are quite flexible and can be molded to fit nearly any conversation free of consequence, it is widely held in some elite political, economic and military circles that idealism, and any appeal to the way things "ought to be," is a dangerous way to approach foreign affairs because idealism clouds the

minds of leaders to the probability of political outcomes that don't fit the circumstances facing them.

Idealism can also render political leaders ineffective in diplomatic negotiations, they say, because it makes them appear inflexible and arrogant like Woodrow Wilson was portrayed to have appeared at the Paris Peace Conference after WWI.

As a consequence of this caricature, many formidable scholars and respected professionals fault Wilson for his idealism. Furthermore, they cite his failed efforts to repatriate the Armenian people back to their ancestral homeland after the Genocide, and his failure to fully restore their cultural and economic viability, as evidence of this shortcoming.

Realism, by contrast, is seen by many among the political, governmental and policy elite to be a much more straightforward and pragmatic approach to dealing with critical issues of foreign affairs because leaders of this persuasion are able to see things "as they really are" as opposed to the way they "wish them to be." Their only challenge is to choose the right response to circumstances, unfettered by any idealistic restraints.

An equal number of scholars and professionals, perhaps on the other side of the debate, fault Neo-conservatives since the end of the Cold War for retooling President Eisenhower's military industrial complex into a perpetual military industrial war machine.

Whereas, it is clearly beyond the scope of this short speech to fully develop an adequate presentation of these two traditions, it is my pleasure, nevertheless, to be here with you today in this historic venue to briefly discuss the importance of educating and raising up a new generation of young world leaders from every nation - especially from the United States and Russia - who can achieve a necessary equilibrium between the idealism and realism as they begin to weigh the implications of both these approaches to executing foreign policy specifically as it pertains to their own sense of free moral agency and personality development as leaders.

The title of my address to you this morning is: Reviving Wilsonian Idealism in a Realistic World: Fair Compensation for Victims of Genocide in the Western Civic Tradition.

Although this is a lengthy title, I have deliberately chosen it to reintroduce political idealism in the Wilsonian tradition as a necessary counterbalance to the "runaway realism" that has come to define American foreign policy ever since Henry Kissinger threw that balance away during the Cold War. This is also my starting point for discussing the unique role that I believe the young and independent Republic of Armenia has suddenly found itself playing on the world's stage relative to the unsettled claims she still holds against the Turkish state for ignoring the causes and consequences of the Armenian Genocide planned and executed by their predecessors.

Ignored for the last 100 years and overlooked mainly because of its relatively limited economic options for effecting growth in the region, The Republic of Armenia has nevertheless emerged as a global symbol of persistence and existential will on the part of a transnationally defined people group, numbering more than 10 million souls scattered across six continents, who have suddenly awakened the conscience of the world.

In no small way, Woodrow Wilson's life, legacy and idealism influenced this outcome in their present state of affairs.

But, I am here to say that it could have gone better for Armenia— and the world —had Woodrow Wilson actually achieved that crucial balance between these two approaches to American foreign policy.

As we all know, President Wilson began advocating for their survival in 1915, predicating his decision to support their cause on idealistic higher principles of justice and good will. But as history clearly shows, the realists in congress beat him soundly, and his magnanimous effort to satisfy the Armenian claims against the Modern Turkish state lost out to economic interests and geopolitical positioning of larger nation states that eventually led to the cold war and Armenia's downsizing and regional marginalization.

To this day, the small Republic of Armenia still finds herself landlocked and dependent upon negotiated settlements with surrounding nation states for her very survival, yet she persists in

the faith that justice will eventually be served.

Today I want to commend President Sargsyan for honoring the rich heritage of his people's past while simultaneously providing the energy and focus necessary for leading them into a future that keeps this faith alive.

I also want to commend President Sargsyan for maintaining the crucial balance between idealism and realism that is required to implement best practices in education in Armenia that can raise up a new generation of leaders who will keep this faith alive.

This faith in a just future for all minor nations with major grievances against those who would try to dominate them, I contend, is grounded in an IDEALISM that sustains the Western Civic Tradition.

This faith, I contend, is grounded in an IDEALISM that binds a democratic people to its Constitution.

This faith, I contend, is grounded in an IDEALISM that sustains the self-restraint of every citizen in a democracy with the promise that an appropriate court exists somewhere with the adequate and legitimate jurisdiction to settle every claim against injustice to the satisfaction of aggrieved parties. Yet, when perpetrators of a crime are never summoned before a neutral court to show cause for their actions, victims to the crime are robbed of their rights to satisfaction under the law offered in the spirit of this ideal assumption; and the faith that justice will eventually be served is broken.

Specifically addressing the crime of genocide, satisfaction under the law can only be realized by the victims when perpetrators of the act are confronted with the evidence of their crime in a recognized court of law. Following this, judgment of their guilt must be rendered in each case, and restitution then must made on an itemized basis to each victim. The size of the restitution may be large or it may be small, but without receiving restitution in the predictable course of due process, justice cannot be served. Accordingly, victims to a crime need not to declare themselves satisfied when, in fact, they are not.

The question is: how do we finish the task of forging a real path to legal redress on behalf the million and a half Armenian victims to the Genocide and their heirs with outstanding claims against the Turkish state for a list crimes including, unlawful detainer, aggravated assault, theft, rape, murder, starvation, deportation and, yes, GENOCIDE.

Modern history is a record of the world's community of nations slowly orienting themselves and their relevant judicial systems towards achieving the ideal goal of adjudicating every crime. How does the old saying go? "No crime should ever go unpunished?"

At this time, however, in the real world of foreign affairs, questions of jurisdiction and prosecutorial authority are still being raised in relation to the transnational institutions that have already been created to hear the Armenian case and bear witness to their loss. Sadly, the Republic of Turkey and the

United States of America are two nations among others still resisting any obligation to achieve this ideal. But this was not always the case.

Last week, my U.S. Congressman, The Honorable Adam Schiff, attended an event in the St. Leon Armenian Cathedral in Burbank, California. Congressman Schiff had this to say about the present position of the United States in advocating for the Armenian Cause:

(and I quote): "Although it was once a witness to this crime of Genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks against 1.5 million Armenians, our country [the United States of America] is today a bystander. I am working to move our government from being a bystander back to being a witness again." (end quote)

When referring to the United States as a witness to the crime of Armenian Genocide, he is, of course, referring to the time period during and immediately following WWI when Woodrow Wilson, 28th President of the United States, for all of his faults, advocated for the lives of the surviving Armenians.

Although he failed to mobilize the international will to intervene in the case of the Armenian Genocide and to hold its perpetrators accountable, Woodrow Wilson did not fail to inspire a new generation of leaders to carry on with this noble and ideal cause.

In the end, this is a clear testimony to the power of IDEALISM in foreign affairs.

After 100 years of a swinging imbalance in favor of political realism that leaves us still wanting that clear path to legal redress on behalf of Armenians as the aggrieved party, I am prepared to spend my time, efforts and resources to train a new generation of leaders who can finally achieve it.

In no uncertain terms, and in no small measure, the rich history of the Armenian people as the cradle of human civilization compels us to hold this course until the ideal manifestation of an unbiased, comprehensive and universal justice is achieved on behalf of the 1.5 million lives that we will commemorate on Friday, April 24th.

However, beginning with breakfast and coffee on the morning of April 25th, I am recommitting my energies and the rest of my life to championing the Armenian cause on behalf of all humanity, and I invite you to do the same.

This centennial commemoration is the end of nothing — rather it marks the new beginning of a renewed effort to remind ourselves, and the world, that Armenia matters because HUMANITY matters. Armenia matters because JUSTICE matters.

Please stand with me, as I endeavor to stand with the Armenian people as Woodrow Wilson did in a committed effort to leave our children and grandchildren with a more peaceful world.

Your commitment is not only desired, it is necessary to achieve this goal.

In words of Johan Wolfgang Goethe, "Until one is committed, there is hesitancy, the chance to draw back, always ineffectiveness. However, concerning all matters of initiative and creativity, there is one elementary truth, the ignorance of which kills countless ideas and splendid plans: [and that idea is this] that the moment one commits himself or herself to act, then Providence follows too, and all manner of incidents and meetings and financial assistance comes your way to help that might never have occurred. So, whatever you can do, or dream you can do, begin it now. Because boldness has genius, power, and magic in it."

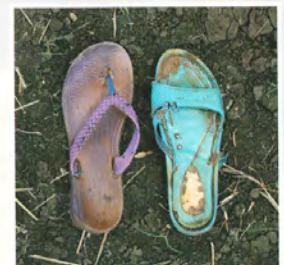


“Exhibition “Genocide”

by Nazik Armenakyan, Raphaël Dallaporta, Ziyah Gafić, Jan Grarup, Shannon Jensen, Alex Majoli, Simon Norfolk, Jacques Pugin

Accompanied by His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Luis Moreno Ocampo, First Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court and Daniel Feierstein, President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars, the Armenian President visited a photo exhibition entitled “Genocide” which displayed the works of the eight best photographers of the world pertaining to genocides, including the Armenian Genocide, as well as to violence which caused different conflicts and human tragedies.

SIDE EVENT



Churches Against the Crime of Genocide: Human life, God's Gift

Ecumenical session under the auspices of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin



Եկեղեցիներն ընդդեմ ցեղասպանության հանցագործության.
Մարդկային կյանքը – Աստծո պարգև
Միջեկեղեցական նիստ

against the crime of Genocide:
Human life – God's gift
ecumenical session

Церкви против преступления Геноцида:
Человеческая жизнь – дар Божий
Экуменическая сессия



• The ecumenical session "Churches Against the Crime of Genocide: Human life, God's Gift" was held under the presidency of His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians and Mr. Vigen Sargsyan, Chief of the RA President's Staff, and coordinator of the events of the 100th Anniversary of Armenian Genocide; with the participation of the Spiritual Leaders of Sister Churches and delegations, representatives of ecumenical organizations, and Diocesan Primates of the Armenian Church.

• The ecumenical session was chaired by His Eminence Archbishop Vicken Aykazian, Diocesan Legate and Ecumenical Officer of the Eastern Diocese of the Armenian Church of North America.

• At the beginning of the session, His Holiness Tawadros II, Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of St. Mark and leader of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria; prayed for the repose of the victims' souls killed during the conflicts in the Middle East, as well as for restoration of peace in the region.

• His Holiness Karekin II, Catholicos of All Armenians, conveyed his Pontifical message to the participants, "The Church of Christ has a mission bestowed upon by the Lord to preach the life-giving Divine word to establish love, brotherhood and peace amongst people and to help prevent and heal the consequences of crimes against humanity. Crimes of all kinds, whether murder, terror, atrocity, or genocide, are violations of God's creation and are transgressions against the sanctity and dignity of human life and therefore sins that must be atoned for through confession, repentance, and redemption... We pray that All-Merciful God will help and support us so that we may fulfil our mission and continue to work together for the sake of establishing peace, justice and solidarity in the world, for the glory of God, the vibrancy of Christ's Holy Church, and the well-being of all humanity."

• At the conclusion of the Ecumenical session "Churches Against the Crime of Genocide: Human life, God's Gift", held within the framework of the Global Forum "Against the Crime of Genocide", under the presidency of His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, the participating Patriarchs and delegations from 35 Christian Churches and the representatives of ecumenical organizations issued a **Joint Declaration**.

• (excerpts from the Declaration) Bearing witness that the Church is called to the salvation of souls and to the mission of protecting life on earth;

- we reaffirm that violence and killings based on national, religious, ethnic and racial discrimination have no justification and statute of limitations;
- we condemn the genocides and all crimes, which endanger peace and human security, being the manifestation of evil and sin against humanity;
- we condemn the ongoing ethnic and religious violence in the world, especially in the Middle East, which cause painful human losses and irreversible destruction of spiritual and cultural values and heritage;
- we are convinced that to prevent similar crimes in the future is of utmost importance to recognize and condemn all crimes of genocide, absolutely reject the denial and to pursuit the claim for reparation;



“ International Legal Issues on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide and Responsibility

Symposium organized by Ministry of Diaspora and Faculty of Law at Yerevan State University

- On April 22, the international conference on “International Legal Issues on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide and Liability” was launched on the sidelines of the Global Forum entitled “Against the Crime of Genocide” at the initiative of the Ministry of Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia and with the support of the State Commission on Coordination of the events for the commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the World Armenian Congress, the Institute of Philosophy and Law at the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, the Faculty of Law at Yerevan State University and the “Pan-Armenian Conference of Lawyers” pan-Armenian professional organization.
- Catholicos Patriarch Nerses Bedros XIX of the Armenian Catholic Church, nearly 60 Armenian and foreign participants from 14 countries, international law experts, genocide experts, as well as lawyers from the Republic of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh participated in the conference.
- The international conference included three panel sessions that are devoted to “The Ensuring the Prevention of Genocides in Contemporary International Law”, “The International Legal Issues on Ensuring the Inevitability of Liability for Genocides” and “The Issues on Ensuring Liability for the Armenian Genocide and the Reparations”.
- The event began with opening remarks by Minister of Diaspora Hranush Hakobyan. Greeting the participants of the conference, the minister expressed gratitude to the countries, leaders of organizations, high-ranking officials, intellectuals and journalists who are with the Armenian people at the moment of sorrow of the nation, consolidation and renaissance.
- President of the Constitutional Court of Armenia and the “Pan-Armenian Conference of Lawyers” Gagik Harutyunyan greeted the participants and gave a speech in which he presented the activities carried out by the organization.
- All the speakers emphasized the importance of conducting legal studies on the Armenian Genocide and expressed willingness to support all the processes for recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide and the elimination of the consequences and participate in future actions in the context of endorsing the universal values and preventing genocides in different parts of the world.



DINNER

hosted by H.E. Mr. **Hovik Abrahamyan**
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA





Hovik Abrahamyan

PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

Dear Guests,
Dear Colleagues,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am honored to be with you this evening. Just a century ago, on April 24, the perpetrators who had planned the extermination of Armenians, started their hideous crime with the arrests and killings of two hundred and fifty intellectuals.

The criminals were sure that uprooted from centuries-old ancestral homes, subjected to massacres and inhuman sufferings, doomed to death in the sands of desert, the Armenians would disappear. However, it turned out that there is no such a power, at least in this earthly life, able to exterminate the people who were the first to officially recognize the eternity of the soul, advocate the idea of salvation and resurrection.

Now, as we commemorate our one and a half million innocent victims, we are looking back at their path of suffering and bow our heads in their eternal memory.

What I am going to tell you is a short story: it is the same story told in any Armenian family living in Armenia or Turkey, Russia or France, North or South America, the Middle East or Australia. As it is the story of our families. The Turkish state annihilated its citizens who were not involved in World War I as a party to the conflict; they were peaceful civilians and were killed for the sole reason of being Armenians.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are often asked why the Armenians are talking so much about the Genocide; many are even surprised that in the 21st century it can be an agenda issue. Nevertheless, during the passing year we all witnessed the massacre of the Yezidi people who were killed for their ethnic and religious affiliation. The Yezidi refugees went through the same path of hell as the Armenians.

We all have to admit that as an international community, we have no reliable mechanisms to prevent such developments. Moreover, we witness the growing violence in their actions and cynicism in their comments. This is today's reality. Here is the problem.



Dear Guests,

The Turkish nationalists hoped that by committing the Armenian Genocide they would have resolved the Armenian issue as they thought best. Some of them even believed that the door to the future of the Armenian nation had been closed forever, and they were the ones to close it.

Now we state the following: during millenniums, the Armenians have historically and culturally lived, created and struggled in their homeland. We follow the path of eternity, and we are not going to give in. Moreover, even the physical annihilation and displacement from our homeland, as well as the attempts of religious and ethnic conversion never filled us with dismay. These weapons of the Young Turks' arsenal were not enough to eliminate a civilized nation.

The assassination of Hrant Dink alone is enough to demonstrate that the weapons of that arsenal are still being used. I reiterate: we have become even stronger instead of growing weaker in spirit. We survived and were reborn; we reinstated our statehood becoming a part of the global family of nations. Indeed, we were hit hard; we went through some bitter experiences and have become more cautious and vigilant. But that experience is helping us

and does not hinder to be brave where we have to.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We regret to note that the word "Armenian" is still used as an insult and blasphemy in modern Turkey. In this competition, Turkey has only one rival. Turkey is the only country in the world where Armenians overwhelmingly have non-Armenian last names. The reason is very simple –fear. Note that I am not talking about the Turkey of 1915, I am talking about the Turkey of 2015. Even today, people are afraid of restoring their Armenian names and surnames. This is a criteria for us.



At the same time, we admit that there is a major shift in Turkey. Today, books and articles are being published on the

Armenian Genocide and related issues. Some ten years ago, such publications were simply impossible. This is a progress, though a small one. Non-Turkish citizens of that country start to speak more openly and boldly of their ethnic identity and rights.

More and more Turkish intellectuals are calling on the authorities to face their own history, including also its dark chapters. Our message to the Turkish society is clear. We expect dignity in regard to its own citizens and history.



Dear Colleagues,

Many are well aware of Hitler's remarks which he used to encourage his soldiers. He gave a pledge of impunity by asking: "Now who remembers the annihilation of Armenians?" Today, we say that we do remember like millions of other people around the world.

We remember the names of those Turkish and Kurdish neighbors who put their lives at risk by saving Armenian children. We remember those Arab Bedouins who hid and saved numerous Armenian children from the death caravans of Armenians through desert. It is impossible to read out here the names of all those kind people, but we remember them name by name.

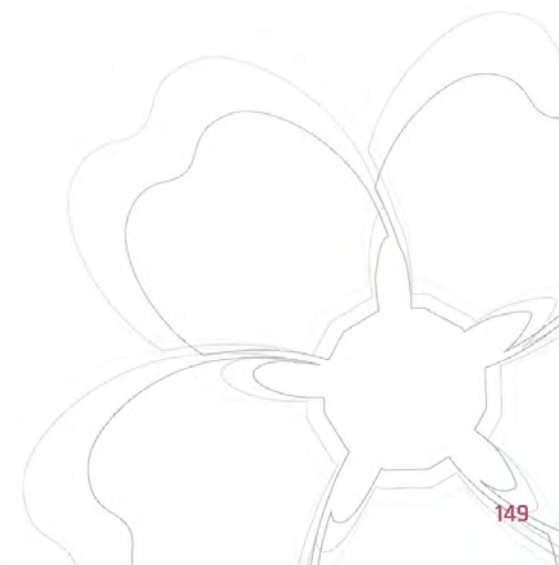
We also remember the executioners of the Armenian people. The sons of the Armenian have not forgotten and will never forget all the executioners of the Armenian Genocide. We will never forget the names of those key executioners who were later convicted by the Turkish court.

No good or evil deed will be forgotten.
We remember and we demand!

Dear Guests,

Thank you for joining us today.
I wish you fruitful work within the framework of Global Forum.

Welcome to Armenia!





THURSDAY

23 APRIL 2015

MAIN CONFERENCE HALL
SPORTS and CONCERTS CENTER

DAY **2**



HIGHLIGHTS

.....

Co-Chairs

Patrick Devedjian
Caroline Cox
Nikolai Ryzhkov

H.E. Mr. **Galust Sahakyan**

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

statements by parliamentarians

.....

PLENARY SESSION

Parliamentarians Against the Crime of Genocide



Parliamentarians Against the Crime of Genocide

CONCEPT PAPER

OBJECTIVE:

As part of their constitutional mandate parliamentarians can ensure a stable society free of threats and crimes. Parliaments have a pivotal role to play in crime prevention and recognition.

Inability of some states to protect their population from genocide and other mass atrocities amid growing presence of transnational non-state actors in the armed conflicts on the ground, projects new issues and context of genocide prevention. On the other hand there is a stronger involvement of parliaments, inter-parliamentary groups and international organizations in the issues related to the genocide prevention.

The purpose of this Plenary was to make parliamentarians aware of the significant contribution they could make to crime prevention and in order to establish enduring peace and development in crime-affected societies.

DISCUSSION:

What are evolving threats and challenges of genocide prevention?

What is the role of the parliaments, international and regional organizations in the prevention of genocide?

To what extent genocide prevention efforts can be mainstreamed into conflict cycle including conflict prevention, resolution and post conflict rehabilitation?



Patrick Devedjian

CO-CHAIR OF THE FORUM • SENATE, FRANCE

Patrick Devedjian is a prominent French right-wing politician of the Union for a Popular Movement (UMP, Union pour un mouvement populaire) party. Born on 26 August, 1944. In 1983, Devedjian was elected, and re-elected in 1989, 1995 and 2001 as a Mayor in the city of Antony, Hauts-de-Seine Department. In 1986 Devedjian was elected and in 1988, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012 re-elected as a MP to the French Parliament. In 2002 he was appointed as a Deputy Minister for Local Liberties, in charge of local government. In the period of 2004-2005 Mr. Devedjian was the Minister of Industry, then in 2008-2010 was the Minister of Economic Recovery. In June 1, 2007 he assumed the position of President of the General Council of Hauts-de-Seine department. In 2014, on the occasion of the Independence Day of the RA, Devedjian was awarded the Medal of Honor for his significant contribution for strengthening the friendly relations between Armenia and France.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

The awful pictures that we watched just a minute ago teach us a lesson, a lesson that has been following us since yesterday: "you can survive a genocide". The Armenian nation showed us, as well as other nations who were subjected to genocide, proved that, by surviving a genocide we also assume responsibility. We take with us a wound that bleeds, that hurts, as the Pope was saying, it actually puts responsibility on our shoulders; and our responsibility is first and foremost to prevent it from happening again.

Never again - that is what we repeat over and over, but it still keeps happening. Denialism makes the repetition easy. The objective of our Forum is to find ways that will help us to effectively fight against repetition of such crimes and tragedies.

Dear participants,

The discussions that we had yesterday brought up some interesting recommendations and ideas, and one of those ideas was to elaborate a document, which will include all the issues and problems raised at this Global Forum. We will present to you a Draft Document of Yerevan Declaration and I would call on the participants to endorse this Document at the end of the Forum.





Baroness Caroline Cox



CO-CHAIR OF THE FORUM • HOUSE OF LORDS, UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Caroline Cox /Baroness Cox/ was born in the UK on 6 July, 1937. She is the founder and CEO of the Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust (HART) organization. On 15 August, 1982, on the recommendation of Margaret Thatcher, Caroline Cox was peer'd the title of Baroness Cox. She was a sociology lecturer at the Polytechnic of North London. From 1974 she was the Head of the Department of Sociology. She provided lectures and held high offices in a number of leading educational institutions of London. She is an author of several books on sociological and political researches. Since 1982 Baroness Cox has been a member of the Parliament in the House of Lords and in the period of 1986-2006 she was the Deputy Speaker there. The Baroness is the head of the Armenian-British parliamentary group since 1992. In 2006 Cox was awarded the title of Doctor of Law from the University of Dundee and on the same year she became an Honorary Chancellor in the Liverpool "Hope" University. Baroness Cox is a member and a head of several human rights organizations, including Andrei Sakharov Foundation Advisory Councils, as well as a member of the «MigrationWatch» organization. Baroness Cox has had her contribution to the protection and support of the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh, making more than 60 humanitarian visits to the Nagorno-Karabakh to provide the population with necessary medicines during the war. She was awarded Mkhitaryan Gosh medal of the RA.

Barev Dzez,

Your Excellences, Fellow Parliamentarians, Distinguished Guests,

Iwish to thank the organisers of this historic forum for the privilege of taking part and to congratulate Armenia on convening this Forum with significance not just for Armenia but for all humanity.

This is the only place in the world where I would wish to be today.

And I thank you also for the privilege of co-chairing this important meeting and for the opportunity to make a brief contribution at this historic, sombre time for the Armenian people – and for all people who care about truth, justice and freedom.

I am deeply grateful to share these events which are so important in memorialising the horrendous suffering of the victims of the Armenian genocide and hearing the testimonies of many world class scholars highlighting the fundamental importance of recognition.

But I am also personally deeply sad that I am a member of a Parliament, the Parliament of the United Kingdom, whose Government refuses to recognise the Armenian Genocide. I believe this is shameful. But may I mention that, within the UK, Wales and Scotland have done so – and I applaud them and all national Governments which have done so.

In these days when we join with the Armenian people their memories of the horrors which befell them during the Genocide, I wish to add my voice to those of all who highlight the 3 essential priorities for the need for recognition of the Genocide.

I appreciate your inclusion of other genocides in this Forum, including the Rwandan genocide. Esther's personal testimony powerfully and eloquently brought to us the horrors perpetrated against her people and – the hope emerging even from those horrors.

It is very important that, in this Forum, dedicated to Genocide recognition, that we put on the record other contemporary genocides which are so off the radar screen that they have not received a mention here. One example is the genocide currently being perpetrated by the Government of Sudan with its policy of attempting to eliminate Africans and Christians and Muslims who do not support their Islamist ideology. I visited the people of the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile State earlier this year and witnessed the effects of constant aerial bombardment of civilians – markets, clinics, schools causing half-a-million to flee, many hiding in snake-infested caves or river banks. The bombers now come at night with searchlights so they can kill by night as well as by day.

Another attempted genocide, still condoned, is Azerbaijan's attempt to annihilate the Armenians in your historic land of Artsakh. I wish to say what a privilege it was to be with your people so many times when you were holding a frontline of faith and freedom for the rest of humanity.

Now, whenever I visit Armenia and Artsakh, I am humbled and inspired by the spirit of the Armenian people: you not only survive but you create beauty from the ashes of destruction.

But Azerbaijan continues to threaten to kill and it is essential to call Azerbaijan to account for past attempted ethnic cleansing and for threats for the future. Nagorno Karabakh has at least as valid a right to self-determination and Independence as the people of Kosovo and I believe we must strive to achieve this justice for the Armenians of Artsakh.

In these days when we join the Armenian people in their memories of the horrors which befell them during the Genocide, I wish to highlight 3 essential priorities for the need for recognition of Genocide.

First, recognition of truth – historical as well as contemporary, is essential for healing and reconciliation, as so eloquently and powerfully emphasised by His Holiness Pope Francis "concealing or denying evil is like allowing a wound to bleed without bandaging it".



Secondly, it is also in the interests of the Turkish people themselves to acknowledge the truth of this part of their history. I also greatly appreciate the contributions of speakers from Turkey at this Forum. I believe many Turkish people wish to recognise the Genocide. Some years ago, when I visited Turkey on a lecture tour to my professional nursing colleagues in Istanbul and Ankara, I met many who fully understood the nature of the Genocide and stated their wish that their Government would do so. They claimed that they hated the refusal to accept the truth and they felt that no nation could provide a healthy environment, especially for younger generations when it continues 'to live a lie'.

Also, it is important to remember and to honour those Turkish people who helped the suffering Armenians – saving lives or alleviating suffering, often at great personal risk during the horrors of the perpetration of the genocide. And it is also important to honour those Turkish people who have had the courage to acknowledge the genocide – sometimes paying the ultimate price for the truth.

Unless Turkey itself recognises all that happened, tributes cannot be paid to brave Turkish citizens who deserve to have their goodness recorded as rays of light in those dark days.

Finally, it is well known that denial of a genocide encourages future would-be perpetrators of other genocides to carry out their deadly ambitions – most notoriously illustrated by Hitler's deci-

sion to send his Death Head units to kill without mercy Polish men, women and children, with his infamous words 'Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?'

All of us here today are proof that Hitler's hope of the obliteration of memory of the truth of the Armenian Genocide has failed.

Today, in this Forum, we call all people who care for truth, freedom and justice to persist in memorialising the Armenians and others, including the Assyrians and Greeks, who perished in the Genocide.

May we never forget. And may we never be silent while the evil of any Genocide remains unrecognised or continues to be perpetrated with impunity. We who have freedom have an obligation to use our freedom on behalf of all who are denied their freedoms.



Nikolai Ryzhkov

CO-CHAIR OF THE FORUM
FEDERAL ASSEMBLY, RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Nikolai Ryzhkov was born in 1928. In the period of 1971-1985 he held some state and party posts, and in 1985-1991 the post of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

On 7 December, 1988 he was appointed as the Chairman of the Commission on liquidation of consequences of Spitak earthquake (Armenia). Mr. Ryzhkov was the Adviser to the Military-Industrial Investment Company and then headed "Tver'universalbank's" board of directors. From 1998 to 2011 he headed the Russian Union of Commodity Producers. He is the Chairman of the Commission on Natural Monopolies, Member of the Committee for Federal Issues, Regional Politics and the North of the Federation Council of Russia, as well as Chairman of the Commission for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation between the RA National Assembly and the RF Federal Assembly. In 2008 he was awarded "National Hero of Armenia", the highest decoration of the Republic of Armenia.

Nikolai Ryzhkov welcomed the Armenian government's initiative to organize the Global Forum "Against the Crime of Genocide" on the eve of the Armenian genocide Centennial.

Commenting on the denial of the Armenian genocide Nikolai Ryzhkov underlined, "An atrocity was carried out against the Armenian people one hundred years ago. Yet Turkey still has not recognized what happened then, and this is an expression of an inhuman treatment." He added that in 1995, when the Russian State Duma adopted a resolution on the Armenian genocide recognition, he was one of its active supporters.

N. Ryzhkov mentioned that the condemnation of what occurred is close to the hearts of the Russian people, as what happened seventy years ago, what the German occupants did with the Soviet people is similar to what the Turks did with the Armenians one hundred years ago. "We are your faithful supporters, like-minded friends and we are not going to stand aside. 100 years, indeed, is a very solid space of time. Hence, lessons have not been learned from the history of the 20th century, and this, in turn, enables repetition of the national catastrophe, similar to the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust."

Ryzhkov also stressed, that the Russian parliamentarians did everything possible to mark the Centennial of the Armenian genocide properly. "We have done everything in the powers of the parliamentarians to organize the Armenian genocide Centennial events in a proper manner, be it an exhibition, conference or statement." Addressing the issue of genocide prevention in Syria and Iraq, Nikolai Ryzhkov noted, that "the necessity to prevent genocide and punish those who are responsible for organizing it are among the pivotal issues faced by the international community. Genocide prevention is a collective duty. All countries should take that into consideration."



Galust Sahakyan

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

Dear colleagues, distinguished guests,
Participants of the Forum,

First of all let me welcome your presence and participation in this forum and in the events dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide.

Indeed, it would be desirable that the phenomenon of genocide had never existed. However, unfortunately, while there are states, in the psychology and work-style of which hatred prevails over tolerance, massacre over the most important human right- the right to life, while the violence and use of force are not eliminated in the modern world, while families are ruined, we are obliged to consider the genocide an urgent issue of our political and moral agenda.

Dear friends, more than 100 years ago, at the end of the 19th century, having the hatred, precisely the Armenophobia, in their heart and on their mind, the Ottoman authorities initiated the policy of the annihilation, expatriation and expropriation of Armenians, the tragic culmination of which was the crime committed in the beginning of the 20th century, the Armenian Genocide of 1915. It was a targeted hit to the roots and fruits, sprouts and ripened harvest of the people living in their historical homeland, and the final goal of that policy was the absolute annihilation of the Armenian trace not only geographically, but also historically. However, thanks to our gene, steadfastness, will of living and surviving, we could keep our root and not only maintain our trace, but also stand firm on the soil and live, create, remember, demand, at the same time never losing the vision of the lost motherland.

Dear friends, back then the xenophobia of the Ottoman Empire had blackened the consciousness of the leadership to the extent that Armenophobia become a massive xenophobia. The scope of the genocide expanded, involving other people, the Greeks, the Assyrians and others, living in their own territories, annexed by Ottoman Turkey.

The Armenian Genocide, the first genocide of the 20th century, was a crime against humanity, however, it happened in front of the same mankind that witnessed everything, and unfortunately, allowed it happen, in front of their permissive eyes, the same mankind which until now bears the burden of the pain of genocide and is not ensured from new genocides. Along with the international



response and the increase of the frequency of the actions towards the recognition and condemnation of the fact of the Armenian Genocide we should record that so far the struggle against genocide phenomenon has not yet been effective, because the politicking continues to prevail over civilization, the political interest prevails over moral interest, the denialism over repentance. Meanwhile, Turkey, which still bears the burden of its historical and moral crime of the past and present, does not want to admit the system of values the progressive humanity adheres to, the system of values, which does not preach violence and murder, infringement on life and on motherland.

The denial of genocide means a new genocide, new violence, war and human casualties, means as Hamlet says in Shakespeare's tragedy: "Time is out of joint." And in this case, the parliaments, indeed, have a lot of work to do to rectify all this, to restore the face some of them lost 100 years ago with their silence towards the fact of the Armenian Genocide, condemn the criminal, who perpetrated the Armenian Genocide, a genocide which, unfortunately, later became a precedent for the World War II, and today's events, when it seems that the mankind should have become more civilized.

Dear friends, today numerous countries have acknowledged and recognized the fact of the Armenian Genocide, and the parliaments have played key role in that process. In several countries, like Switzerland, Slovakia, Greece, Cyprus, the parliaments adopted relevant legal acts criminalizing the denial of genocide, which means a new level of condemnation of Genocide, struggle against Genocide, deeper perception of the fact and phenomenon of Genocide and a feeling of bigger responsibility towards the future of humanity. At the same time, it means that Turkey, as leader in denial, gradually approaches a borderline, beyond which is either the Nuremberg Trial or the repentance. Nuremberg trial was fair; the verdict was admissible, so they call the Nuremberg Trial also the verdict of history.



Whereas, only about three decades before Nuremberg, the same mankind and history witnessed a severe crime against humanity, with the practice of all the crimes the Nazis were charged with - the Armenian Genocide, which still awaits for its fair trial. Several years ago the President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan in Deir ez-Zor, where in 1915 numerous Armenians lost their lives as a consequence of the Genocide, raised

a question, which by now has numerous addressees: "And when and where is the Armenians' Nuremberg?"

This is not a rhetorical question, and more than ever demands an answer amid the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide, a practical answer, an answer and repentance, first of all, from Turkey, recognition and condemnation from the international community. Otherwise...

The evidence of "otherwise" was what happened in the same Deir ez-Zor, when the relics of the Saint Martyrs' Church witnessed another genocide: the Saint Martyrs' Armenian Church was exploded. The evidence of "the otherwise" are the genocides, which, though with considerable time differences, followed the Armenian Genocide. If the response of



Turkey is criminal silence, the silence of an accomplice, the silence assisting the crime - the denialism, then the civilized world, which Turkey still avoids, has no right to keep silence, otherwise it unwittingly becomes the encourager of denialism.

Dear friends, I am sure that everybody is against denialism, genocides or any form of violence. Parliament is a platform, where politicians, citizens authorized through elections to represent the state, despite their nationality and country, can freely and sincerely express their thoughts. Taking this opportunity, I would like to thank not only those of my colleagues, whose countries have recognized and condemned the Armenian Genocide with their immediate participation, adopted laws criminalizing the denial of Genocide, but also call on all the parliaments of the world to practically fight against the phenomenon of the genocide, criminalize its denial, obligating the countries which have no will and courage to look straight into the eyes of the truth. This is the demand of time, universal values and morality, which is hung in the air for at least 100 years.

Dear colleagues, recently Pope Francis voiced not only to the whole Christian world, but also to the whole mankind about the Armenian Genocide, in fact, peculiarly combining the actions and efforts against genocides, led by the very universal values.

In his remarks which has a crucial impact in fight against denialism, he founded the temple of justice and truth,

where the repentance is necessity for all those, who, are denying the Armenian Genocide, implementing propaganda of intolerance and committing violence, put themselves out of the process towards the prevention of genocides.



The history of the Armenian Genocide is not only a black page in the history of our people and the whole mankind, but it is also a textbook on what had happened and what should not happen, what xenophobia is, and what are its consequences, how the human being should and should not be. It is a textbook with black pages, however, there are also white pages in it, which the modern humanity should fill with their fight against genocides and denialism. Those pages should be filled in way so that such black books will never be created again, should be filled as a tribute to the millions of Armenians who were massacred and expatriated 100 years ago, as a tribute to the Greeks and Assyrians, tribute to the victims of Holocaust, Cambodia, Rwanda, Darfur genocides, tribute to the human lives, destroyed settlements and disrupted destinies which today fall victims of violence, intolerance, and xenophobia.

CAMBODIA

The Cambodian Genocide took place under the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and 1979. During a period of 3 years, 8 months and 20 days, it is believed that some two million people perished — at least one quarter of the total population of the country — making this one of the greatest tragedies of the 20th century.

Perhaps 40 percent of deaths were from starvation, disease and exhaustion as Cambodia's traditional agricultural systems, markets, and cultural activities were eliminated and radical policies of ruralization, forced labour, and collectivization were enacted. The population was subjected to almost constant surveillance and thousands were murdered for supposed crimes against the revolution. Groups particularly targeted for persecution were ethnic minorities, religious groups, and so-called "New People", those associated with city life, sophistication or the previous government.

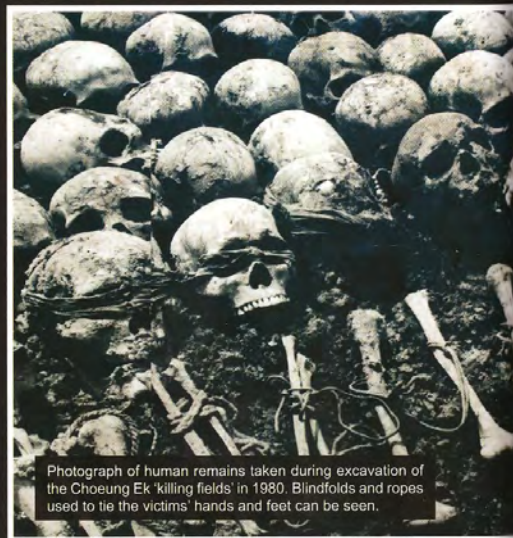
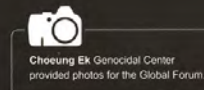
Widely known as "The Killing Fields", the Choeung Ek Genocidal Center is one of the largest, and certainly the best known, of the hundreds of Khmer Rouge sites of execution. Here, more than 20,000 people were killed and buried in 129 mass graves. Most of those executed here had been prisoners at S-21, one of the largest and most notorious of the 196 Security Centers the Khmer Rouge ran across the country, now the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum.

In 2012, the former Chairman of S-21, Kaing Guek Eav alias Duch, was convicted by the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) for crimes against humanity and war crimes, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. As part of the judicial investigations, Duch was taken to Choeung

Ek Genocidal Center, where he broke down on seeing the site of the crimes.

A monumental stupa (funerary tower) was constructed at Choeung Ek in 1988 to house the remains of around 9,000 of the victims. This stupa is a focal point for many commemorative ceremonies, including the annual May 20 Day of Remembrance.

The Choeung Ek Genocidal Center is located on the southwestern outskirts of Phnom Penh. Approximately 200,000 foreign visitors and more than 50,000 Cambodians visit the site annually.



Photograph of human remains taken during excavation of the Choeung Ek 'killing fields' in 1980. Blindfolds and ropes used to tie the victims' hands and feet can be seen.



▲ Photograph taken during the excavation of the mass graves at Choeung Ek, 1980 ▼



▲ A memorial stupa was built in 1988 to house the remains of 8,985 of the estimated 20,000 people killed at Choeung Ek. In accordance with Buddhist beliefs, the remains are kept respectfully inside the stupa. This is one of approximately 80 memorials built across the country to house the remains of victims of the Cambodian Genocide.

▼ Children and babies had their heads smashed against this tree, now known as the 'Killing Tree', before being thrown into a mass grave with their mothers. Visitors have left bracelets on the tree and around the grave to honor the victims.



REMARKS BY
PARLIAMENTARIANS
DELEGATIONS | DELEGATES AT THE PLENARY

• IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER •



Ryszard Czarnecki

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



Speakers of Parliaments,
Prime-Minister, Ministers,
Honorable Members of the Armenian Parliament, the European Parliament,
Parliaments from almost fifty countries of the world,
Excellences, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends, Participants of this very important Global Forum,

Today here, I represent the European Parliament, the European Union, but, most of all, I am a Pole, representative of the Polish nation who understands other nations, especially, for whom national pride is one of the most important values. On behalf of the European Parliament, elected in 28 countries, (European Parliament represents about 500 million of the European citizens), I would like to express my great respect for the Armenian people, who 100 years ago experienced the genocide, great national tragedy. But also this genocide, this national tragedy was an integral part of the history of the world, world heritage.

As a Pole, I know that feeling because my people, my nation also had experienced a genocide in the 20th century from the occupiers, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The ones who have suffered, understand the suffering of another man or nation. Now in the time of murdering Christians in the world, when every day our sisters and brothers die, today after hundred years, and during the events dedicated to the centennial of the Armenian Genocide, we must say it loudly: a century ago Armenians died only because they were Armenians. A century ago Armenians died just because they were Christians. I admire how proudly the Armenian nation managed to maintain its great historical heritage, great culture and civilization.

You Armenians, we Europeans, Poles, we all know that we can not build a future without turning our backs on the past. This ceremony, this Global Forum should be a proof to the whole world, also to the youth who holds in its hands the future of your county, the future of my country, the future of Europe and the future of the world. It is a great honor for me, a great privilege to be here with you and jointly show our great respect for the memory of the murdered Armenians and think about the future, our common European future.

Finally, let me say two words in Armenian, in your language: "Hayastan shnorhakalutyun. Armenia, thank you."



Liliana Negre De Alonso

SENATE, ARGENTINA



I would like to start by outlining that the Senate of Argentina unanimously voted for the condemnation of the perpetration for the Armenian Genocide. We outline that what happened in 1915 was unfair. We express our solidarity to your nation and we join you in the commemoration of the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide. The Armenian community is a vital part of our nation.

I represent a country where genocide can not be compared to anything else, because whatever the scale is, it is painful.

My nation has witnessed many oppressions: deprivation, military oppression. We were the victims of the Argentinian dictatorship. We have witnessed all these shading deaths. Now we should demonstrate how we feel about Armenia.

Armenia is not far from Argentina; quite the opposite: it is very close to Argentina, because my country has the third largest Armenian community in the world. From late 19th to the early 20th centuries, we received not only the survivors of the Armenian Genocide of 1915, but also the victims of displacement, deportation of 1909.

There are some communities, which are fighting against this memory. That is the second death; when we remain silent, refuse or forget – it is the second death, and any of these manifestations will be considered as a negative act. We, Argentineans, feel the value of memory and remembrance. We have to be intolerant towards any crime. We should understand that if there is an impunity, these things will happen again. Let us talk about Hitler, who said: “Who remembers the annihilation of the Armenians?” Memory is also important for understanding the Armenian Genocide.

The Parliament of Argentina is unanimous on the Armenian Genocide. Our Senate recognized the Armenian Genocide and instructed the Argentinean delegation to the UN to support the Armenian people on the issues related to the Genocide of 1915.

We supported the condemnation of the Armenian Genocide, during which 1.5 million people were killed. We respect their memory. We support the Armenian people. While talking about the condemnation and recognition, we need to respect the Armenian people and to remember the genocide, which affected the Armenian nation. In the Republic of Argentina this is the policy, this is the law, and we should to

respect it. We have Friendship Groups with the Armenian members of Parliament. We jointly develop our legislations and harmonize it, we develop economic ties, promote cultural exchanges. The Armenian Genocide is included in the textbooks of Argentina in order for the young generation to learn and remember it: they will not forget it in the future.

Argentina wants to heal those wounds. Pope Francis declared in Vatican that he condemns the first genocide of the 20th century. All of this helped the Republic of Argentina, its judiciary to understand that legal decisions are very important.

So what happened has been condemned: the Court outlined in its decision number 5, which is the final decision, according to which the current situation obliges Turkey, which committed the Armenian Genocide in 1915, to undertake appropriate measures. The Court's decision also states that there was a premeditated plan of crime. It was confirmed that the Ottoman Empire carried out those massacres, and the Republic of Argentina declared through legal instruments that the Armenian Genocide happened.

It is quite possible that these condemnations of genocide will continue. The international community and international justice should do everything for the condemnation of crime against humanity.

It has been stated on several occasions that we have to voice it, and we join the Armenian people in their fight against the crime of silence. Our country, our nation reassures its commitment, and we are going to do everything for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.



Artak Zakaryan

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE EURONEST • NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, ARMENIA



Distinguished Co-Chairs of the Forum,
Dear colleagues,

This year together with the Armenian people the civilized world remembers and pays tribute to the memory of the innocent victims of the Armenian Genocide, committed in the Ottoman Empire in 1915.

Today, 100 years after the first genocide of the 20th century, we should highlight that prevention of genocides and crimes against humanity, rejection of the denial of the perpetrated crimes on state level, the international community's opposing stance for the sake of the suspension of such a policy of denial, as well as principled position and mechanisms of the international community in this direction are the bases of the international legal activities in this field.

We all know very well that there is no statute of limitations on the crimes against humanity. However, this fact should not enable centuries-long procrastination of condemnation of the crimes against humanity. On the prevention of genocides we should agree that there are crimes against humanity committed in the world, accountability for which has not yet been addressed, and in this case it is rather difficult to speak about the efficiency of the international mechanisms on genocide prevention.

Disregard towards the fact of the Armenian Genocide and procrastination of condemnation at the time lead to planning and implementation of new heinous crimes.

In March of this year, respective Resolution condemning the Armenian Genocide was adopted at the plenary session of the EURONEST Parliamentary Assembly held in Yerevan. In the context of the above-mentioned Resolution we attached great importance to the prevention of new genocides in the civilized world and elimination of "opportunities" of violation of human dignity.

It is from this perspective that we believe that the international community should define the elimination of the genocide denial on the state level as a key issue on its agenda, the very denial that is fraught with the possibility of planning and implementation of new acts of genocide and crimes against humanity.

We attach great importance to the systematic international cooperation for the prevention of new crimes of genocide and elimination of consequences of ones, committed in the past.

Taking into account the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide committed in the Ottoman Empire in 1915, we called upon Turkey to come to terms with its own history, to deal with dark pages of the past and admit that one is not able to cast a shadow on the process of the recognition of committed crime, which is a natural warning sign in the wheel of time. One should admit that every genocide implies responsibility and condemnation of the committed crime.

In regard with the genocide recognition, we place significance to the existence of united international stance and proper implementation of international norms.

Impunity gives rise to new crimes. Organizations and international community, engaged in the protection of human rights had not implemented respective measures at the time; as a result, the world witnessed Holocaust, genocides in Rwanda, Cambodia, Darfur and other crimes against humanity.

One should correct the mistakes of the past and move on, with clean hands and spirit of justice towards the world.

Thank you for your attention!



Karl Vanlouwe

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, BELGIUM



Ladies and Gentlemen,

Taking the floor on this solemn occasion fills me with both emotions and a sense of accomplishing a deep human duty.

First, I can confirm that regional Flemish Parliament of Belgium yesterday also voted for the resolution recognizing the Genocide in 1915. And the Belgian Federal Parliament did it years ago. It is indeed important and urgent to testify how unacceptable the genocide is. As I do consider it is totally unacceptable, it is my responsibility to help finding ways to prevent this type of horrors from ever happening again.

And you see what I am holding in my hands. Usually we call it a cellphone. Dr. Ben Voth calls it the weapon of the 21st century, which has a power to eradicate genocide. Dr. Ben Voth teaches and coaches students in order to equip them to have their voice heard in the society. Dr. Ben Voth works with different individuals, such as genocide survivors to ensure that the human value of being heard is installed.

How on earth can cellphone eradicate a genocide? You will agree that it is a communication tool. Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel said: "What hurts the victim most is not the physical cruelty of the oppressor but the silence of bystander". To integrate this into today's world he urges us to use a cellphone to express unacceptance towards a behavior of destroying lives.

Let us add an advice of Martin Luther King that men often hate each other because they fear each other, they fear each other because they do not know each other, and they do not know each other because they can not communicate.

Why have people been keeping silence? Why do people experience communication problems? Those are the rules of nature and we should learn lessons from those rules.

Over the last two decades Christian de Duve, the Belgian Nobel Prize Winner of medicine for his discovery of cells, has been investigating the origin and evolution of life and a structure and meaning of the universe.

I would like to share two conclusions of Professor de Duve's research.

First, it is encoded in our cells that we are social beings.

Second, when two different communities come across each other and compete for the same thing, the brain switches to the survival strategy of fighting. So we should work together in order to survive. In this regard Professor de Duve has a double advice. The first one aims at controlling the democratic growth, and at the same time there is a strong and urgent need to train human brain to peacefully communicate. So, like a gun that needs cartridges to function, along with our brain we need cells and smart application for a cellphone on how to communicate. The following words of Ghandi would serve as useful cartridges: "Non-violence is the greatest force at a disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction, devised by the ingenuity of man". When I hear about non-violent communication, the name of Michael Rosenberg, the founder of NVC or non-violent communication methodology also comes to my mind. NVC is based on the idea that all human beings have the capacity for compassion and we harm each other through the resorts of violence or behavior only when we do not recognize more effective strategies for meeting our needs. NVC proposes that if people can identify their needs, the needs of others and the feelings that accompany those needs, harmony can be achieved. As I do believe in the strength of NVC methodology, I hope it will spread out.

I will take my responsibility as a member of parliament to advocate for the inclusion of the non-violent communication methodology in the curriculum of students by proposing human law as response to the nature of the human brain.

Closing my intervention, I would like to express my gratitude to you all for giving us this unique opportunity to extend our contribution to ban genocide forever.

Yes, I would like to share this with you. Whenever and wherever a cellphone is ringing, it would be wonderful if this device, before entering into the communication phase, will have a standard procedure connecting our brains, so we can speak and hear with empathy. As most citizens of the world are now walking with the cellphones, empowering them to learn NVC and internet, I believe there is a fair chance that this dream will come true, and this Global Forum is a step towards communication between people and between countries.

Thank you!



Volen Siderov

PARLIAMENT, BULGARIA



Dear friends,

I would like to thank President Sargsyan and the organizers for the invitation. There is something symbolic in the fact that I am here on behalf of Bulgaria because I am the head of a political party, which for 10 years has been fighting in the Parliament for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide, and has met opposition time and again. We proposed a resolution for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide in the Bulgarian Parliament for eight times. I can even mention the years – 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2014. All those proposals were rejected.

And now I will mention the most interesting point: dear friends, tomorrow we were supposed to review and to debate on our proposal to recognize the Armenian Genocide in the Bulgarian Parliament. Can you image what happened? Just now they called me to inform that the leadership of the Bulgarian Parliament cancelled the session of the Parliament. I am not proud of my Parliament, I am not proud, but I am going to be consistent. I am going to be stubborn in the recognition of the Armenian Genocide in the Bulgarian Parliament. I am going to do that, be assured.

Why does it happen? I understood that there is a huge pressure from the Turkish Embassy in order not to recognize the Armenian Genocide. And this is very, very negative interference in the internal affairs of Bulgaria. However, the Bulgarian people do not share the behaviour of the Parliamentarians, who erase their own history.

I am a descendant of Bulgarians from Eastern Thrace where in 1930 Turkey killed and deported more than a quarter of a million of Bulgarians. My grandfather and grandmother were speaking about the atrocities that took place, but Turkey does not want to listen to this. On behalf of the Bulgarian people, that accepted the Armenian refugees in the beginning of the 20th century, and Peio Yavorov who has written poetry about the Armenian people that is taught in our schools, that has become classic of the Bulgarian literature, on behalf of this very people we would like to bring our recognition and our bowing head towards the Armenians, the Armenian Genocide. You cannot rectify and you cannot edit history: one needs to learn the history, the bloody pages of the history in order not to repeat it.

Thank you.



Harold Albrecht

HOUSE OF COMMONS, CANADA



Good morning, Ladies and gentlemen,

It is an honour to be with you today and to participate in this week's events as the world comes together in Yerevan to remember and reflect on the terrible suffering and loss of life experienced by the Armenian people 100 years ago. Although a century has passed, the horror of this event remains fresh in our minds, and today we give voice to those silenced by the tragedy.

Over a decade ago, the Senate of Canada and the Canadian House of Commons recognized the events of 1915 as a genocide and vowed that it should never be repeated. This important step reflects the core values of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law that we are committed to uphold. It is our duty, along with the international community, to defend the rights of the oppressed, give voice to the voiceless, and to combat all forms of racism and discrimination.

With this in mind, a new national museum dedicated to human rights was opened in Winnipeg, Canada, last September. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights aims to raise visitors' awareness of human rights in Canada and throughout the world by inspiring dialogue and preserving our collective memories.

There is a gallery in the museum entitled "Breaking the Silence". The goal of the exhibit - much like our purpose here today - is to examine the lessons of the past and learn to prevent such tragedies in the future. Indeed, our responsibilities lie beyond "memorialisation". We must also be ready to actively translate this awareness into efforts to combat all forms of racism and discrimination.

Much work lies ahead for all of us in building a world where the fundamental rights of all persons are respected. Today, we see one of the most critical threats in the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria whose actions target innocent men, women and children, including the most vulnerable and peaceful ethnic and religious minorities.

The challenges we face today around the globe only serve to drive home the continued necessity to remember the events of 1915 and to work together to safeguard human rights and dignity for all.

I have no doubt that this opportunity to come together in the framework of the "Global Forum Against the Crime of Genocide" will inspire and assist our mutual work, and I wish everyone present here productive interactions today and throughout the week.

In conclusion, I am grateful to the Government of Armenia for the opportunity to participate on behalf of Canada in this important Forum. Canada and Armenia enjoy excellent relations, enriched by Canada's vibrant and active Armenian community.

Indeed, many of today's Armenian-Canadians trace their roots back to the survivors of the events of 1915 who, at a time of crisis, sought the opportunity to build a new life for themselves and their families in North America. The Armenian-Canadian community has made, and continues to make, a rich and vibrant contribution to Canada's multicultural society.

I hope that Canada's efforts to support human rights, pluralism and dignity will inspire everyone here today, and I sincerely thank you for your attention.



Denise Pascal

VICE-PRESIDENT OF CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, CHILE



Not many years ago, during the military regime in Chile thousands of Chileans were killed for the simple fact of agreeing with the overthrown socialist government, thinking differently or having an opposing political belief.

In the past we have tried to legislate in order to avoid repeating situations like the ones we lived between 1973 and 1990.

In that line, for example, the National Human Rights Institute was created in 2009 as an independent public law entity, aimed to promote and protect the Human Rights of every person living in Chile, rights which are set forth in the constitutional and legal regulations, subscribed in international agreements, ratified by Chile and currently in force, as well as those rights arising from general legal principles known by the international community.

The Act that established the National Human Rights Institute set the possibility of bringing complaints in relation to facts considered as crimes against humanity, genocide, war crimes, forced disappearances, torture, migrant smuggling or human trafficking.

As a country, we still have a pending debt regarding legislative matters and amendments to the Constitution which should stipulate that no war crimes or felonies, crimes against humanity or genocide can prescribe or be pardoned.

Another act passed in 2009 pursues the same logic. It categorizes crimes against humanity and genocide, war crimes and felonies introducing a conceptual framework in the Chilean legal system that allows classifying and preventing those crimes inside the national territory.

Chile, for some years now, and in view of international agreements on this matter, has made some progress in the implementation of certain regulatory tools that allow creating a system to protect people, in the context of ensuring them their human rights.

Our Government, headed by President Michelle Bachelet, submitted a bill to the Congress that incorporates a constitutional amendment that prescribes that all crimes and felonies which, according to the national or international law are classified as genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes, will not be susceptible of pardon or prescription – neither total nor partial– independently from the time when those crimes were committed. In this way, the Chilean law adapts itself to the demands of the International Law on this matter.

On the one hand, such a disposition will prevent the legislator from limiting its own authority to grant some of the benefits of pardon or prescription only to those crimes that do not correspond to the category of crimes against humanity, genocide or war crimes, and on the other hand, it avoids the use of any regulation formally in force that anticipates the use of such tools in this sort of crimes.

With this kind of measures we want, as a country, to be categorical at condemning all types of genocide. Nowadays, doublespeak cannot exist, because –as Donna Lee Frieze said yesterday- “genocide is a crime that affects all the world”. That is why we have come from this very far country to show the solidarity of the Chilean people and share the experience in search for a better future for society.



Averof Neofytou

PARLIAMENT, CYPRUS



Your Excellency,
Dear Honorable Speakers,

Dear Friends,

We have gathered here today, from many different countries around the world. We come from a vast variety of cultures and with a wide range of different histories.

One common thing that unites all of us here today is the recognition that a gruesome crime against humanity has taken place one century ago. And this crime was conducted against the Armenian people on a mass scale.

We have gathered here today in solidarity and in support of the Armenian people. We are here today to pay tribute to the innocent victims and to express our strong rejection of any form of denial that this repulsive crime ever happened. Furthermore, we are here today to strongly condemn the Armenian Genocide and to request from Turkey to recognize it as such, thus paving the way for a historic reconciliation.

Dear Speakers,

In 1915, the leaders of the Turkish government set in motion a plan to expel and massacre Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. By the early 1920s, when the massacres and deportations finally ended, some one and a half million Armenians were dead, with many more forcibly removed from the country.

The first international response to the violence resulted in a joint statement by France, Russia and the Great Britain in May 1915, where the Turkish atrocities against the Armenians were defined as “a crime against humanity and civilization”. The Turkish government was directly responsible for orchestrating and carrying out the crime.

Despite the international outrage, Turkey never acknowledged its conduct as genocide. Worse still, the Turkish government has been denying ever since that what happened was genocide.

Fellow parliamentarians,

Cyprus has been one of the pioneering countries in recognizing the Armenian Genocide. In 1965, the then Cypriot Minister of Foreign Affairs first raised the issue at the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Further, Cyprus was the first European country and the second country worldwide after Uruguay, to officially recognize the Armenian Genocide.

On 2nd April 2015 the House of Representatives took a further step and passed a law that declared illegal the denial of any genocide recognized as such by the House.

Dear Friends,

Very recently, Pope Francis named the Armenian Genocide "the first genocide of the 20th century" and stated that hiding or denying that something so sinister ever happened is the same as allowing a wound to continue bleeding.

In order for the wounds to heal, it is very important to reiterate the Resolution of the European Parliament of April 15th on the centennial of the Armenian Genocide and call on Turkey "to come to terms with its past, to recognize the Armenian genocide and thus pave the way for a genuine reconciliation between the Turkish and Armenian peoples".



Zdeněk Škromach

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, CZECH REPUBLIC



Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Colleagues,

I am honoured to be here at this global forum and today's meeting of parliamentarians commemorating and honouring the memory of more than 1.5 million victims of 1915, members of the small, but proud Armenian nation, a nation, which was almost wiped off from the face of the earth at the beginning of the past century.

Your nation is very old and has been dwelling in this territory for more than two and a half thousand years. It derives its origin from Noah and his family, the legendary Ark which landed on the equally legendary Mount Ararat.

It was your nation which was first to embrace Christianity, a religion which through its humanity became the cornerstone of the European, but not only European, religious and cultural history.

We are meeting here at a time that is geopolitically complex, at a time when weapons start rattling again and some people try to re-write history, history, that is not old enough so that we should lose respect to those who laid down their lives for future generations to live.

Several years ago, there was a conference on the Armenian events of 1915 held at the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic organized by my colleague Jaromír Štětina. The Slovak dissident and former Prime Minister Ján Čarnogurský said the following words there:

"The massacre of Armenians and the attitude towards these events are a piece in the mosaic that creates the modern society's moral structure and international order. Therefore, honouring the memory of these victims is a moral obligation of all of us and at the same time it should serve to prevent anything similar from happening elsewhere."

Events of 1915 remain a great memento for today, for any part of our restless world.

As for the Czech, or rather Czechoslovak, relation to this historic tragedy, it has been influenced by various sources which gradually reached Czechoslovakia.

Two books played perhaps the most important roles. A book by Czech traveller and humanist Karel Hansa *The Horrors of the East* (1923) and also a book by Franz Werfel *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Standing here I have to remember yet another attempt to eradicate a nation, the holocaust during World War II. Literature also knows a remark by Adolf Hitler dated 1941 or 1942: when the then Nazi German leadership discussed eradication of the Jews in the German-occupied Europe and some of the German officers voiced their fears that the eradication of the Jews would remain a forever reminded taint on Germany, Hitler said: "No need to worry. Who, after all, remembers the Armenian events today?" We have to resort to history, learn a lesson so that it can never repeat. Unfortunately, too often, we learn only a little or not at all.

The Czech Republic is among those commemorating these events; the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic adopted by a unanimous vote a resolution which condemns eradication of nations and ethnic cleansing. This resolution has been adopted as a clear message for today and the future. A message against hatred and violence among people, hatred among nations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

There existed no word to describe eth-

nic cleansing at the beginning of the 20th century. The term genocide became part of the international law only in 1948. The Armenian agony had taken place three decades earlier. It was the first big tragedy during which a whole nation was almost eradicated.

Therefore, every human who considers the slaughter of people, not to mention whole nations, a crime, should speak up against such injustice.

It is surely a progress that there exist words describing atrocities committed in the past century, but let's be frank and answer this question: Are words enough? Are we able to effectively prevent genocide against any nation from happening again?

And who else, but, us, parliamentarians, should be the first to speak up against such injustice and to turn words into action?

We have several tools and the only thing we need is to apply them effectively in practice.

"It is better to light one small candle than to curse the darkness," said Confucius. So let's light a symbolic candle which will remind us of those, whose only guilt was that they were Armenians.

May their memory be honoured and their souls rest in peace.

Thank you for your attention.



François Rochebloine

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, FRANCE



Your Excellences,
Speaker of the Parliament,
Baroness Cox,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great honour and privilege for me to deliver remarks on the Centennial of the Armenia Genocide from this high podium and to welcome you on behalf of the National Assembly of France

As you, definitely, know France is among the countries that recognized the Genocide and was one of the countries that provided a shelter to the survivors of the genocide. France was a safe haven for the survivors of the Genocide. I had many Armenian friends in my city, and it is natural, that since in 1988 becoming a parliamentarian, the Armenian Genocide and other Armenian issues have been a top priority on my list.

I was here, Yerevan, when Armenia declared independence on September 21st, 1991, and I stand in solidarity with the self-determination and independence of Nagorno-Karabakh, Artsakh, where I will be next week for the elections.

The pogroms in Sumgait in 1988 showed that actually the atrocities of 1915 could be repeated in the most barbaric way. This tragic example - the will to annihilate - makes me even more committed and firm to fight for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. I actively participated in parliamentary debates of May of 1998, when legal initiative to recognize the Armenian Genocide was actually adopted. I was also rapporteur to the National Assembly on the draft law that was later adopted by the Senate. In 2001 it was enacted as law: my friends Patrick Devedjian and many others contributed to this work. The law was promulgated 11 days later. President Jacques Chirac signed it. Lionel Jospin was the Prime-Minister and me, your humble servant, was the rapporteur. It happened few days prior to the visit of the then President Robert Kocharian to France. It was the initiative of French parliamentarians and the people of France. That law stipulates one statement that calls on the human consciousness to stand firmly against atrocities. The French Parliament remains faithful to that commitment.

Today I would like to repeat for Turkey, that asking for forgiveness and looking for reconciliation are the most important steps to be undertaken. Do we need to remain at the point, where we are now? I believe, no.

I am convinced in my faith and belief that throughout the years it is becoming more and more obvious that the denialism of Turkey and the lie, in which Turkey lives, still persist. Nevertheless, concerning the denial of the Armenian Genocide I will also outline, that it is an outrageous manifestation, because consciously and intentionally the truth is being jeopardized and destroyed. We have to criminalize such acts and envision criminal liabilities, so there would be no chances for future genocidal acts.

I would like to welcome my colleague, Patrick Devedjian. We have been working together on the law and this law prohibits publication of any untrue information, any false information. I am also happy to share the position of Pope Francis recently offered at St. Peter's Basilica in memoriam of the victims of the Armenian Genocide.

So the act of genocide is actually condemned by international law, and therefore there should be criminal liability at the international level for such crimes.

I feel pity that in France, in my Homeland, unfortunately Constitutional Council blocked the adoption of this law.

Nevertheless, we continue our work in order to overcome those obstacles, despite the pressure we, the parliamentarians, face from the Turkish side.



Albert Weiler, CDU/CSU

BUNDESTAG, GERMANY



Distinguished Mr. Sahakyan,
President of National Assembly of Armenia,

Your Excellencies and parliamentarians,
Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have a great honour, along with you all, to pay a tribute to the memory of innocent victims of the Armenian Genocide. I am glad for the opportunity to be here with you today. I am glad to exchange views, thoughts, and held conversations.

I would like, particularly, to express my gratitude to Mr. Serzh Sargsyan, President of the Republic of Armenia, for the warm invitation. At the same time, I convey the greetings of Dr. Norbert Lammert, the President of the German Bundestag, and my fellow parliamentarians.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

The 20th century was a century of atrocious crimes, hideous wars, bloody slaughters, massively symbolized through pain and deportations.

This year we mark the 100th anniversary of the first genocide of the 20th century. Nearly 1.5 million Christian Armenians were slaughtered by the Young Turks' government. They were deported, persecuted, massively killed. No one questions this fact, and no one questions who the victim was and who the executioner.

When we review this heinous crime, we notice that here the people, the government and the entire state which ought to protect the Armenians, took a great sin on themselves. This very fact does not allow us to ignore it. And this fact will never be left to oblivion.

What disappoints us, and even makes many of us angry, is that up until now there has been no clear and equivocal confession from the Turkish Government. Coming to terms with the history is missing. Facing bravely their own past is missing. Fair and true elimination of that injustice committed then, i.e. atrocious injustice ever experienced by the Armenians, is missing. This is unacceptable for any real democratic leader.

Coming to terms with their own history and fair reevaluation is the best path, leading to a common future. Rejection of things does not help, as I have already said, no one will ever forget this crime. It will not simply disappear based only on the unwillingness to see it.

In recent decades, many scholars, politicians, political parties, parliaments call upon the Turkish Government to recognize historical truth, reassess it fairly and straightforwardly.

Already in June 1987, the European Parliament adopted a decision on this matter, confirming that the refusal by the current Turkish Government to acknowledge it is an insurmountable obstacle to the consideration of the possibility of Turkey's accession to the Community.

In June 2005, the joint report of all fractions of the German Bundestag called upon Turkey to openly investigate the slaughter and deportation of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

On March 3, 2015, the European People's Party, the largest group of parties in the European parliament, also adopted a corresponding resolution. It also condemns the Armenian Genocide and after a century pays a tribute to the memory of the victims.

Recently, a couple of days ago, the Pope, the leader of one billion Catholics of the world, very clearly condemned the Armenian Genocide. He urged the Turkish Government to recognize it.

Thus, you can see that the Armenian Genocide is not forgotten. Even after a century we realize it. It is part of our common European history, it concerns us, it concerns all of us.

Dear ladies and gentleman,

As you all know, we, the Germans, have committed a great sin in the 20th century. Holocaust is a unique crime against humanity. It is permanently and indelibly recorded in the history of our country and our nation. The same concerns the two World Wars of the 20th century, which started from the German land.

After 1945, there were enough reasons to eternally hate us, the Germans, and completely distance from the community of nations. However, that was not the case. Instead, we got a right to experience something, which was as unique, as the crimes committed by us before, only in a positive way – positively unique. We experienced forgiveness and reconciliation. This would never take place unless we did not face our history, did not evaluate it - critically, scientifically, and socially.

It was not an easy task, it was difficult, it was painful. However, without reevaluation we will never be able to experience forgiveness and reconciliation in a way that we, the Germans, have received since 1945.

Dear ladies and gentleman,

Today we, the Europeans, live on a continent, which is mainly characterized by peace and freedom, democracy and human rights. Those are the main goals of the European Council, the OSCE, those are the exact aims of the European Union, as it is our system of values.

One thing is more than clear – whoever wants to become part of this system of values should accept all this, without exception. Without exception also means that one should also accept its past, including the dark pages of that past and reassess it. The one who contradicts these fundamental values can not become part of our community.

We know that there are people in today's Turkey, who work towards the future, towards the common European future; people who does not display ignorance towards the crime, the numerous victims of which we remember today. They want to reevaluate this hideous crime, reevaluate it fairly and clearly.

At the same time there are many people in Turkey, who will prefer the ignorance, hoping that "whatever I do not see, does not exist." It concerns both the political, and the civil society.

I wish the number of these "artificially blind" people to decrease, at the same time the number of those who want to see, who seek reevaluation and reconciliation, to increase.

We want to strengthen the man and woman in Turkey who are undertaking courageous steps, those Turkish intellectuals who already today display a critical approach towards this part of their history.

Yes, there is a small progress. It has already been a couple of years that the Armenian Genocide is not a full taboo in the Turkish society. Gradually the number of Turkish journalists and authors increase who adopt their own approach on the Armenian issue including criticism of their Government's policies.

It is a step towards the right direction. We are glad for this positive tendency. We want to encourage people in Turkey to continue this process.

Dear ladies and gentleman,

At the end of my speech, I would like to mention that we also want to encourage you. First, we promise that we, the European and many of our partners, are standing besides you. We will ensure that the Genocide of your nation is not forgotten and we will fight along with you until the full accomplishment of our goal.

Besides, I would like to encourage you to be open, open for forgiveness and reconciliation. I told you about our own German experience after the end of the Second World War, about the supernatural power of the others to forgive. The result of this wonderful reconciliation process is the peaceful and free Europe in which we are living today. You can understand that it is the reason I heartily believe in forgiveness and reconciliation. And I believe that this process helps both the perpetrators and the victims.

Forgiveness and reconciliation demand power: it is as difficult, as the reassessment of own historical sins. Probably, it is even more difficult.

That is why I wish all of us the necessary strength to undertake that very path in order for our continent to remain a continent of internal and external peace, in order for us to know, to respect and appreciate each other.

Thank you.



Zoe Konstantopoulou

PRESIDENT OF THE HELLENIC PARLIAMENT, GREECE



It is a profound honour to address this Global Forum "Against the Crime of Genocide". It is a multiple honour for me as a human rights lawyer and a lawyer specialized in international criminal law, it is an honour for me as a Greek, a member of a nation, who has suffered a genocide, but who has also marked a remarkable trace against international crimes. Finally, it is an honour for me to address you as the President of the Hellenic Parliament, which has recognized the Armenian Genocide among the first Parliaments ever since 1996.

Remembering the Genocide, commemorating the victims is not only a right of the people, is not only a right of the Armenian people, it is also a duty of humanity towards mankind and also towards next generations.

Remembering and commemorating is a measure of defense, a measure of prevention. We, Parliamentarians, have the duty to remind that the genocide is the most atrocious crime against humanity, and we have a duty to remind ourselves that a firm opposition against hatred, against racism, against xenophobia, against nationalism, a firmer opposition against all those phenomena is the best cure and the best prevention against international crimes.

The Hellenic Parliament was very honoured, and I personally was very honoured to receive the invitation by the President of the Republic of Armenia and the President of the Parliament of Armenia. It is a double honour because the Hellenic Parliament is currently actively working against genocide, not only to remind and to commemorate, but also to claim reparations for the Greek people and the Greek state for the Nazi crimes, committed back in the Second World War.

The Hellenic Parliament has a Special Interparty Committee, created in order to claim on behalf of the Greek Parliament and the Greek people reparations and restitutions for the atrocious crimes, committed during the Nazi occupation, and for the mandatory loan taken in the obligatory manner during the occupation, also for the return of the archeological treasures, which were stolen during the Nazi occupation. I believe that this kind of initiatives should be undertaken under the umbrella of "Parliamentarians Against Genocide", and I would like to ask you to support this Committee and affirm that Parliamentarians do not forget genocide and do not re-

frain from claiming justice because we should remember. As they say, there is no peace without justice.

I would like to express the vivid and whole-hearted wishes of the Hellenic Parliament towards the Armenian people. I would like to express our unequivocal solidarity in the claim that the Genocide of Armenians should be recognized by all Parliaments of the United Nations member-states.

In this regard, I would also like to express the satisfaction of the Hellenic Parliament for the recent recognition by the National Assembly of Armenia of the Genocide, committed against the Greeks of Pontus and the Minor Asia.

United we can win the battle against international crimes, the battle against genocide. United we can defend humanity, the living and the next generations.

Thank you very much.



Yonadam Kanna

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE ASSYRIAN COMMUNITY, IRAQ



Good evening, Excellences
Barev, Shlamalokhoun,

I have not written any speech.. I will address some principles only.
The genocide did not start in 1915. Since almost the year of 301, from the adoption of Christianity, the Armenians suffered, like we did since the first century of Christianity. Until today, we have been suffering from this mentality of killing, mentality of exclusion, mentality of crime. Until this moment we are suffering from the genocide in Iraq, in Syria and maybe later somewhere else. 7 million Syrians fled their homes, 2.6 million, maybe 3 million fled their homes in Iraq. We are deprived of our homes: 34 villages in Syria are now deprived, including an Assyrian village in Khabur. More than hundred sixty thousand Christians from Mosul are in pain, they are deprived of their homes.

So, what should be done to stop these crimes? In my opinion, at this point we expect some committees to write a draft, an output of this excellent conference to keep it on, and not only to deliver good speeches and return home, but to continue this action. We should get rid of the mentality of ISIL or DAISH or killing culture. We, as MPs, have to have some legislation to prohibit and criminalize hatred and violence culture, which means we can then have new values in this society to get rid of this culture of killing and go on. Yesterday one of my friends, panelists, talked about why the German people today are paying penalty for the Holocaust, why the Iraqi society is paying the penalty for Saddam Hussein's invasion to Kuwait. Yes, Turkey has to take the responsibility, because only the system of theocracy was transformed into secularism, but people and geography are all the same.

The Genocide of 1915 is the worst genocide because it was not only a genocide, it was an ethnocide Armenians, Assyrians and Greeks were massacred in their historical fatherland throughout an expanded area. So, it is the worst of all genocides of the history. But again I will say, that something needs to be done in order to stop this killing mentality, get rid of the ISIL. Legislators need to act, and societies need to adopt new values.

Again we are here to address our solidarity with the Armenian, Assyrian genocides, and we hope that we will keep on to the end. Thank you very much!



Gianluca Pini

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, ITALY



It is a sincere honour to be here to represent both the Chamber and Assembly of the Parliament of Italy. It is an honour because I represent the Parliament that for the first time in 1998 considered the Armenian Genocide a crime, and in the year of 2000 adopted penal law on a crime of denial of the Armenian Genocide. So, we have a long history of supporting the truth, supporting the justice, but the courage shown by my colleagues in the Parliament contradicts a bit with the cowardice of my government. It is a pity. I am very sorry about that, I apologize for it, because the Italian position is not what the government's silence shows these days.

The Italians stand with the Armenians in order to let the truth always be beyond any lies about what happened 100 years ago.

And this is the Panel, dedicated to the Parliamentarians, so we all view some answer about what we will do in the future to keep the truth beyond any other interests.

Finally, on Tuesday, in the Chamber of Deputies we will have an official commemoration of the Armenian Genocide. This will happen for the first time. This was one of my requests. I am not Armenian, but human and I can not stand any crime against humanity. So, I will keep my word to do as much as possible inside the Italian Parliament for the Armenian Genocide to be recognized worldwide and denial to be assessed as a crime.

That is all.

Thank you very much!



Ghassan Moukheiber

PARLIAMENT, LEBANON



Barev Dzez.

Dear Mr. Speaker, Colleagues,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is an honor for me, and for my colleagues from the Lebanese Parliament, to participate in this historic and very important Forum "Against the Crime of Genocide", organized by the Republic of Armenia here, in Yerevan, to commemorate the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide in 1915.

It was with great pleasure that I and two of my colleagues, Mr. Hani Kobaissi and Mr. Serj Ter-Sargsyan, who is a grandson of one of the survivors of the Armenian Genocide, are here to show our support to the cause of the Armenian people, and also show our commitment to make sure that such most egregious crimes will never be repeated and are universally recognized.

I am not an Armenian myself, I do not have in my family any survivors of any genocide or any crime against humanity, I do not have a wife that is Armenian or any Armenian relative. I am here, although, preparing my wedding next week, because it is important: a member of the community of nations, I feel aggrieved. I am a victim as much as you Armenians were victims of that genocide. In 1915, one third of the population of Mount Lebanon perished of famine that was caused by blockade of the Ottoman Empire. The Armenian Genocide is not only a historical fact, but as humans, we consider ourselves all victims; this year of the Centennial, how we say in Lebanon, to add to the motto of this Conference: "We are all Armenians – Bolors hay enq". We are all Armenians, we remember, we demand, and even more, as parliamentarians, it is not enough that we speak, we are demanded to act.

I am also proud to stand before you as a member of the Lebanese Parliament. Since 1915, Lebanon has hosted a very large community of refugees, survivors of the genocide, that have become an active portion of the Lebanese population – active in music, in arts, in politics, in commerce, in all the aspects of life. This Armenian community has participated in the creation of the state of Lebanon. They are a part of the Lebanese nation and we all are proud of them. They were not just the survivors of the genocide, they have shown that survivors can be creative. And it is an evident proof that the genocide of the Ottoman Empire failed, because you continued to live, to sing and to act.

I am proud of my Parliament, which by unanimous resolution of April 2000 has recognized the crime of genocide committed against the Armenian people. Just as a reminder, I would like to mention that the Lebanese Parliament consists of an equal number of Christian and Muslim members. The Parliament unanimously recognized the genocide, in order to prevent recurrence of such gravest crimes in the future.

Unfortunately, such crimes still exist and continue now, in this very moment.

I am also very proud of my country, which has decreed that tomorrow, the 24th of April of 2015, shall be a day, when all the schools will be closed and a major march to commemorate Genocide of the Armenian people will be held in Beirut.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is said that genocide kills twice, the second time by silence. It is our duty, as members of Parliaments, to speak out, to speak out loud, despite every pressure we might be subjected to. Not only to speak, but also to act. It is not enough, now that the genocide of the Armenian people has become a historic fact, it is not enough to recognize it, because we do, I think it is time for us to act and not only to demand. How do we act? What do we demand? I think we need to make sure that we are active in prevention, not only future crimes against humanity and the gravest one, the genocide, but the current crimes against humanity and current genocides.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear colleagues,

As it has been said before and many times by others, there are continuous outrageous violations of human rights, of injustice, of the rule of law, of peace, there are continuous acts that are and can be qualified as crimes against humanity and genocide in Syria and in Iraq. Communities are being targeted, not threatened to be targeted, centuries-old churches, temples, places of worship are being destroyed, cultures are being abolished, and cultures are not being recognized.

It is our duty to speak out and make sure that these acts stop and are not repeated. It is also our duty to remember history. But, we are not historians, dear colleagues, we are members of parliaments. We want to write the present and the future, a present and future that will be peaceful, that will have no wars, where genocides and other crimes against humanity do not continue, and do not repeat the mistakes of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire has taken new faces. There are new names to the perpetrators and criminals of genocide, and new/old victims: Oriental Christians, the Yazidis, all minorities, other minorities. The worse is that the world is shying away from these horrors and is being ineffective in stopping them in the

decade of internet, twitter and live-news broadcasts. Religion is not the real issue; the real issue is respect towards human beings, respect towards diversity and respect towards democracy.

We need to act to make sure that the first genocide of the 20th century is not followed by other genocides of the 21st century. We need to make sure that we shall not meet 100 years later from now and see what we have done not only for Armenia but also for all the victims and survivors of the genocides and crimes against humanity that are currently happening as we speak, because you see them on the television, you see them on videotapes. But do we act as we should?

Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to put forward a number of ideas that might become a platform for actions of this Forum.

First, I would like to recommend, madam Chair, ladies and gentlemen, to constitute ourselves as a permanent network of Parliamentarians against genocides and other crimes against humanity. I would like us to continue the work that has been started in Yerevan and I would hope that France, the UK and Russia, in addition to Armenia would act as secretariat and founding members of this network of parliamentarians.

Second, of course, we need to prevent crimes, but we need to have the tools. It is not enough to remember, we need justice for the genocide of the Armenian people, we need justice for the ongoing genocides and crimes against humanity. It is our duty to make sure that the International Criminal Court and other legal and political tools that are available at the Security Council are made active and are used to prevent, recognize, and make justice for the crime of genocide against the Armenian people and also the crimes against the Greeks, Syrians and all others.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, we need to seek to stop ongoing genocides, let us not wait. It is time for us to speak up and to act.

Thank you!
Shnorhakal em!



Arie Slob

PARLIAMENTARY LEADER OF THE CHRISTIAN UNION PARTY, NETHERLANDS

(message from Arie Slob)

Let me start by saying that I am very thankful to the Armenian government which has organised this very important Global Forum against the crime of Genocide.

Genocide is one of the worst crimes against humanity. It means not only the annihilation of a great number of humans, but also the annihilation of a nation. The purpose of genocide is to deny a nation of their very right to exist and to deprive them of their history, their homeland and their religion, culture and believe.

To deny such a crime is to commit this crime - in a way - again and again. Victims of crimes have a right to be recognised. They demand this not because they are victims as such, but because they have a right that the crimes committed against them should not be forgotten. This right individuals do have. And this right nations do have.

But crimes do tend to be forgotten. Perpetrators do not like to see into the mirror of their past. They like to minimize their crimes, if not deny them at all. It is a great blow into the faces of victims of genocides and of their children and grandchildren if they meet these denials. But if one denies a crime, lessons will not be learned. Reconciliation is not possible, let alone forgiveness.

Therefore, the battle against the denial of crimes against humanity, such as the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, is not a case of the victims or their offspring alone. It is also the responsibility of the bystanders to stand side by side by the victims of genocides to fight against the denial of crimes against humanity. This fight is the first step to fight for a better world.

I am glad to say that the Dutch Parliament passed a resolution submitted by our party - the Christian Union - in 2004, to recognise the Armenian genocide, as the Dutch Parliament did with another motion submitted by the Christian Union only one week ago. This motion did not mention just the Armenian genocide, but also the mass-slaughters - 100 years ago - of the Assyrian Christians and the Pontic Greeks.

In addition, I hope that one day, the Dutch Parliament will pass a law proposal of our party, to criminalize the denial of the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust. As for now, we did not manage to find support of the majority to vote for this law - alas.

Unfortunately, like my colleague- MP from Italy, I am afraid the Dutch government is also not as outspoken as the Dutch Parliament. Our government uses terms such as "the case of the Armenian genocide". Phrases like this are like a minimisation of their own and deprive the Armenians, the Assyrian Christians and the Pontic Greek of a full and clear recognition of the crimes committed against their peoples.

Dear friends, people of Armenia,

In the face of atrocities of the genocides and other crimes against humanity, people should stand side by side. To fight together against the crimes against humanity of the present. And to fight against the denial of crimes against humanity in the past. Therefore it is our mere obligation to stand side by side with the Armenian people this week, in your commemoration of the Armenian genocide, committed by the Ottoman Turks, one hundred year ago.

I remember and demand. We remember and demand!



Nikolai Levichev

DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE STATE DUMA, RUSSIAN FEDERATION



Dear friends!

Indeed, the Armenian Genocide is a crime that has no statute of limitations; it can not be erased from the history of humanity. It has the worst motive - a person becomes a victim only because of the fact of his birth!

Today we, together with the friendly Armenian people, mourn the many innocent victims and express our deepest sympathy to the descendants of the victims. This tragic date has the widest resonance in Russia, because deep solidarity of religion, history and culture connects our peoples. Russia has long been a home to a large Armenian community, which has become part of the Russian society.

Events dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of the Genocide are being held in many cities of our country. Yesterday a museum dedicated to this tragedy was opened in Moscow. Recently a big international forum on "Genocide in the historical memory of the people and in information wars of modern age" was held in Moscow with the active participation of the Armenian scholars and politicians.

Genocide is a topic that can not be spoken about dispassionately! As it has already been mentioned - it is a crime against the entire human civilization, showing how low the human being can fall in his monstrous cruelty!

Unfortunately, as history has proved, humanity learned nothing from the tragedy of Armenia. The world witnessed other such horrors.

The depth of such tragedies can not be measured simply by count of the number of victims! We have no right to forget these crimes, because neglect or concealment of facts opens a door for new violence! Today, a century later, a brutal aggression against Christians in the Middle East has acquired systemic forms of genocide. But the international community still has not given a worthy rebuff to the ongoing crime! I am sure, that all these innocent victims have been possible also because that bloody crime against the Armenians, the Assyrians and the Pontic Greeks has not received the unanimous political condemnation of world powers, the condemnations of Parliaments!

Yet in 1995, the State Duma of the Russian Federation unanimously adopted the Declaration "On the condemnation of the Armenian Genocide from 1915 to 1922". In paragraph 11 of the document it is noted that the Armenian Genocide took place in Western Armenia and in Ottoman Turkey.

In the end of the resolution State Duma of the Russian Federation condemns the masterminds of the annihilation of Armenians, expresses its condolences to the Armenian people and considers April 24 as a day of remembrance of the victims of Genocide.

20 years ago, the Russian MPs voted unanimously for it. Tomorrow, my colleagues in Parliament are committed to accept a special statement on the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide.

As it is known, on April 15 the European Parliament adopted a resolution "On the declaration of April 24 as the Remembrance day of the Armenian Genocide victims". The resolution envisages the adoption of documents on the recognition of the Armenian genocide by the Parliaments and the Governments of all EU member-states, as well as calls on Turkey to recognize the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire.

I am sure that it is very important for the current and future generations to maintain the historical memory of the tragedies of the Armenian and other nations, which became victims of the ruthless extermination.

Historical memory is not only the memorial signs and symbols, designed to serve as a compass of national revival, to serve as a thread connecting the past with the present. We need to formulate a common approach to assess such crimes of recent past in order to be able to preempt mass violation already in the stage of ideas and political-extremist statements. The Yerevan Global Forum is an important step in that direction.

Nowadays, in the era of information society, the falsification of history is one of the main reasons of the spread of cruelty, violence, and primitive barbarism. The violence becomes common, when politicians turn a blind eye to the public speeches of radicals and nationalists, when they say that the scales of the tragedies of nations which experienced genocide, are exaggerated, that there are not enough documented sources, and the victims are the ones to be blamed for being killed.

These deceitful arguments work in favor of aggressive forces. That is why it is important to remember about the terrible pages of history, no matter how difficult these memories are.

The modern world needs to develop immunity from the cruelty and violence that spreads across the planet like a virus.

The civil war in Ukraine is accompanied by the highlighted elements of genocide, contributed by the monstrous falsification of events of the World War II on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the victory over fascism.

The newly elected parliamentarians are obsessed with the glorification of Nazism.

Turning to our Armenian colleagues, I want to emphasize - today we are active participants in the historical process of creating political, economic and cultural foundations of the integration in the Eurasian region!

That demands the unity and collaboration of all constructive forces in Eurasia at the level of governments and parliaments, and at the level of civil society! We consider the Eurasian Union as a new center of economic and international political attraction, which will be able to compete with other poles of power in the modern world.

Treaty of Accession of the Republic of Armenia into the Eurasian Economic Union made Armenia a full member of the Eurasian integration process. I separately want to outline the long-term close cooperation between the parliaments of Armenia and Russia.

Inter-parliamentary relations are one of the factors in the successful cooperation between our countries in the international arena. The positions of Moscow and Yerevan on major international issues are close or coincide.

Together with the people of Armenia, we will pursue a legal justice against the perpetrators of 100-years-old criminal acts and will spare no effort to prevent such tragedies!



Galina Karelova

DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE FEDERATION COUNCIL, RUSSIAN FEDERATION



Dear colleagues, friends,

We have gathered in Yerevan on a mournful anniversary – the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire. The years could not heal our common pain, as the genocide claimed the lives of one and a half million people. The dearest memory of them, the innocent victims will stay in the hearts of the Armenian people, Diaspora around the globe, and in the hearts of Armenians, citizens of our country.

Russia invariably shared the pain of the Armenian people as its own, that is why this mournful anniversary resonated so loudly in our country, i.e. 640 cities and towns held different events dedicated to the Centennial. I believe you are well aware that Russia was at the forefront of Genocide recognition and initiated the adoption of Joint Resolution along with Britain and France, on May 24, 1915. This document contained condemnation of the Ottoman Empire for the hideous crime – the mass killings of Armenians were openly characterized as crimes “against humanity and civilization”.

Those events shocked the Russian society. Many distinguished representatives of the Russian society wrote about it with pain. We regret that until now there are a number of countries, which turn a blind eye on the factual historical truth and consider recognition of the genocide of the Armenian people through the lenses of their short-term political interests. It is also important for this historical event not to become a bone of contention.

We believe that our priority should remain the unification of efforts aimed at achieving a durable peace in the region.

Our country never changed its position, and up until now, we are pursuing the need of preserving historical memory.

The State Duma twice adopted Special Statements condemning the Genocide of the Armenian people. And in the course of the upcoming visit to Armenia, Vladimir Putin, the President of the Russian Federation, will participate in the events dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide.

Unfortunately, other nations also endured horrible sufferings. The ideology of racial supremacy of the Nazis led to the death of millions of people in the World War II. We know that human mind could not perceive the atrocious nature of the Holocaust tragedy. It is our common goal not to allow such evil acts to repeat ever again.

We better recognize it particularly now, prior to the 70th Anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War, when we experience that dire event with our veterans. Our duty is to remember the bitter lessons of that war, to prevent revision and rewriting of the history, to be vigilant and not to allow spreading of new murderous doctrines. It is hard to witness today Nazism on the surge in a number of countries once again.

Yes, the genocide of the Armenian people and Nazism are events of different historical epochs, but both are based on aggressive nationalism and hatred towards other peoples. Hence, the implementation of activities around the world, dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian genocide is a sobering reminder to humanity about the impermissibility of recurrence of those tragedies. We have to join our efforts to achieve peace, harmony, friendship and stability on our planet.

Thank you for your attention.



Pavol Hrušovský

NATIONAL COUNCIL, SLOVAKIA



Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentleman,
Fellow Armenians,

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the invitation to participate in this significant event. It is a great honour for me to spend a couple of days with my Armenian friends, with the Armenian nation. It is an honour for me to be in this representative company of guests gathered here from different parts of the world. It is an honour for me to be an essential part of the community, which pays a tribute to the proud and unique Armenian nation, to be among those who came to honour the memory of the victims of the greatest tragedy of the modern world.

My emotions, the emotions of all of us fill me with the perception that the world is not so bad and violent, that the time we live has not destroyed humanity within us, that the policy, which usually is a burden for people, have not expired its meaning. There are countries, nations, international organizations, the officials of which have the courage to condemn the evil action and call them by their name. And their actions are not aimed at the promotion of their own popularity, but are based on their conviction that the past accompanies the present and the future. No matter how horrible and destructive it is, we should speak about the past and we should not forget it not after 50, 70 or 100 years. I can even say that this kind of moment in the current policy of the developed world is an exception, and maybe the current generation will even consider it inexplicable and too archaic. I am glad that we have gathered here, we do not forget and do not want to forget about the pride, patriotism and unbreakableness of two million Armenian brothers, who were exterminated. I am very sorry for those victims, I am sorry that their children, grandchildren never got a chance to be born; today their descendants are not alive.

It is an irresponsible loss for Armenia, that pain of loss strikes into the marrow, but this is also a loss and pain for all of us. These people would enrich the world we live in now. We all have been deprived of wonderful people and their descendants. The fact that today we bow our heads in their memory is just a small grain of what we can do, but this grain is very important and it plays a great role.

Remembering the crime, mentioning it by its name and condemning it has a great meaning in our modern world, in our speedily changing, technically developing world which is often deprived of humanism and high values, or which often questions the substance, the essence of humanity, human rights, freedoms and justice. Do we have any chance to stop the evil, so that we will be able to stop the sufferings of peoples and nations, to stop the negligence and religious hatred? We have so many resolutions, international documents and institutions.

I am sure that hatred and evil are inseparable from humanity and we cannot completely get rid of them. What we know, what we have to protect and what we have to follow are the key human values and individual freedoms. We have to speak repeatedly about them in a very simple and open manner, as Pope Francis did during the commemoration of the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide. His speech was simple and understandable, "Concealing or denying evil is like allowing a wound to keep bleeding without bandaging it." In today's world I do not have such dictionary: it has disappeared, it has become out-of-date. Within the context of events organized here, in Yerevan, I think that we are many and we can start to act in that direction: not to hide, not to distort, not to question, not to justify evil. Only this way we can protect our place and position for the future.

Slovakia is a small country, just like Armenia, but I am proud, that more than 10 years ago, we have condemned the evil and we called it Genocide of the Armenian people.

I would like to convey to you the greetings of my country and leading representatives of my country. We wish all the best to Armenia. Once again, I would like to thank you for the invitation to participate in this very important event.



Esabelle Dingizian

DEPUTY SPEAKER OF THE RIKSDAG, SWEDEN



Excellencies,
Honorable members of parliament,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indeed a pleasure and a great honor for me to be here today, to honor all the victims of the Armenian Genocide and to address you at the Global Forum "Against the Crime of Genocide".

This event is of great importance for me in a double sense; in capacity of a Deputy Speaker in the Swedish Parliament and as a descendant of Armenian survivors.

The Armenian Genocide – the first Genocide of the 20th century and the greatest crime of the First World War, reminds us all about the suffering of the Armenians, the brutality and persecutions that took place in the Ottoman Empire. The genocide also reminds us all about the responsibility each and every one of us has to combat all form of genocides, racism and xenophobia.

Twenty national parliaments in democratic countries have voted to recognise the Armenian genocide. One of them is the Swedish Parliament.

Excellencies,
Let me remind you all about what Adolph Hitler said in Obersalzberg on 22 August 1939, urging his generals to show no mercy killing men, woman and children in Poland: "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

Excellencies,
We constantly need to remind ourselves how thin the veneer of civilisation is. Human greatness and human evil in one and the same location.

For centuries to come, we will ask ourselves the question: How was it possible for human beings in the 20th century Ottoman Empire to commit these crimes against the Armenian and other Christian groups, such as the Arameans, Assyrians, Chaldeans and Pontic Greeks? I do not have an answer to this question.

But I have my own personal story that I would like to share with you. A story about the factual events of savage brutality during deportation told to me by a very dear

person – my grandmother. Her name was Esabelle, and I was named after her. She was one of the survivors of the Armenian genocide, a 12 years old eye-witness, an Armenian refugee that had to walk through the deserts for hours before she made a halt.

My grandmother was together with thousands of Armenians through forced deportations into non-survivable conditions in the deserts.

The suffering of the mothers in the deserts were unbearable. My grandmother had to leave her own mother behind in the desert. She never saw her again when she reached Bagdad in Iraq, where she initially lived in an orphanage. She had lost her family and was never reunited with any of her relatives.

The 12 years old girl grew older and met my grandfather Abraham. Even he, as many other survivors, had his own story of the mass atrocities during the genocide. My grandmother became a mother and grandmother. She lived in Iraq until she migrated to Sweden, where she resided until her death at an age of 104 years.

Excellencies,

It is important to reflect the full picture of 1915. Let me draw your attention to another aspect of the Armenian Genocide – those civilians in the Ottoman Empire that stood up for the Armenians – those that showed how personal and political courage can oppose the dark forces during Genocide. I am talking about civilians in the Ottoman Empire that counteracted the Ottoman military

by refusing to surrender and attack their Armenian neighbours. Ordinary people that played a very important role by contributing to save and protect numbers of Armenians, though Genocide was taking place and despite the risk to their own lives.

These people had lived side by side with the Armenians in the Ottoman society and they made a significant choice: they did not give in to the madness of the Ottoman military. These acts of courage and humanism should never be forgotten.

Excellencies,

Continuing to inform future generations about the Armenian Genocide is vital. We must remember. Remind ourselves of the moral responsibility each one of us has towards each other. Monitor ourselves on how we act when faced with evil – globally, locally and in our very own everyday lives.

I hope that the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide become a year of critical self-reflection for all democracies. We need to condemn all forms of Genocides from Sri Lanka to the Sudan, from old Anatolia to modern Syria and Iraq. Our responsibility is to act when other regimes justify the mass murder of children and civilians in the name of military necessity or religious fervor.

Thank you!



Dominique De Buman

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY, SWITZERLAND



Ladies and Gentlemen,
Madam and Mr. Chairpersons,
The Armenian people,

Today we, the Swiss members of the parliament, are very excited, emotional towards our obligation to the memory to pay tribute for the 1.5 million victims. We actively participate, as we are members of the global community. Do we have to remind you that whatever happened in 1915-1916 served as an example for Lemkin to coin, give definition to the crime against humanity, adopted by the United Nations resolution? It is unacceptable that those atrocities committed back in 1915 are denied by the Turkish Government, which although is not directly responsible for that crime, however as political and legal successor of the Ottoman Empire, should bear responsibility for those atrocities.

I represent a multi-cultural country and in this regard we are really proud to be a conservative country of international humanitarian law, and this is our duty, as Swiss, to be fully committed to the prevention of crimes against humanity and genocide. That is why we have to permanently fight for the human dignity. For this purpose the Swiss have envisaged criminal provision, I am speaking about the denial of the genocides. It is obvious that if in a democratic manner we have made that decision then there is a court that tries to cancel it. Under the same light in 2004 our Parliament adopted the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and the Supreme Court of Switzerland, which is the supreme judicial body, has made two rulings condemning that genocide. I would like to mention this firmly. The point is that the intervention of a third country in the protection of fundamental rights is the principle of neutrality. As a neutral country, Switzerland can not stay aside in our missions, i.e. to protect human dignity. There is no neutrality in countering the horror.

We are against the pressure exercised by Turkey over sovereign countries, as well as pressure exercised over different communities; and with this pressure Turkey tries to prevent those countries from recognizing the Armenian Genocide. That is why we are solemnly calling upon the authorities not to subdue to this pressure. And in this regard we welcome the clear-cut positions expressed recently, especially the position of Pope Francis, those presented by our countrymen, and also the decision of the European Parliament.

The commemoration of the Centennial is an opportunity to put together all the efforts of the goodwill in order to provide the Armenian people with what it deserves and to prepare fertile ground for the reconciliation with the Turkish people. It is not possible to achieve peace with ambiguity. The denial of the genocide is very dangerous and is an open door for committing other genocides.

This is the position of the Swiss members of Parliament. We are also members of the Council's Armenia-Switzerland Parliamentary Group. We undertake all the possible efforts to prevent violence against all the minorities, including the minorities in Iraq. And this is our commitment.

In the end, I would like to highly appreciate the reception that we have enjoyed by the Armenian people. After seeing so many smiling faces, I can say that evil can never win.



Mhd. Jihad al-Laham

SPEAKER OF PEOPLE'S COUNCIL, SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC



H.E. Mr. President Serzh Sargsyan,
Dear Mr. Speaker,
Heads of delegations,
Religious Leaders,
Respectable participants,

We meet today in a painful memory experienced by our brotherly Armenian people and so did your and our grandfathers, where they shared bread and the salt of life, shared hardships and the agony of separation. This memory is preserved by the humanity, and the Syrian people, with all its components, when they opened their houses for their brothers, despite poverty and lack of resources. That was the concept of incubation and shared life; it was the victory of life over genocide, the victory of shared life over the ethnic cleansing.

In this spirit, we share this memory with you, and in this determination we meet with you to elevate together the sound of humanity and the collective ego against selfishness, grudges, exclusionary policies, the genocide in all its forms, displacement, forcible deportation and the marginalization which we are still witnessing in different parts of the world.

On this occasion, we applaud and appreciate our brothers both in Armenia, and in Syria and everywhere for what they presented to the mankind with their input in human civilization, for their dedication in work, devotion and belonging to the big family of humanity. We in Syria never felt that the Armenians belonging to Armenia was more than their belonging to Syria and vice versa: they are an integral part of our nation. We live together, rejoice together and mourn together.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Our participation in the revival of the Centennial Anniversary of the Genocide against the Armenians committed by the Ottoman Empire is a call to the whole world to acknowledge the right of other people to life, to respect them and their culture and civilization. It is a call to coexist and create human civilization together. It is a call to recognize the crimes of history and the tragedies, which result because of the narrow interests and the isolated concepts and fanatic ideologies. We want to draw the attention of the world that a crime against any human being, no matter who,

must be rejected and condemned. Otherwise, as it was in this case, a genocide became possible, which claimed the lives of more than one and a half million brotherly Armenian people, and the displacement of one and a half million throughout the world. We, in Syria, condemn the genocide perpetrated against the Armenians by the Ottoman authorities.

History, which a century ago recorded the most terrible genocide and the worst crime against humanity, today brings those crimes of dark days back to our days. The killer is still killing, albeit in another shape, and the criminal is still generating more horrible criminals, accompanied by the development of the means of extermination. What is happening in Syria and Iraq is an organized systematic ideology of terrorism, targeting all classes of population, it is an attempt to cleanse entire areas from its population, deprive of their homes, to deliberately destruct cultural heritage, monuments: all this is a reminder of that crime against humanity. All these constitute crimes against humanity and genocide against humans, history and civilization jointly created by the people of the region during many centuries.

Brothers,

Respectable participants,

History will not forgive in the twenty-first century, those who did not learn a lesson from the experiences of the war of other peoples, from colonization of peoples and attempts to eradicate their history. History will not forgive us for not standing against the enemies

of humanity, holders of the machetes, beheaders and the consumer of human lives. We will not be forgiven unless we stand against those who support terrorists by ideology, media, financing, arming and training.

The Syrian people today, as the Armenians a century ago, appeals to the consciousness of the world to stop supporting terrorism and terrorists coming from more than 90 countries and killing the Syrian people. We also appeal to the international community to unite efforts in the fight against this murderous terrorist campaign, which will reach the entire world, the near and the far, if spreads and prevails.

Dear brothers,

Do not let our grandsons meet one day, like our meeting today to condemn a genocide. Today we can prevent it. It is a sincere call to all brothers of humankind, to each person who sees the Syrian as a brother: the Armenian, European, American as brothers, the Russian, Japanese, Chinese, African and Brazilian as brothers. We say to all those: the one who supports terrorism by a word or a bullet, is participating in a crime against humanity.

In the memory of this day, it is a call to wake the consciousness, as when the consciousness was dead, genocide happened.



Mehmet Ufuk Uras

GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, TURKEY



Good afternoon.

You might be surprised to hear a speech in Turkish.

I welcome you in my capacity as a Member of the Turkish Parliament of 23rd convocation.

Being part of common idea and conscience of the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide I am proud that I am also a friend of Hrant Dink. I was the only parliamentarian who arrived to watch Turkey-Armenia football game. Then Hrant Dink's daughter, Delal, told me, "If my dad was alive to witness this day, he would have been happy."

Today the situation is similar. History should not be reviewed through the prism of nationalism or Kemalist ideology. There are people in Turkey, who feel humiliated by calling 1915 events a genocide. We should influence those people. The one, who is not open for a debate, is a radical. Empathy does not oblige us to sympathy. The Turkish nationalists do not understand that the gangsters of the İttihat ve Terakki (Committee of Union and Progress) are not our grandfathers. Erdogan's position to identify İttihat ve Terakki as our grandparents is not correct. Affiliating themselves with the official position means supporting the denialists.

Coming to terms with our history, the year of 1915, is the issue of creating our common motherland, our common future. The future can not be created without coming to terms with the past. The past, that is controlled today, will also control the future. Condolences expressed and statement made this year by the Turkish government are the first step. The issue of confronting our history, the 1915 genocide, is also an issue of building a common homeland, our future. The legal and political conditions should be created for the return of the grandchildren of the Ottoman Armenians to their homeland. The relations with Armenia should be normalized without preconditions. Warmer relations between Erdogan and Putin may also lead to the normalization of relations.

Today, along with the official apology the responsibility of compensation for damages caused by the state is also a provision of the Constitution. Protocols should be implemented, borders should be opened. There is no logic that I was not able to travel to Armenia by land, so I arrived by plane.

Indeed, we cannot become a party in the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. I do hope that after the elections of November 7 in Turkey, a friendship group will be established between Grand National Assembly of Turkey and National Assembly of Armenia. Erdogan and Davutoglu should view this not as an offence, but as a friendly gesture. One should not juxtapose sufferings of the Genocide and Gallipoli (Dardanelles). And we are firmly implementing those steps through Track II diplomacy with the help of civil society.

The HDP's clear position on the genocide issued on the eve of the general elections in Turkey is of historical value. The Turkish public opinion on this issue is more adequate. Apologies are voiced to the survivors of the genocide and commemoration events are organized by our friends at Taksim Square in Istanbul (which Orhan Pamuk considers the center of the world).

We are launching a campaign called "What was your grandfather doing in 1915?" We ask what they did to their Armenian, Assyrian neighbours. During the Istanbul Film Festival held on Saturday, French filmmakers Anna Benjamin and Guillaume Clere presented "L'heritage du Silence" movie. Watching the movie with Istanbul citizens had both shocking and symbolic importance.

Conscience of the democratic world, global community can no longer take seriously the approach that "Cain killed Abel, however there was no criminal law in effect at that time, so it can not be considered a crime". Through facing the Genocide, I do believe that our country will reach Nazim Hikmet's "great humanity".

Analyzing the origin of the verb "to remember" in English we get the meaning "again to become a member". So, by remembering, we would either become a member of humanity, or barbarism. By being here today we demonstrate our preference.

Thank you!



Pablo Abdala

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, URUGUAY



Mister President,

Many thanks to the Government of the Republic of Armenia for the kind invitation, and congratulations for the organization of this forum, which is a sensible and appropriate way of commemorating the centenary of the genocide.

Uruguay is really close to Armenia. We have a relationship of genuine identification, the Armenian community being much more than a part of the national community. It has exercised a perceptible, important, strong and vigorous standing, and for that reason, we, the Uruguayans, feel that Armenians are a part of ourselves, rather than an unfamiliar component, and that integrates our societies.

Undoubtedly, that perception determined the fact that back in 1995 Uruguay became the first country to recognize the Armenian genocide, a decision we are proud of. Still, that recognition does not make us feel accomplished. It was just the beginning of a road, which is not over, since we have a long way ahead.

During our presence in Armenia we noticed mainly two things. First, we found ourselves in a place, where a nation with solid bases settled down, a millenary nation, whose roots go back to the origin of the humanity. Second, we noticed the nobility of the Armenian people, realized how deep the people is concerned with the genocide issue, holding the traces of pain and hope for justice.

Hence, it is also noticeable that the people seek justice, not revenge, because people is inclined to mercy and pardon, once the recognition of what happened takes place, as Armenians are people of peace.

The organization of the forum is an excellent idea, because it allows treating the question of the genocide from the perspective of the present and the future, and not merely from the prospect of memories, invocation and sadness.

These deliberations will help to build political, social, cultural, and spiritual consciousness in order to oppose to any type of genocide, wherever it may take place. "I Remember and Demand". As the President of the Republic of Armenia mentioned, the threat of genocide is not neutralized and will never be. Therefore, re-

membrance not only means homage and tribute to one and a half million Armenians, who suffered the unjustifiable and insane murders, but also has a preventive and precautionary purpose. The Armenian case was the first, but not the last genocide of the 20th century, it was followed by the Jewish Holocaust, acts of genocide in Cambodia, 1975, and Rwanda, 1994. Sick minds will be always stalking, ready for the next attack.

"I Demand" shall be associated with the struggle against denial, which be it conscious or unconscious, deliberate or not, involves the complicity of those who reject recognition. All of us, even involuntarily, are somehow engaged in that until we have not fought against negation; and this situation will last for so long till the recognition of the atrocity is not complete, or accompanied by remorse and request for forgiveness.

Moreover, because of the seriousness and the tragedy that took place a hundred years ago, it is inconceivable and indignant that up to this day only over 20 states have officially recognized the genocide. However, what is important is the recognition by itself, since parliamentary declarations, though welcomed and relevant, are neither complete, nor sufficient.

For that reason, despite being the first ones, in Uruguay, we do not consider our mission accomplished. We do not believe that we are entitled, due to the position we have assumed for already 50 years, to be merely spectators of the facts; instead, we maintain a permanent attitude to reclaim and demand that those, who still have not expressed themselves about what is notorious and unquestionable, did so.

We are asked about what can parliamentarians do to help in the way, which has been pointed out, and I believe that they have two principal roles to play. The first one is to maintain the memory alive, to generate opinion, to place the issue on the public agenda avoiding that the voices are silenced and the issue is or is not treated as a question pertaining to history. The other role is strictly legislative, associated with promotion and protection of human rights, approval of all the instruments, both national and international, which are indispensable to prevent any kind of deviation. During my first visit to Armenia, I believe I am visiting a nation which has character, and a value system, which can easily be identified. Undoubtedly, the prediction of Anatole France became true, "Armenia is dying but it will survive." Armenia survived, developed and grew and there is only one claim: the claim for truth and for justice. The Armenian cause is humanity's cause.



Johann Herzog

SECOND PRESIDENT OF VIENNA CITY COUNCIL



Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

First, I would like to thank you for the invitation. It is a great honour for me and I accepted it with great pleasure.

My name is Johann Herzog. I convey the best wishes of the Austrian people, which sympathizes with Armenia and its fate.

The century of two World Wars began with the Armenian Genocide. Totalitarian regimes were responsible also for crimes against humanity after 1945.

After the terrible acts against the Jewish people during the Holocaust, further acts of genocide and mass killings took place, as no significant preventive measures were undertaken. I mean, along with others, Cambodia, Rwanda and Darfur. The existing UN resolutions and regulations, as well as the activities of international courts are obviously not enough. The international community must take decisive actions against the Genocide.

Like many other Austrians, based on my family history, I also sympathize with the Armenian people. As an old Austrian and Sudeten German family, in 1945 we were driven out from our home which is in today's Czech Republic. We share this fate with 3,3 million compatriots who lost their homeland; another 241.000 were killed. Horrific events, which unfortunately were not the last one in the 20th century, were preluded by the Armenian Genocide.

Today, I would like to draw a special attention on my compatriot, who had a special relationship with the Armenian people – Franz Werfel. He was born in 1890 in Prague, the capital of the Austrian crown land of Bohemia, and who was a member of the big German-Jewish community. After returning from war, Werfel lived in Vienna. During his trip to the Middle East in 1930, the children of the Syrian orphanage, which survived the Armenian Genocide, attracted his attention. He wrote the famous novel "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh", where he described this hideous crime and immortalized it in literature for the future generations. The Armenian Genocide would not become so globally known without Werfel and his epochal piece. In 2000, the Armenian Community of Austria erected a monument dedicated to Franz Werfel in a very nice park in the center of Vienna.

In 1930 Werfel could not even imagine that after a couple of years he would have to flee. He spent the winter of 1937/1938 abroad with his wife and, as a Jew, he could no longer return to his homeland after the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany in March 1938. After fleeing again from France in 1940, he settled down in the United States, where he died less than three weeks after the end of World War II. During the last seven years of his life Franz Werfel experienced the same trauma that shapes the Armenian Diaspora up until now: longing for the loss of inner world and being uprooted because of the loss of homeland.

Werfel fought for the Armenian Genocide not to be forgotten. But Werfel was also warning us about the present and the future.

Within this context, I would also like to touch upon the current situation in Syria, a country where the war is still going on. The pain was the deepest for the Armenian witnesses, when the members of the terrorist militia of "Islamic State" besieged the early Christian communities in order to kill men and rape and enslave women, as well as to destroy the artefacts of high culture of the Urartu civilization.

The cornerstone of reassessment is honesty and truthfulness. Therefore, one cannot be grateful enough to the Pope Francis when he called this genocide the "Genocide". It is hard to expect any reconciliation between Turks and Armenians under the current Turkish government and the President Erdoğan. But the ranks of those 100,000 people, who publicly protested against the assassination of Hrant Dink in Turkey in 2007 and declared solidarity with him, will only increase. They inspired a hope for new relationship between the two nations.

I would like to underline that the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people support the Armenians in the Genocide issue. Moreover, I have good news to share with you today: yesterday all fractions of the National Council, the Austrian Parliament, voted for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide of 1915. It is a great day for Austria and Armenia! The historical truth has made another step towards the realization of justice.

I would like to inform that the Austrian Parliament has paid a tribute to the victims of the atrocities with a minute of silence.

In the end I would like to wish the Forum all the best.



Eleni Theocharous

MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
HEAD OF THE EU-ARMENIA PARLIAMENTARY FRIENDSHIP GROUP



Excellences,
Ladies and gentlemen,

As a friend of the Armenian nation, as a Member of the European Parliament, and as a person who feels Armenian at heart, it is with immense honour that I am here today in Yerevan in order to participate in the Global Forum. I sincerely believe that, as a stronger pill against the heinous and repulsive crime of genocide, this is the best way to commemorate the Centennial of the Armenian genocide, one of the darkest pages of the history of the Armenian people and of humanity as a whole.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Today every free spirit on Earth is Armenian. Genocide is considered the most aggravated among the crimes against humanity. One of the most urgent needs for the international community is to remove once and for all the possibility of such crimes taking place and this is one of the responsibilities of the European Parliament, as well. And we are working on this. The realization of this urgency during the 20th century led to the creation of the system of norms and safeguards under the international law, which aims to primarily punish and also deter the crimes against humanity around the world. The most important was the establishment of the International Criminal Court.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The terms "crime against humanity" and "genocide" were first coined and used in reference to the practice of mass extermination of the Armenian, Pontiac, Hellenic Greek, Assyrian and other Christian populations of Asia Minor, perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks. The Armenian Genocide is considered a crime against humanity for the purposes of the ICC jurisdiction. It was committed as a part of a wide-spread and systematic attacks conducted by the Young Turks regime against innocent civilian population. In the case of the Armenian Genocide the legal aspect is of utmost importance for the international community, the legal order should be restored. However, there are other aspects such as political, moral and ethical ones, that Turkey bears responsibility.

The Turkish government should stand up and apologize for the crimes organized and conducted by the Ottoman Empire. Willy Brandt, this brave German politician, apologized for the Nazi crimes and the Germans paid respect to the victims, to their families and to their countries. This is the only way for Turkey to become a member of civilized international community and this is the policy that can pave the way to reconciliation with Armenia on political and ethical basis, upon which a sincere friendship can be established. Because peace cannot prevail without justice, and justice means freedom and self-determination.

Shnorhakalutyun!



Fabio Massimo Castaldo

MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



Excellences,
Dear colleagues,

When I deliver speeches on subjects that touch me deeply, it is my habit to begin with this crucial step that the others usually conclude with – expressing gratitude. That is why I wish to thank with all my heart the Government of Armenia and the Armenian people for the wonderful hospitality, warmth and friendship they showed us during these days.

I would also like to express my gratitude for organizing this Forum, this open debate on the crime that shakes our consciences deeply, leading us to a necessary, indispensable and true reflection.

The Armenian people have experienced this unspeakable pain on its own skin. The moment of this suffering has brutally shaped Rafael Lemkin's mind when he decided to stick together two words to create a new one – genocide, extermination of entire population. The real nature of this crime is so heinous that it represents truly antithesis of the concepts of society and humanity.

What could be more horrible than a systematic strategy aimed at the suppression of identity and culture of a whole population in order to completely destroy it or to assimilate the survivors? They want to annihilate another human being simply because ontologically they have different history; they deny his right to life. This horror is so dark and so deep that cannot be reached even with the deepest mass grave in dark lands in Rwanda, Cambodia, in Sudan, in the Former Yugoslavia, anywhere. Yes, I truly believe that the genocide was rightly defined in a well-known phrasing: "the crime of crimes".

The distinguished scholars who participated in sessions yesterday analyzed the historical aspects and evolution of that crime over decades. We have an institutional role, we have a different task – a task to give an effective political response. A clear political response to every denial and attempt to minimize the scope of this crime by diminishing the insolvable historical dilemma to a mere academic discussion. A strong response is needed to all those countries, which still do not want to adopt legislation in order to be able to adequately punish such actions. A response

that should necessarily go even further, because recognition is only above the solution if it is not accompanied by an adequate and systematic strategy aimed at eradicating all the preconditions of the genocide such as the cult of violence, the abuse of power, as nationalism, as fanaticism, xenophobia, ethnic and religious intolerance, as superficiality, and worst of all -indifference. This unfortunately exists even in our greatest cities, as well as in small villages.

I kindly ask those who are under the illusion that the violence can be stopped only by more violence, to remember that bullets and bombs kill men, not ideas. For the response to be effective it needs to be credible. Therefore, we must first interrogate ourselves on the constituency of our actions.

We, Europeans, have our hands dirtied with the blood of colonialism, we that could not prevent the barbarity of totalitarianism, have even greater responsibility on our shoulders, a responsibility to be faced with humility aware of our mistakes not yet amended. With the same humility I will now express hope that the Turkish people will soon take that right and noble step towards reconciliation, recognition, so it will be possible to fully recover relations between Armenia and Turkey, finally healing this painful wound that still divides you. I welcome the movement of the Turkish society in this direction. I believe we can do a great deal, as Europeans to achieve this reconciliation. Conventionally strong but not strong enough, so is not the resolution recently approved by

the European Parliament, even though it is a useful and important act. We have to bear in our minds, dear friends and colleagues, that principle is such only if it always counts, not just according to convenience.

We shall remember this, as soon as we are touched by the temptation to give preference to the commercial interests rather than political ones, to the economic interests rather than reaffirmation of human rights.

And I am also talking about my government, the Italian government, which, I hope, will listen carefully to these words. May we keep this moral duty, this categorical imperative in our minds every day, before acting on behalf of hundreds of thousand citizens, who have placed trust in us.

We cannot expect from others what we are not able to fully fulfill ourselves.

"Be the change you want to see in the world", as Mahatma Gandhi said. Only then we could give with clear conciseness and deep conviction - the answer that I mentioned before, the answer to cynical and terrible question that criminal, like Adler Hitler told his followers to justify the Holocaust, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" The answer will be that we are talking about it right now in this room, talking out loudly, that all our people remember it, that the world did not forget it and we will never forget it. While the world has not changed thanks to our eloquent opinion, Italy has changed thanks to our current example.



Ioannis Amanatidis

SECRETARY GENERAL
OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY ON ORTHODOXY

Excellences,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Colleagues,

As the Secretary General and Head of International Secretariat of the Inter-parliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy, I extend warm collegial greetings on this distinguished day of remembrance. I am also conveying the greetings of the President of the General Assembly of Russia Mr. Sergey Popov.

The Inter-parliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy is a political organization of the parliamentarians, founded 23 years ago and located in the Hellenic Parliament in Athens. It consists of official delegations of approximately 25 parliaments and several parliamentary groups of MPs directly related to the Eastern Christian Orthodox traditions. The Armenian Parliament is one of the founding members of the Inter-parliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy, and has been participating in the activities of its bodies for 23 years. We trace the social discourse of Christianity and ecumenical dimension and perspective of Orthodoxy which is, indeed, inherent in its presence over time.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Colleagues,

This year we remember two events that have been destructive for the course of humanity. One is the genocide of Armenians one hundred years ago. The other is the end of the Second World War 70 years ago. Two events that had been hard for all of us; two historical acts of barbarism and destruction. The genocide of the Armenians is the first genocide of the 20th century, with systematic annihilation of one and a half million of people by the Ottoman state. However, this was not only onerous and atrocious extermination committed by the Ottoman state. In the beginning of the 20th century, particularly in the period of 1914-1919, the Young Turks killed around 350 thousand Greeks of the Black Sea region in an absolutely systematic and premeditated manner, either by displacing them into Asia Minor or by subjecting them to suffering, hardship and forced labor.

In the same context, thousands of Assyrians from upper Mesopotamia have been forcibly displaced and killed by the Turkish forces during the period between 1914

and 1920, while contemporary sources bring the number of casualties up to 250 thousands.

The impunity of these crimes and the effort to send them to oblivion has certainly been the cause and precursor of the Holocaust committed during the Second World War. The Armenian Genocide remained unpunished by the international community, although the Ottoman Empire was among the losers of the First World War, as an ally of the Central Powers. Unfortunately, a few years later, as many said in this hall, Adolf Hitler, wanting to justify the atrocities of the Holocaust did not hesitate to wonder: "Who speaks today of the annihilation of Armenians?"

Today, ladies and gentlemen, the question is what we have now after those destructions. On the one hand, public apologies by all those involved in the barbarity and enormous destructions of the Second World War, in the devastation and public humiliation of peoples during the crimes and destructions. On the other hand, the policy, which denies to recognize the crime which does not serve necessary knowledge to apologize in humbleness and pride. Nobody wishes to humiliate the people and lower them with guilt. Besides, how people could be held responsible for the government they have not even elected 100 years ago?

However, one and a half million souls of Armenians seek vindication and their descendants demand an apology. Today, indeed, we witness commemorations in every corner of the world. Preservation of the historical memory of the Armenian Genocide is a respectful candle lit for the victims, as well as a solid contribution to serving this course in the future.

The living tradition of people, the signs of history, the educational knowledge provided to youth by each state and other entities and research centers are the custodians of the historical memory. Parliamentarians, indeed, hold a big share in order to preserve and display our peoples' historical memory.

Members of Parliament have a duty as the living and evolving constituencies of people to protect and display, precisely, this historical memory through law making and control, without obeying others under incurring political context.

Dear colleagues, we have to guard the "Thermopylae" of people's historical memory. "They from the path of duty never stray" as our great poet Constantine Cavafy notes.

Nevertheless, on the one hand parliamentarism and democracy are distinct concepts and on the other, historical synonyms. Parliamentarism is a key component of the quality of country's democracy, which is described in the character of civil society, as well as its political institutions. The center of these values is the protec-

tion of life and individual rights irrespective of ethnic origin, religion, language and political affiliation.

Nowadays, once again we are faced with similar acts of genocide and mass destruction. It seems that barbarity, actually, is a synonym for extremism, religious fanaticism. And this fanaticism, as rightly pointed out by ecumenical Patriarch Mr. Bartholomew, wherever it exists, makes people suffer, it hides behind murderous political endeavours. I am referring, of course, to the problems and sufferings of Christians in a broader region of the Middle East, which are aimed at forcing them out of their ancestral homes. And this is not the only region. We see more and more such signs of religious violence and murder of Christians also in Africa. We all keep protesting and issuing resolutions, similarly we constantly worry about the fate of our fellow citizens of the same faith.

What is the purpose of all this: the massacres are still continuing. Christians are still being exterminated and enslaved.

Honoring today those who were lost, let us raise once again a voice of protest against the new crime that is being committed in our times.

Erbeq krkin Ceghaspanutyun (Never again Genocide)!

Thank you very much!



His Eminence Cardinal Kurt Koch

PRESIDENT OF THE PONTIFICAL COUNCIL
FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN UNITY, THE HOLY SEE



Excellences,

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Holy Father, Pope Francis asked me to be with you here and to bring his blessing to the Forum along with the assurance of his heartfelt prayers and his spiritual closeness.

Dear Armenian Brothers and Sisters,

A century has passed since that horrific massacre which was a true martyrdom of your people, in which many innocent people died as confessors and martyrs for the name of Christ. Even today, there is not an Armenian family untouched by the loss of loved ones due to that tragedy. On this anniversary, I feel a great closeness to your people and I wish to unite myself spiritually to the prayers which rise up from your hearts, your families and your communities.

Your Christian identity is indeed ancient, dating from the year 301, when Saint Gregory the Illuminator guided Armenia to conversion and baptism. You were the first among nations in the course of the centuries to embrace the Gospel of Christ. That spiritual event arked the Armenian people, as well as its culture and history, in which martyrdom holds a preeminent place, as attested to symbolically by the sacrificial witness of Saint Vardan and his companions in the fifth century.

Your people, illuminated by Christ's light and by his grace, have overcome many trials and sufferings, animated by the hope, which comes from the Cross. As Saint John Paul II said to you, "Your history of suffering and martyrdom is a precious pearl, of which the universal Church is proud. Faith in Christ, man's Redeemer, infused you with an admirable courage on your path, so often like that of the Cross, on which you have advanced with determination, intent on preserving your identity as a people and as believers."

This faith also accompanied and sustained your people during the tragic experience one hundred years ago "in what is generally referred to as the first genocide of the twentieth century".

It is the responsibility not only of the Armenian people and the universal Church to recall all that has taken place, but of the entire human family, so that the warnings from this tragedy will protect us from falling into a similar horror, which offends against God and human dignity. Today too, in fact, these conflicts at times degenerate into unjustifiable violence, stirred up by exploiting ethnic and religious differences. All who are Heads of State and of International Organizations are called to oppose such crimes with a firm sense of duty, without ceding to ambiguity or compromise.

May this sorrowful anniversary become for all an occasion of humble and sincere reflection, and may every heart be open to forgiveness, which is the source of peace and renewed hope.

For us-Christians, may this be above all a time of deep prayer. Through the redemptive power of Christ's sacrifice, may the blood, which has been shed, bring about the miracle of the full unity of his disciples. In particular, may it strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship which already unites the Catholic Church and the Armenian Apostolic Church. The witness of many defenseless brothers and sisters who sacrificed their lives for the faith unites the diverse confessions: it is the ecumenism of blood, which led Saint John Paul II to celebrate all the martyrs of the twentieth century together during the Jubilee of 2000.

**"Concealing or denying evil is
like allowing a wound to keep
bleeding without bandaging it!"**

POPE FRANCIS

April 12, 2015
Papal Basilica of St. Peter • Vatican



Our celebration today also is situated in this spiritual and ecclesiastical context. Representatives of our two Churches are participating in this event, to which many of our faithful throughout the world are united spiritually, in a sign, which reflects on earth the perfect communion that exists between the blessed souls in heaven. With brotherly affection, I assure you of my closeness on the occasion of the canonization ceremony of the martyrs of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

May the All Holy Mother of God protect the Armenian Church and intercede for its faithful people now and forever.
Thank you!



Rev. Dr. Olav Fykse Tveit

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES



Your Excellency President Serzh Sargsyan,
Rt. Honorable Prime Minister Hovik Abrahamyan,

Your Holinesses Karekin II,
Your Holiness Aram,
Your Holinesses, Your Beatitudes, Your Eminences, Your Excellences,

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear sisters and brothers in Christ,

On behalf of the 350 member churches of the World Council of Churches, representing 560 million Orthodox and Protestant Christians, I would like to greet you on this very significant day. We have seen and we have learned about all these tragic events of the genocide of 1915 and 1916, which we commemorate today with our Armenian sisters and brothers.

"Our life and our death are with our neighbour" – this is a spiritual affirmation from the Christian tradition which we owe to Saint Anthony, a monk from Egypt of the third and fourth century. This is our common legacy from the early years of Armenia and its Christian history. To be human is to be part of one humanity. From the first day of our life we depend on others. Today we are reminded in a dramatic way that belonging to one another is our destiny, for better or for worse. The gift of life together includes our responsibility for one another. This is a matter of being human, created by God for fellowship and unity.

"Our life and our death are with our neighbour". Those who deny or attack the life and dignity of a sister or brother undermine and destroy the humanity of both the victim and themselves. Today we are made conscious of this mutually destructive reality. We remember together and pay due respect to innocent victims. We also remember together that these inhuman actions really happened. Both are steps that can and should lead to reconciliation and healing of memories based on the hostilities of the past. We need, as one humanity, both justice and peace.

During the 1979 Session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the World Council of Churches called publicly for the recognition by the UN of the Armenian Genocide. In 1983, the 6th Assembly of the WCC in Vancouver supported

this request, emphasizing that "the silence of the world community and deliberate efforts to deny even historical facts that have been consistent sources of anguish and growing despair to the Armenian people, the Armenian churches and many others." The WCC assembly in Busan in the Republic of Korea in 2013 addressed this 100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, asking the member churches to observe it in appropriate ways. As we are here today, many memorial services are happening around the world.

The member churches of the World Council of Churches have seen and learned about all these tragic events of the genocide in 1915 and 1916 which we commemorate today, not least from their Armenian sisters and brothers. We have also learnt from the victims of other horrible crimes against humanity that were committed during the 20th century, which is sometimes called the most violent century of human history. We remember today first of all the 1.5 million victims, Armenian children, women and men. We remember also the other hundreds of thousands of Christians of Aramean, Chaldean, Assyrian, Syrian and Greek descent, and all others – many of them from other living faiths such as the Muslim faith – who died in that time of brutal violence and war. We also continue to remember all those who were murdered in the Holocaust against the Jewish people, and other genocides thereafter. The victims were all human beings with their dignity, their families and their hopes, created in the image and the likeness of God. They are never forgotten by God.

"Our life and our death is with our neighbour" – this saying of Saint Anthony is very significant, even today. We need to remind ourselves of it in the face of attacks on human rights, brutal violence and murder in so many places of the world today. People suffer from economically, politically, ethnically or religiously motivated conflicts which often lead to violence, even criminal terrorist attacks and war. We are geographically close to the unfathomable tragedies going on in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Iraq, as we sit in this place.

Today the memory of the victims moves us to take pro-active measures to stop all attacks against humanity and our dignity. This we have to do together as peoples and nations, as communities of different faiths or religious dependence, or of no faith. Together we must use the opportunities and instruments of international law and cooperation we have for learning, knowing and naming the truth, for reconciliation, for justice and for peace. It is possible to act together to prevent and to protect.

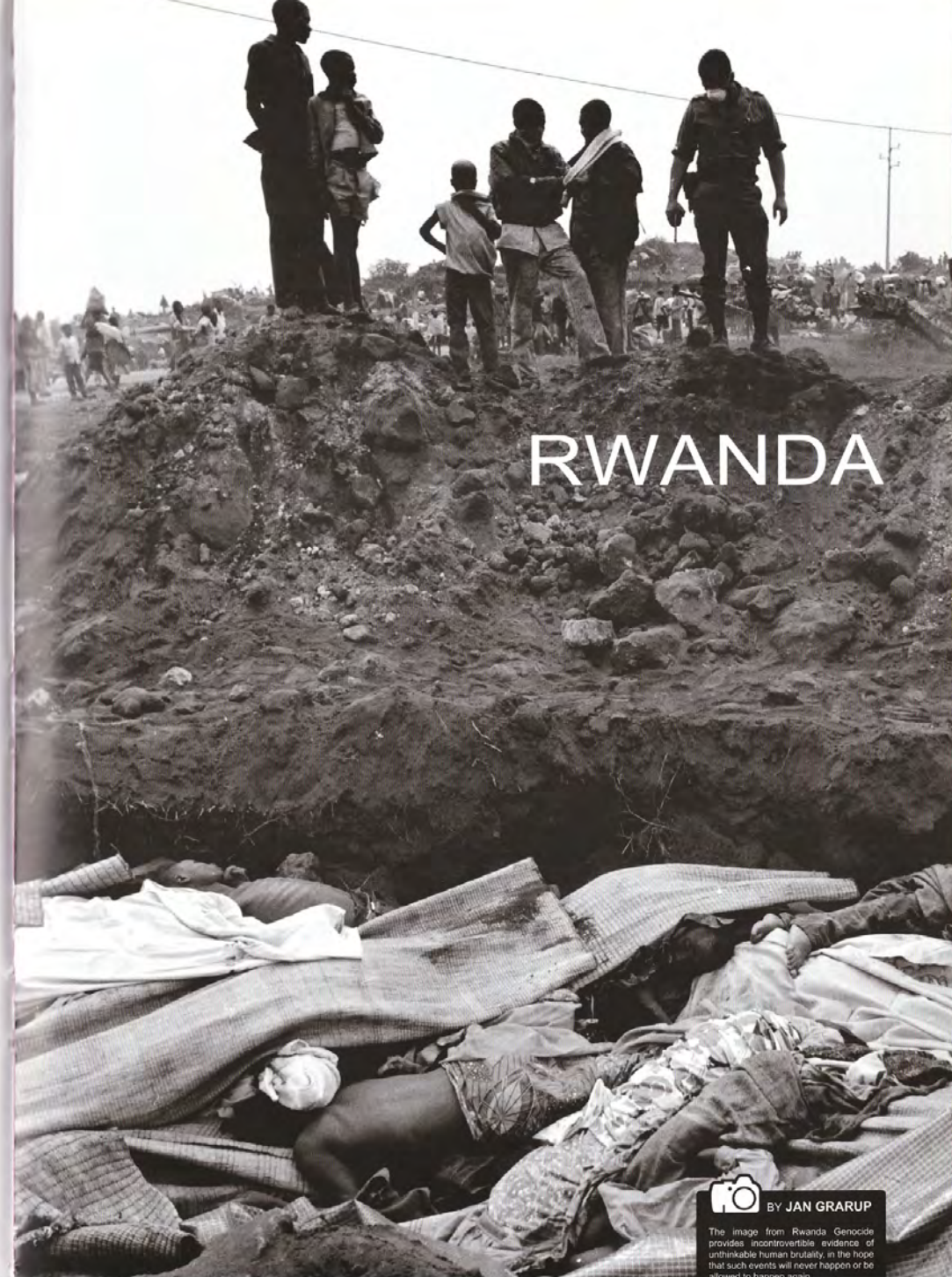
I have met with Armenians who have immediately described the survival of their family by mentioning one name after I told about my Norwegian origin. Fridtjof Nansen, as High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations in the early 1920s, in offering Armenians a new passport, called the nations of the world to respect the human rights of Armenians. He was responding to what he had seen

and heard about the realities of what happened, naming it and addressing it. I do regret that many governments, including my own, when they commemorate on this anniversary the atrocities that happened, still are hesitating to express our common moral sense by naming what happened a genocide.

Pursuing just peace, the World Council of Churches has very actively participated in the UN debate on "humanitarian intervention" which was sparked by the Rwandan genocide. The WCC put special emphasis on "prevention" as a core element of the obligation of all states to protect the lives and dignity of all people. Protection becomes necessary only when prevention fails.

This day is a moment of truth. Let us all use it as an opportunity to build a future together where no people, no group of ethnic or religious identity, or any other common identification, should experience again these kinds of brutality we commemorate today. We need the courage to say "no" to what destroys our dignity. Even more, we need the courage to say "yes" to our common humanity. Today the victims of the Armenian genocide call and help us to do so. All Christian churches recently celebrated the resurrection of Christ. In the joyful Easter period, we remember in our prayers the victims of the genocide, participating in the death and resurrection of Christ. In our creeds we confess our hope, as the one community of saints, of forgiveness of sins and the resurrection of the dead to eternal life. Injustice, violence, sin and death will not have the last word.

Thank you!



BY JAN GRARUP

The image from Rwanda Genocide provides incontrovertible evidence of unthinkable human brutality, in the hope that such events will never happen or be allowed to happen again.

RWANDA

Rwanda Genocide is a planned campaign of mass murder, which took place in April–July of 1994. In 100 days, Hutu extremists murdered approximately 800,000 Tutsis and Hutu sympathizers. The genocide took place following decades of tensions between Hutus and Tutsis, and a recent history of persecution and discrimination against Tutsis. During the genocide, millions of Rwanda Tutsis and Hutus fled to Tanzania, Zaire and Uganda. Two million of them had to escape to Zaire alone.

It all began by April 6 assassination of longtime Hutu President Juvenal Habyarimana, whose plane was shot down by unidentified attackers, as he was returning from a meeting on the Arusha Accords (a set of five accords signed in Arusha, Tanzania on August 4, 1993, by the government of Rwanda and the Tutsi-led rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) to end a three-year Rwandan Civil War). Extremist Hutu leaders accused Tutsis of killing the President, and Hutu civilians were told by radio and word of mouth that it was their duty to wipe out the Tutsis. The Mille Collins radio station (RTLM), which was popular for its pop music and sports programmes, and Kangura, a weekly magazine, started a campaign of ethnic hatred, encouraging the slaughter of Tutsi, who were referred to as “cockroaches” needed to be exterminated.

The organized killing of Tutsi began that very night by the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) and Hutu militia known as the Interahamwe (“Those Who Attack Together”) and Impuzamugambi (“Those Who Have the Same Goal”), followed by ordinary citizens, who commonly used machetes and similar implements.

Tens of thousands of Tutsis tried to escape the slaughter by hiding in churches, hospitals, schools and government offices. However, during the Rwanda Genocide those places, which historically have been places of refuge, were turned into places of inhuman slaughter. About 4000 men, women and children were murdered with axes, knives and machetes in the church of Ntarama near Kigali.

The Rwanda Genocide ended only when the RPF took over the country. In November 1994, the UN established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Several key perpetrators were sentenced to life imprisonment.

During the following years, a reconciliation process was initiated and a number of projects, including by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, were implemented. Several national symbols, that were widely associated with extremist Hutu nationalism, were replaced and a new constitution was promulgated in 2003. Later that year, the first multiparty democratic elections were held in Rwanda since independence.

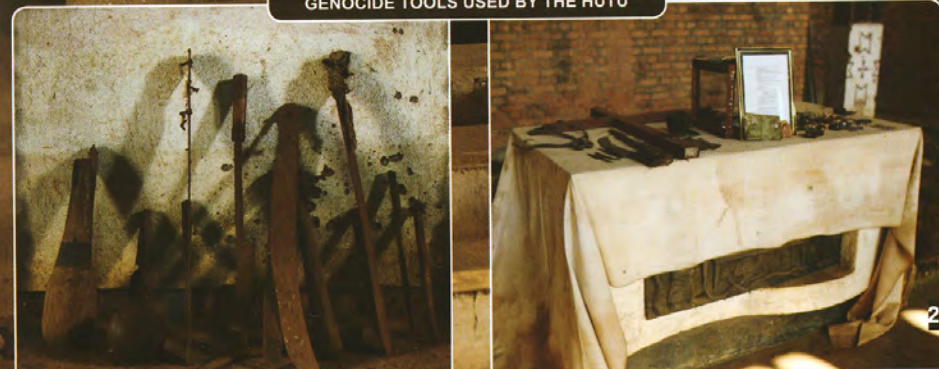


Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre
provided photos for the Global Forum.

HUMAN SKULLS AT THE NYAMATA GENOCIDE MEMORIAL



GENOCIDE TOOLS USED BY THE HUTU





BOOK PRESENTATION: **Genocide in Literature**

Organized by Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Armenia.

- On April 22-23 the Ministry of Culture of Armenia and the National Library of Armenia organized an exhibition entitled "The Armenian Genocide in Literature" which is dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide.
- Out of around 3000 literary, fiction, historical, analytical and journalistic books about the Armenian Genocide, library presents, more than 900 units of literature which have been translated into 23 languages in 37 countries of the world, focusing on different time periods.
- While touring the exhibition pavilions, the President was informed that the exhibition displays books which are exclusive, being among the first to mention the Armenian Genocide, and present memories of famous foreign nationals, witnesses and their heirs, as well as their assessment of the tragedy.
- Some of the book authors participating in the exhibition introduced and presented the Armenian President with their works.





SIDE EVENT

Anatole France

Postage Stamp Cancellation Ceremony
Dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide

Organized by "HayPost" CJSC,
with the participation of the Armenian and French Parliamentary delegations.



- On April 23, 2015, in the framework of the forum "Against the Crime of Genocide", HayPost CJSC has officially canceled and put into circulation a postage stamp dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide "Anatole France".
- 28 stamps and souvenir sheets exhibited during the event were dedicated to distinguished Armenian writers, poets, composers and public figures, victims of the Genocide, such as Siamanto, Daniel Varuzhan, Grigor Zohrap, Ruben Sevak, Komitas; survivors of the Genocide (Aurora Mardiganian, orphans of Melkonian Educational Institute in Cyprus) as well as prominent figures who helped the survivors of the Armenian Genocide and defended the Armenian case, such as Johannes Lepsius, Fridtjof Nansen, James Bryce, Franz Werfel, Karen Jeppe, Maria Jacobsen, John Kirakossian.
- The President of the General Council of Hauts-de-Seine department, member of the National Assembly Patrick Devedjian, Chairman of the France-Armenia Parliamentary Friendship Group of the National Assembly of France Francois Rochebloine, President of the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia Galust Sahakyan and HayPost Trust Management BV Managing Director Juan Pablo Gechidjian participated in the ceremony of cancellation of the Anatole France postage stamp.



◀ Anatole France (1890-1945) was an outstanding French writer, academician and a Nobel Prize winner as well as the founder and publisher of "Pro Armenia" journal in Paris. He has shown a huge contribution and humanitarian help to the survivors of the Armenian Genocide.





CLOSING SESSION

Statement by
H.E. EDWARD NALBANDIAN
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Armenia



Edward Nalbandian

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

Honourable President of National Assembly,
Your Eminences,

Distinguished guests,
Distinguished participants of the Forum,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank all participants of the Forum and express special gratitude to the moderators of all three panels of these two days - Luis Moreno Ocampo, Geoffrey Robertson, Frank Chalk, Patrick Devedjian, Nikolay Rizhkov, and to you - dear Baroness Cox, as well as to those panelists, parliamentarians, spiritual leaders, political scientists, experts who addressed the Forum. The variety, depth and substance of the messages lift even the slightest doubt that the fight of the international community against genocides and crimes against humanity has no alternative.

During the last hundred years the horrible experiences of humanity, the epochal shifts in international politics, novel perceptions of human rights in global political processes reaffirm that prevention of genocides should be one of the prime goals of the mankind. As President Serge Sargsyan stated in his important opening address, this is the reason why, in conjunction with the organization of the events in Armenia commemorating the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide, we also give a pivotal importance to our increased involvement to the international efforts towards the prevention of genocides. That is why one of the most important messages that we want to address to the entire world is the imperative of genocide prevention as a noble goal uniting the civilized world, past and present generations. It should not be subjected to any political interests and should not be marginalized, irrespective of the political agendas of the time. Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe in his yesterday's remarks highly valued the contribution of Armenia to the international prevention efforts and called on for the continuation of those efforts.

It is a common knowledge that if we do not wish to allow the repetition of genocides, we are obliged to identify those preconditions that resulted in committing past genocides. A number of participants of the forum thoroughly touched upon the reasons feeding that horrendous crime. International reaction following the Armenian Genocide contributed to the awareness raising amongst judicial and



social circles on the crime of crimes, or as William Schabas put it the most extreme form of the crime against humanity - the genocide. In this regard Daniel Feierstein revealed an interesting fact that the Armenian Genocide lays in the foundational goals of the Association of the Genocide Scholars.

I would like to once again recall, as it was mentioned during the opening of the forum, that the May 24th, 1915 special declaration of Russia, France and Great Britain characterized what had happened to the Armenians as a "crime against humanity and civilization." In 1919 the Ottoman Tribunal's indictment held the leaders of the Young Turks personally responsible for organizing the large-scale massacres of the Armenians. In 1929 Winston Churchill characterized the Armenian massacres as a "holocaust" and added that "this crime was planned and executed for political reasons. The opportunity presented itself for clearing these territories of a Christian race." As one of the participants of our forum - Donna Lee Frieze, presented in a detailed manner, later on Rafael Lemkin invented the term "genocide" referring to what happened to Armenians.

The Armenian Genocide was widely condemned by the international community. That reaction equally resonated in the European states, the USA and

Russia, as well as in the Arab world. A number of intellectuals, statesmen, public and religious activists drew attention to the inadmissibility of what had been committed against Armenians, urging the great powers to punish the masterminds of the Armenian Genocide and create conditions conducive to the elimination of the consequences of that calamity. The participants of our Forum Henry Theriault and Patrick Dumbery addressed the legal aspects of this issue. The international reaction testified that what had happened to the Armenians was perceived not only as a grief of one nation, but as a crime committed against humanity. As Yair Auran rightly mentioned the recognition of the Armenian Genocide is not an issue between Armenians and Turks, it is an issue for whole humanity.

However, the atrocities of the 20th century that followed the Armenian genocide were not prevented. The reason for that and the main lesson to be learned is that the international genocide prevention efforts did not exert the necessary determination, consistence and solidarity, and the relevant political and legal conclusions were not made.

Dear participants of the Forum,

On March 27 in Geneva the UN Human Rights Council adopted by consensus the Genocide Prevention Resolution initiated by Armenia and co-authored by 71 states. It occupies an important place within the context of the joint prevention efforts of the international community. It defines the primary measures for genocide prevention, which were re-

flected also in the Armenia-initiated UN Human Rights Council Genocide Prevention Resolutions of previous years.

The diagnosis of genocidal atmosphere and creation of effective mechanisms of early warning must have their firm place on the agenda of the international and regional organizations. Yesterday Professor Israel Charny, Director of Jerusalem Institute of the Holocaust delivered an impressive presentation on this topic. During the last decade both the United Nations, and specialized Human Rights organizations have made a considerable progress in improving early warning and assessment capacities. The continuity of these achievements should be guaranteed. At the same time it should be accom-



panied by creation of concrete mechanisms of deterrence. Unfortunately the violence executed by extremists in the Middle East, the brutalities against civilian population which remind us of the past horrors and the vandalism against millennia-old civilizational values demonstrate that the international community still has much to do in this regard. Here I would like to thank Frank

Chalk for comprehensively addressing these issues.

The next important dimension of the genocide prevention is the improvement of the human rights protection mechanisms as well as deepening of tolerance both inside societies and in relations among different peoples. Strengthening of democracy, protection of the rights of ethnic and religious minorities and their fair representation are those firm pillars that if fortified and fostered may eliminate the destructive intentions of even the most extremist groups and ideologies. Consistency in countering xenophobia, discrimination, dissemination of hostilities is indispensable to exclude the emergence of genocidal atmosphere because the seeds of the evil of genocide are fed by those gravely negative phenomena.

One of the important dimensions of prevention of genocides is raising awareness through educational programs and remembrance. Remembrance is important also in eliminating the consequences of the genocide, Turkish intellectual Cengiz Aktar made an interesting presentation in this regard. Here, I would like to extend a special gratitude to Madam Esther Mujawayo, survivor of the Rwandan Genocide for her exclusive address on the complications of psychological aspects in eliminating the consequences of genocides. I remember her making a no less touching address a year ago at the High Level meeting of the UN Human Rights Council initiated by Armenia and dedicated to the genocide prevention.



When we speak about raising awareness of genocides we should clearly realize that without the recognition, condemnation and elimination of consequences of past genocides any steps would remain as half-done. In this respect we can state with confidence that today one of the challenges facing humanity is surmounting denial of genocides, about which Michael Bohlander made a thorough speech. The strife against this condemnable issue is as important as countering the creation of the genocidal atmosphere, or as the efforts to prevent the mass atrocities themselves. These issues were thoroughly touched upon by Donald Bloxham. I would like once again to recall the wise words of Pope Francis I during the Mass in St. Peter's Cathedral on the occasion of the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide: "Concealing or denying evil is like allowing a wound to keep bleeding without bandaging it."

Attempts of denial of genocide and crimes against humanity under the guise of freedom of expression are equally condemnable. Nowadays, the

minimization of the suffering of the victims, trivialization of the scale of the losses and equation of the sufferings of the victims and the perpetrators are among the tools applied for denial. Recently we have been often witnessing this new strategy of denial. As Roger Smith correctly noted the tactics of denial are refined while the arguments have remained the same.

Dear participants of the Forum,

One of the main elements of the UN Human Rights Council Genocide Prevention resolution is the condemnation of denial of genocide and crimes against humanity. Denial makes the incumbent authorities accomplices to the crimes committed in the past. Denial is not opening the door to reconciliation, it is opening the door to new crimes against humanity. Yair Auron made valuable observations on this topic. It is noteworthy that Rakip Zarakolu in his yesterday's address compared the policy of the Turkish Government to Janissary March – one step forward, two steps back.

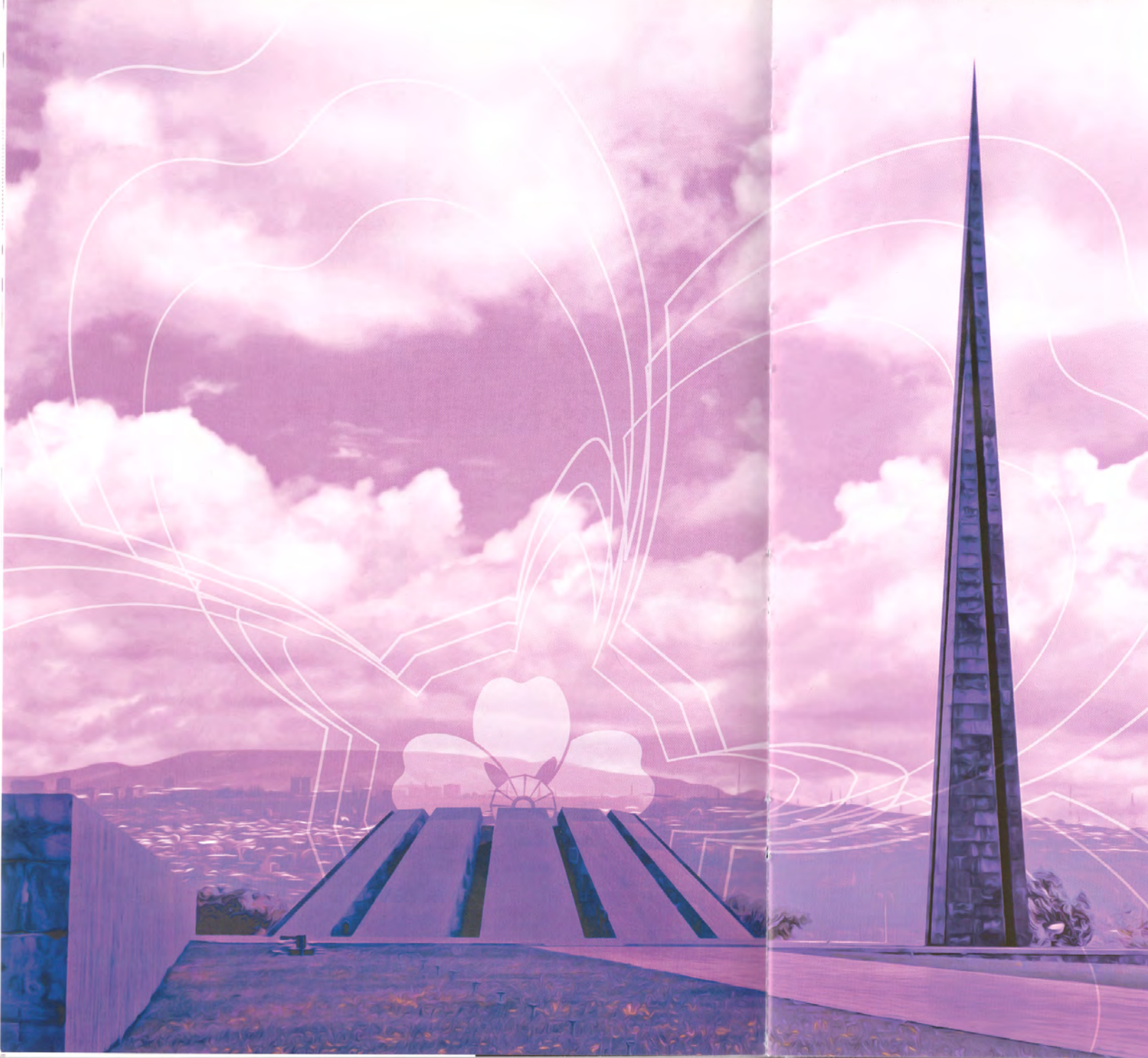
Dear participants of the Forum,

I am confident that the ideas and recommendations made during the Forum will have an important contribution to the international efforts of the genocide prevention. I would like to extend special thanks to His Holiness Karekin II and the clergy for their valuable participation to the Forum. I would like to express my gratitude to the President of the National Assembly of Armenia Galust Sahakyan and to all parliamentarians from around the world for their important contributions to the work of the Forum.

Concluding my address, I would like to recall with gratitude very important documents adopted in the course of the last month alone - the Genocide Prevention Resolution of the UN Human Rights Council, the European Parliament Resolution, the statement of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and of course the statement of Pope Francis. These important steps give confidence that in the 21st century the humanity will establish a more unified position and will eventually be able to develop really effective mechanisms of prevention of genocides based on the belief that the recognition, condemnation of past genocides and the exclusion of denial are among the guarantees for the harmonious progress of the world civilization. We can already stress that during the discussions of Yerevan Global Forum fresh ideas and constructive proposals have been made, which were summarized in the Draft Declaration of the Global Forum. I believe that it would be accepted as a guide for the implementation of the truly global mission facing us, for the sake of unified determination of preventing the crime of genocide.

Thank you!





YEREVAN DECLARATION

Rwanda Genocide Survivor
ESTHER MUJAWAYO-KEINER
read out the Global Forum's
Declaration in **Tsitsernakaberd**
(Armenian Genocide Memorial) during
the Commemorative Ceremony of
the Armenian Genocide Centennial

Your Excellencies,
Your Beatitudes,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am Esther Mujawayo, survivor of the Genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994. I have an honour to partake in this historic Centennial commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, which has attracted the attention of the entire international community.

It is very important that we stand by our Armenian sisters and brothers sharing their pain, their struggle, and of course their re-birth.

As one of the participants of the Global Forum Against the Crime of Genocide, held in Yerevan over the last two days, I would like to extend our gratitude to the government and people of Armenia for furthering the prevention agenda and raising public awareness to combat the crime of genocide and reach the noble goal of its complete exclusion.

We hope that Armenia would successfully continue this initiative aimed at our collective duty to protect our children, our societies from the scourge of the crime of crimes—the genocide.

I have the honour to present to you the text of the Declaration endorsed by the participants of the Global Forum Against the Crime of Genocide.



YEREVAN DECLARATION OF THE GLOBAL FORUM

Paying tribute to the memory of the innocent victims of the Armenian Genocide, the genocide of Greeks and Assyrians, Holocaust, the genocides in Rwanda, Cambodia, Darfur and other crimes against humanity,

Recalling the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,

Being concerned about the recurring cases of genocides and crimes against humanity, despite the existing appropriate international prevention mechanisms,

Being also concerned about recent alarming outspread of violence, extremism and terrorism in different regions of the world directly threatening the ethnic and religious minorities,

Bearing in mind the emergence and the evolution of the international criminalization of genocide in the international law,

Having discussed the issues of impunity, individual and state accountability for the crime of genocide, the appropriate means of addressing the consequences of this crime,

Noting the importance of the global struggle against genocides and crimes against humanity,

Emphasizing the role that various governments, parliaments, international organizations and civil society have in the prevention of genocide and their contribution to fostering prevention mechanisms,

■ Acknowledges that genocide is the ultimate crime with irreversible consequences, and calls upon all states to bring their utmost contribution to the strengthening of genocide prevention mechanisms,

■ Reaffirms that the primary genocide prevention mechanisms remain the ones existing in the framework of the United Nations and welcomes the adoption of UN Human Rights Council resolution on March 27, 2015 entitled "Prevention of Genocide",

■ Stresses that genocide prevention depends on the efficiency of human rights protection, the strength of the culture of tolerance and non-discrimination,

■ Recognizes that denial, in particular on a state level, is unacceptable and underlines that timely condemnation of genocides and efficiently addressing their consequences may serve as important tools for prevention and reconciliation,

■ Calls upon the international community on the eve of the Centennial commemorations of the Armenian Genocide to support the continuous efforts aimed at its worldwide recognition.



23 April 2015
THE GLOBAL FORUM



“I should like to see any power of the world destroy this race, this small tribe of unimportant people, whose wars have all been fought and lost, whose structures have crumbled, literature is unread, music is unheard, and prayers are no more answered. Go ahead, destroy Armenia. See if you can do it. Send them into the desert without bread or water. Burn their homes and churches. Then see if they will not laugh, sing and pray again. For when two of them meet anywhere in the world, see if they will not create a New Armenia.”

— William Saroyan
Armenian-American Author



LOOKING FORWARD TO WELCOME YOU BACK AT THE
YEREVAN GLOBAL FORUM



2016
APRIL



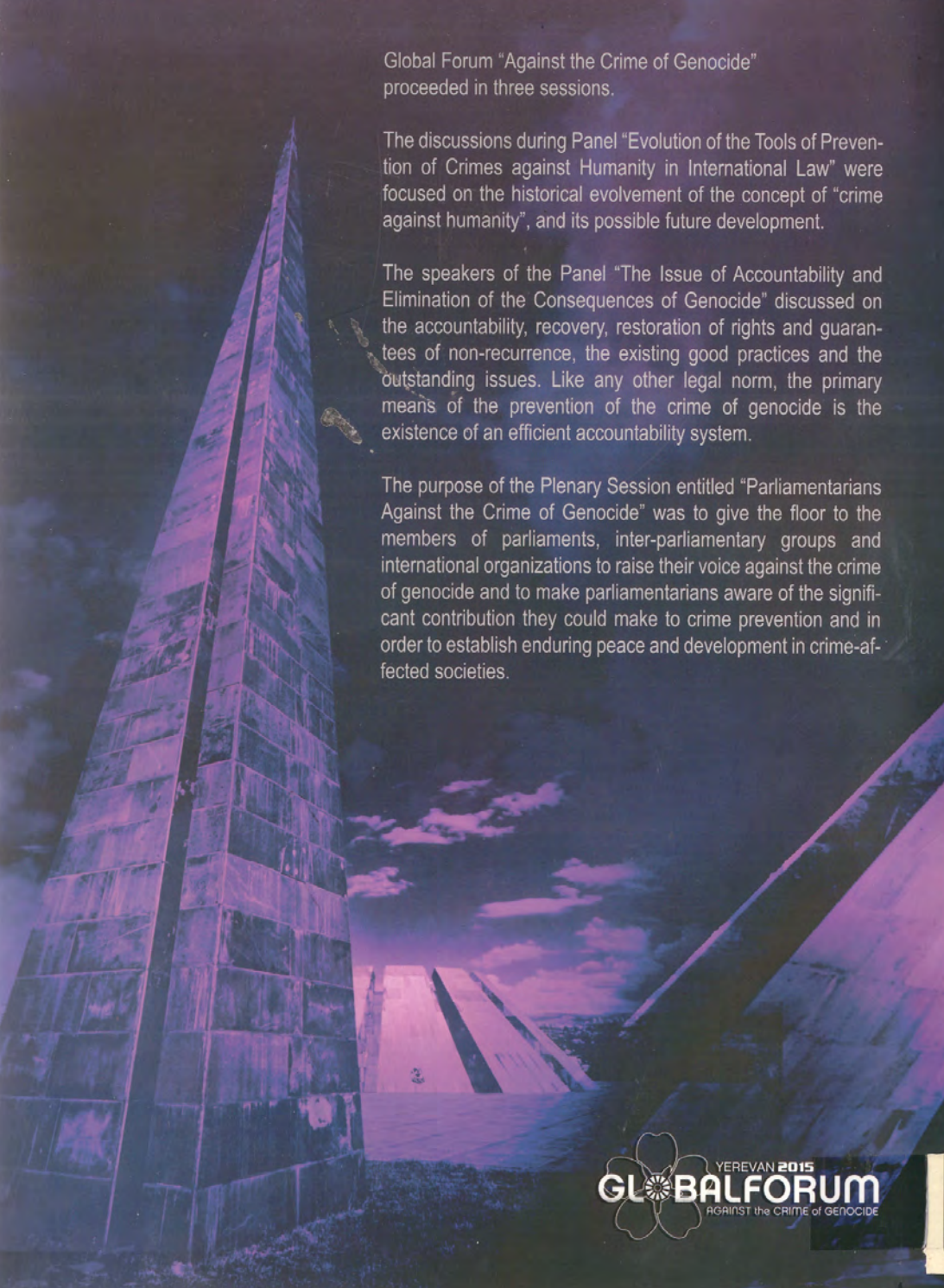
*With
Compliments*
THE SECRETARIAT STAFF

Office of the President • National Assembly • Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Ministry of Diaspora
State Protocol Agency • Coordinating HQ • Development Foundation of Armenia • Volunteers



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Global Forum "Against the Crime of Genocide"
proceeded in three sessions.

The discussions during Panel "Evolution of the Tools of Prevention of Crimes against Humanity in International Law" were focused on the historical evolution of the concept of "crime against humanity", and its possible future development.

The speakers of the Panel "The Issue of Accountability and Elimination of the Consequences of Genocide" discussed on the accountability, recovery, restoration of rights and guarantees of non-recurrence, the existing good practices and the outstanding issues. Like any other legal norm, the primary means of the prevention of the crime of genocide is the existence of an efficient accountability system.

The purpose of the Plenary Session entitled "Parliamentarians Against the Crime of Genocide" was to give the floor to the members of parliaments, inter-parliamentary groups and international organizations to raise their voice against the crime of genocide and to make parliamentarians aware of the significant contribution they could make to crime prevention and in order to establish enduring peace and development in crime-affected societies.