The New York Times and the Armenian Genocide

A Lesson Plan for High School Students

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

News Accounts from the American Press: 1915-1922

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Developed by:

The Genocide Education Project
The New York Times and the Armenian Genocide: A Lesson Plan

OBJECTIVES
By reading and discussing a selection of articles published in The New York Times in 1915 students will be able to:

- Comprehend the extent to which American readers/public were aware of the persecution against Armenians by Ottoman rulers.
- Discuss the significance of the language used in the articles as it relates to a modern definition of genocide.
- Understand the importance of media in stopping human rights abuses from occurring or continuing to occur.

MATERIALS
- “The New York Times and the Armenian Genocide” reading and guided questions
- Student Worksheet One: Definition of Genocide
- Definition of Genocide
- Worksheet Two: Writing a Letter to the Editor

LESSON DESCRIPTION
This lesson plan is activity based and will require students working in smalls groups.

LESSON PROCEDURE
Pre-reading
Assign The New York Times and the Armenian Genocide to read the night before and ask students to answer the accompanying guided reading questions.

Classroom Activities
- Introduction/ Homework Review (15 Minutes):
  Review the homework assignment briefly.

- Group Work (20 Minutes):
  Break students into groups of four and give each group an article from The New York Times, Definition of Genocide, and the Armenian Case: Worksheet One.

  Ask students to read the assigned article and then as a group determine if any of the conditions of genocide are found in the article. They can record their answers on Worksheet One.
Review of Group Work (10 minutes):
Reconvene as a class and ask each group to share its findings. Using the overhead “Definition of Genocide,” record the student responses and ask them the following questions.

Concluding Questions (10 minutes):
Is this a case of genocide according to conditions set out in the International Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide?

Did Armenians benefit from the New York Times’ coverage of the story? How?

In deciding to use the term “genocide” for the Armenian case, could the The New York Times refer to articles they published in the past for sufficient support? Would this be enough? If not, what other resources could they use and why?

ASSESSMENT/EVALUATION
Students can write a Letter to the Editor about the role media could play in stopping genocide. They may reference current situations which they might feel need more attention from the media.

After doing a little research, students can follow the directions below for writing a “Letter to the Editor” for The New York Times. After students have completed the assignment and submitted it to you, they could also submit it to The New York Times.
The New York Times and the Armenian Genocide

*The New York Times* was created in 1851, and is known as the “Newspaper of Record.” At the height of the first wave of massacres in the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians in 1896, *The New York Times* began to use their famous masthead logo: "All the News That's Fit to Print." By this point it was already clear that Armenian conditions in the Ottoman Empire qualified as news that was fit to print as *The Times* was covering the events in the Ottoman Empire on a regular basis.

Soon after the paper’s inception in 1851, it was clear that *The New York Times* was one of the single best sources for reliable news. *Times* reporter, Robert McFadden wrote in 2001:

"The newspaper's reputation for complete, accurate coverage was solidified in World War I. Disregarding the costs of cable and travel and other reportorial expenses, and led by Edwin L. James, its chief war correspondent, *The Times* detailed every thrust and parry, from the first shots in Sarajevo and the sinking of the Lusitania to America's plunge into the conflict and the Treaty of Versailles, whose full text it printed exclusively." ¹

Newspaper coverage of the Armenian Genocide as it was happening was persistent and detailed. In 1915 alone, *The New York Times* published 145 articles, one every 2-3 days, on the continuous massacres of Armenians. Although the term "genocide" had not been invented yet, the reports described the Turkish slaughter of the Armenians as "systematic," "deliberate," "authorized," and "organized by the government," a "campaign of extermination" and "systematic race extermination." ²

Even with prolific coverage, the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire were massacred and deported from their homeland. By 1923, one and a half million Armenians, more than half of the Armenian population on its historic homeland, were dead. The Armenian community buildings and personal properties were lost, appropriated by the government, stolen by others or deliberately destroyed. A 3,000-year-old civilization virtually ceased to exist.

Unfortunately, as America lost interest in the Armenian cause so did *The New York Times* and coverage of the issue almost disappeared. Sadly, by the 1930s, the Armenian Question was no longer news. Not only did the Armenian Question seemingly disappear from the pages of *The New York Times*. When *The Times* did cover the issue later in sporadic episodes, their treatment of it also changed.

The term “genocide” was coined in 1944 by Raphael Lempkin, a Polish legal scholar who escaped the Holocaust and dedicated his life to creating a legal definition of genocide. He drew from the Armenian Case when constructing his definition of genocide as well as the Holocaust which was unfolding in front of him.

On December 9, 1948, the United Nations approved the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. This convention was approved after the Holocaust.

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and in part due to the efforts of Lempkin. The definition of genocide set forth in this convention is still widely accepted today and in part is built on the historical facts of the Armenian Genocide.

Despite the influence of the Armenian Case on the development of the definition of genocide, *The New York Times* did not use the term genocide when referring to the Armenian Case in formal policy until April, 2004.

For over fifty years the description of the events of the Armenian Genocide varied widely in articles and commentary published in *The New York Times*. Whether or not the Armenian Case was described as genocide depended less on historical fact, as it did on the extent of knowledge of the journalist and editor, since the Armenian Genocide has been largely absent from popular education.

There are many reasons for this discrepancy. One reason is that since the Cold War, Turkey has served as an important military ally to the United States and Turkey refuses to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide. Turkey has denied the Genocide and even today it is considered treasonous behavior for Turkish citizens to affirm this aspect of their history. The Turkish government has threatened that if the United States government affirms the Armenian Genocide then the future of U.S. military bases existing in Turkey, the safety of U.S. citizens in Turkey, as well as future military contracts with the U.S. cannot be guaranteed.

The new policy allows journalists to use the term “genocide” to describe the Armenia Case. It also requires that any historically based article on the events of 1915 must use the term “genocide,” so that any appearance of denial of the Armenian Genocide will not occur.

As of June 2005, there have been at least twelve articles or listings in *The New York Times* that uses the phrase “Armenian Genocide.” In deciding to change *The Times* policy, Bill Keller, the executive editor, stated: “I don’t feel I’m particularly qualified to judge exactly what a precise functional definition of genocide is, but it seemed a no-brainer that killing a million people because they were Armenians fit the definition.”

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**The New York Times and the Armenian Genocide: Guided Reading Questions**

1. What do you think is meant by the phrases: “Newspaper of Record” and “All the News That’s Fit to Print?”
2. What could have been the benefits of *The New York Times* covering the Armenian Genocide and the earlier massacres for the Armenians?
3. Who invented the term “genocide?” Why is creating a word to describe such events important?
4. Why would *The New York Times* shy away from the use of the term “genocide” when discussing the Armenian Case?
5. At the end of the reading Keller, the executive editor of *The New York Times*, said he was not qualified to make the determination of whether or not the Armenian Case was genocide. What type of people could Keller turn to help determine this? Why?

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The International Definition of Genocide and the Armenian Case (Worksheet One)

The International Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide on December 9, 1948 set the United Nations definition of genocide (General Assembly Resolution 260A (III) Article 2).

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

DIRECTIONS

Above is the definition of genocide as defined by the International Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. After reading the article from The New York Times assigned to you, determine if any of the conditions of genocide were met based solely on the information in the article.

Below, write quotes from the article that supports the specific conditions for genocide.

(a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.
APPEAL TO TURKEY TO STOP MASSACRES

Ambassador Morgenthau Instructed to Make Representations on Request of Russia.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 27. — An appeal for relief of Armenian Christians in Turkey, following reported massacres and threatened further outrages, was made to the Turkish Government today by the United States.

Acting upon the request of the Russian Government, submitted through Ambassador Bakhmeteff, Secretary Bryan cabled to Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople to make representations to the Turkish authorities asking that steps be taken for the protection of imperiled Armenians and to prevent the recurrence of religious outbreaks.

Ambassador Bakhmeteff Called at the State Department late today with a dispatch from his Government, which included an appeal to the President of the United States for aid, forwarded through the Russian Government from the Catholicos of the Armenian Church at Etchmiadzin, in the Caucasus.

“The request from the head of the Armenian Church to this Government, forwarded through the Russian Ambassador,” said Secretary Bryan, “is the first official notice the department has received of the reported Armenian massacres. Our action was taken as a matter of humanity.” The Russian Embassy today gave out a translation of a recent speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Duma, in which the presence of Russian troops in Persia was explained. The Foreign Minister said:

“The presence of our troops in Persian territory by no means involves a violation of Persian neutrality. Our detachments were sent to that country some years ago for the definite purpose of establishing and maintaining order in districts contiguous to our possessions, of high economic importance to us, also to prevent the seizure of some of these districts by the Turks, who openly strove to create for themselves there, especially in the district of Urumiah, a convenient base for military operations against the Caucasus. The Persian Government, not having the actual power to maintain its neutrality, met the Turkish violation of the latter with protests, which, however, had no results.
deportation of all Armenians, but some time ago, after representations had been made by Morgenthau, the Ottoman Government gave assurances that the order would be modified so as not to embrace Catholic and Protestant Armenians. Reports reaching Washington indicate that about 500,000 Armenians have been slaughtered or lost their lives as a result of the Turkish deportation order and the resulting war of extinction. Turkish authorities drove the Gregorian Armenians out of their homes, ordered them to proceed to distant towns in the direction of Bagdad, which could only be reached by crossing long stretches of desert. During the exodus of Armenians across the deserts they have been fallen upon by Kurds and slaughtered, but some of the Armenian women and girls, in considerable numbers, have been carried off into captivity by the Kurds. The reports that have been sent to the State Department by its agents in Asia Minor fully confirm these statements made in the appeal sent to this country by Viscount Bryce, formerly the British Ambassador to the United States, to try to stop the slaughter of the Armenians. Viscount Bryce stated that the horrors through which the Armenians have passed have been unparalleled in modern times.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES
ALEXANDRIA, Sept. 23, (Dispatch to The London Morning Post.)—British refugees from Urfa, who arrived in Alexandria yesterday, brought terrible tales of sufferings of interned allied subjects. They were not supplied with food, furniture, or servants, and were housed in an Armenian monastery the monks in which had been massacred. They witnessed the Armenian massacres of Aug. 19. Urfa was the centre of ghastly scenes. The Turks systematically murdered men and turned women and children out into the desert, where thousands perished of starvation. The last batch of women and children left Urfa on Aug. 24. They were delayed a fortnight at Alexandretta, awaiting a ship in filthy quarters and half starved. They finally embarked for Alexandria in an American warship.

From The Armenian Genocide, News Accounts from the American Press: 1915-1922, By Richard Diran Kloian 2005
ALREADY HAS $75,000 TO HELP ARMENIANS

Rockefeller Foundation Leads Donations to American Committee with $30,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation contributed $30,000 yesterday to the fund being raised to aid the Armenians who are being driven from their homes by the Turkish Government. This brings the amount already collected up to $75,000.

In connection with its appeal for funds to aid the victims of Turkish abuses, issued on Monday, the American Committee on Atrocities in Armenia, from its offices at 70 Fifth Avenue, made public yesterday letters received in New York within the last two or three days detailing the reported misdeeds of the Turkish authorities in their treatment of the Armenians. In giving out the new reports, Professor Samuel T. Dutton of the committee said:

"We assume that a large number of the Turkish people are not unfriendly to the Armenians; in fact we know of many specific instances where individual Turks protested against the outrages, and American missionaries highly esteem many of the Turks, particularly of the higher class. This movement is dominated from the centre."

Included among the new details is a long letter from an officer of Euphrates College, The American institution at Harput, which had 600 students before the present persecutions began.

American College Nearly Wiped Out.

"Approximately two-thirds of the girl pupils," he says, "and six-sevenths of the boys have been taken away to death, exile, or Moslem homes. Of our professors four are gone and three are left.

"Professor Tenekejian, who was the Protestant Abzaked and representative of the Americans with the Government, was arrested on May 1. No charge was made against him, but the hair of his head, mustache and beard was pulled out in a vain effort to secure damaging confessions. He was starved and hung by the arms for a day and a night and was severely beaten several times.

About June 20 he was taken out toward Diarbekir and murdered in a general massacre on the road.

"Professor Natigian who had studied at Ann Arbor, was arrested about June 5 and shared Professor Tenekejian's fate on the road.

"Professor Vorperian, a Princeton man, was taken to see a man beaten almost to death and became deranged. He started into exile under guard with his family, about July 5, and was murdered beyond Malatia.

"Professor Boojicanian, an Edinburgh graduate, was arrested with Professor Tenekejian, suffered the same tortures, and in addition had three finger nails pulled out by the roots, and was killed in the same massacre.

"Of the male instructors four were killed on the road in various massacres, and three who have not been heard from probably suffered the same fate. Two are sick in the American Hospital; one is in hiding, and two are free.

"Of the female instructors one is reported killed in Chunkoosh, one reported taken to a Turkish harem; three have not been heard from; four others started out into exile, and ten are free.

"Of the Armenian people as a whole we may put an estimate that three-fourths are gone, and that this three-fourths include the leaders in every walk of life."

Charles R. Crane, Treasurer of the Committee, has just received the following communication from the State Department:

"In reply to the telegram sent to the American Ambassador at Constantinople at your request on Sept. 22, inquiring whether he could advantageously use $50,000 or $100,000 at the present time for the relief of Armenians in Turkey, the Department has received a telegram from Mr. Morgenthau, dated Sept. 24, in which he states that he could most advantageously use $100,000 for the purpose mentioned; and that while such a sum, carefully administered, would make a good start, it would not suffice.

The Ambassador states that the money received would be distributed through missionaries at Konitsa, Adana, Tarsus, and Urfa, and through the American Consul at Aleppo; and that the condition at present is simply appalling." Mr. Morgenthau closes his telegram as follows:

"I implore my friends to do their utmost to assist liberally."

Public meetings will be held in New York and elsewhere, following the example of the meeting announced in London, which is to be addressed by Lord Bryce, Contributions may be sent to Charles R. Crane, Treasurer, and 70 Fifth Avenue.
AID FOR ARMENIANS BLOCKED BY TURKEY

Attempts to Send Food to Refugees Frustrated, Says the American Committee.

PUTS VICTIMS AT 1,000,000

Careful Survey Shows 55,000 Persons Killed in the Vilayet of Van Alone.

The American Committee on Armenian Atrocities, among the members of which are Cardinal Gibbons, Cleveland H. Dodge, Bishop David H. Greer, Oscar S. Straus, Professor Samuel T. Dutton, Charles R. Crane, and many other prominent citizens, issued a statement yesterday in which it was said that authentic reports from Turkey proved that the war of extermination being waged against the Armenians was so terrible that when all the facts were known the world would realize that what had been done was “the greatest, most pathetic, and most arbitrary tragedy in history.”

Attempts to furnish food to the Armenians ordered deported to distant parts of the empire were blocked by the Turkish authorities, the committee said, the Turkish officials stating that “they wished nothing to be done that would prolong their lives.”

In the statement the committee makes public a report received a few days ago from an official representative of the neutral powers, who, reporting on conditions in one of the Armenian camps, says:

“I have visited their encampment and a more pitiable sight cannot be imagined. They are, almost without exception, ragged, hungry and sick. This is not surprising in view of the fact that they have been on the road for nearly two months, with no change of clothing, no chance to bathe, no shelter, and little to eat. I watched them one time when their food was brought. Wild animals could not be worse. They rushed upon the guards who carried the food and the guards beat them back with clubs, hitting hard enough to kill sometimes. To watch them one could hardly believe these people to be human beings. As one walks through the camp, mothers offer their children and beg you to take them. In fact, the Turks have been taking their choice of these children and girls for slaves or worse. There are very few men among them as most of the men were killed on the road. Women and children were also killed. The entire movement seems to be the most thoroughly organized and effective massacre this country has ever seen.”

“They all agree,” adds the committee, referring to the reports,” as to the method of procedure, the thoroughness and cruelty of the destructive work, and the confessed purpose of the plan to wipe out the Armenian nation. The fact that the central government at Constantinople refuses to permit Armenians to leave their country is further evidence of their purpose of extermination.

“The Turks do not deny the atrocities, but claim they are a military measure to protect them against a possible attack of a race that is disloyal.

“It is impossible to estimate how many have already perished. A careful survey in the Van Vilayet gathered the names of 55,000 persons who had been killed. Others were able to escape by flight to Persia and Russia. An eyewitness who has recently made an extended journey across Asia Minor saw over 50,000 poor, dazed, helpless, starving refugees camped by the roadside in a region almost desert, with no provision for their food supply. Probably it is not an overestimate to say that 1,000,000 of the possible 2,000,000 Armenians in Turkey at the beginning of the war are either dead or in Moslem harems, or forced to profess Mohammedanism, or are on their sad journey to the desert and death.”

The committee says it has cabled $106,000 to Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople, of which $100,000 was for relief of Armenians in Turkey, and the remainder for Armenians who had escaped into Egypt. The office of the committee, of which Mr. Crane is Treasurer, is at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.
THOUSANDS PROTEST ARMENIAN MURDERS

Only One Man and One woman Dissent from Resolutions Denouncing Outrages.

TURKS HAVE KILLED 500,000

Evidence taken from State Department Shows A Quarter of a Million Women Violated.

A great audience that packed the Century Theater, Central Park West and Sixty-Second Street, yesterday afternoon, had just acclaimed its approval of a resolution deploring the atrocities committed against the Armenians by the Turks, when a man, who said his name was Brown, arose and demanded a chance to discuss the resolutions.

A woman, who said she was Mrs. Brooks, shouted encouragement to the disturber and demanded that he be heard. He was forcibly ejected from the theater, but in a few minutes was back, angrily demanding to have his say.

The meeting, held to condemn atrocities in Armenia, was under the auspices of a committee of prominent Americans and well-known Armenians. Hamilton Holt, editor of The Independent, presided, and the speakers were the Rev. Dr. James L. Barton of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions., Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the Rev. Father John J. Wynne, S.J., editor of the Catholic Encyclopedia, W. Bourke Cockran, the Rev. Dr. Ernest Yarrow of Van, Turkey, and Rev. William J. Haven.

The resolutions adopted read as follows:

Whereas, the civilized world has been shocked by a series of massacres and deportations of Armenians in the Turkish Empire; and

Whereas, These crimes and outrages committed upon an industrious, thrifty, and peace-loving people, find no justification, viewed either in the light of law or humanity;

Whereas, Those Armenians who survive are in great need of succor and relief, be it hereby

Resolved, That as American citizens, we make our most solemn protest against these cruel and inhuman practices and implore all officials and others having influence in the Turkish Empire, to put an end to these wrongs and to render every aid to the American Ambassador and others who would rescue and repatriate a people, who, by their history and achievements have been a credit to the empire,

Resolved, Further, That war, whereof and by whatsoever nation waged, affords no warrant for inhumanity toward innocent persons. The slaughter of noncombatant men, the tortures, mutilations, and outrages committed upon women and children wherever committed have given to the fairest places upon the earth the semblance of hell. In the name of the God of Nations and our common humanity, we call upon the nations at war to cease these crimes against civilization and morality.

Father Wynn seconded the resolutions and Mr. Holt had put them up for approval when Brown arose, red with excitement.

Several men hurried to the disturber and started him down the aisle. Mrs. Brooks then demanded that the man be heard and followed those who were ejecting him.

The audience was on its feet, as were those on the stage, among the latter, Mgr. Lavelle, who represented Cardinal Farley; Charles R. Crane, of Chicago, the Rev. Dr. H. P. Mendes, Professor William W. Rockwell, Professor Samuel P. Dutton, and a score of other prominent men.

Angrily denouncing his ejectors and struggling every inch of the way the man was forced from the theatre.

“This meeting,” said Mr. Holt in his opening address, “is called for the purpose of deploring the greatest hecatomb known to history. The massacres now being perpetrated in Turkey are the most atrocious in the history of the world, and if they are to stop we must prevail upon Christian Germany, who alone can save the Armenians. The appeal may not be listened to in Constantinople, but it can be heard in Berlin.”
Dr. Barton was the first speaker. “We are here,” he said, “to consider facts that bear upon the Armenian situation in the Turkish Empire, facts from which we cannot escape.”

Referring to the report made by the Armenian Atrocities Committee, Dr. Barton said the disclosures were for the most part taken from official documents in the State Department at Washington.

“The committee,” he said, “took steps to get only facts, and went to Washington and examined the official reports to the State Department. They ask why we did not publish the names of the persons who made the reports. The reason is obvious. One of the laws of Turkey is retaliation. One of our Consuls asked that his name be withheld because he would have to quit his post if his name became known.”

Dr. Barton held up a great mass of papers, all copies of official reports to the State Department. Excerpts were read telling of terrible tortures, in the thousands of instances causing death.

Dr. Barton read a statement by a well-known Armenian, a graduate of an American university, just arrived in this country. He told of the fate of 1,215 men. These men were herded together and then in groups of twenty-five were sent away “by order of the Government and all of them brutally slain.” The executioners, he said, were Turkish gendarmes and murderers and other criminals freed from jails to assist in the killing of Armenians.

“The reward of these murderers,” said the statement, “was the money and valuables found on the bodies of their victims. One of these men boasted that he had killed off fifty in one night and that he got 150 pounds in Turkish money for his night’s work.”

Bourke Cockran said he had been informed that between 500,000 and 800,000 Armenians had been massacred and that 250,000 women and girls had been outraged. The problem of Armenia, Mr. Cockran said, is the problem of the Cuba of 1898 aggravated a million times.

Rabbi Wise was the last speaker. He was present, he said, not as an opponent of Turkey, nor as a champion of Armenia, but to protest against inhumanity, whether committed by Germans against Belgians, by Russians against Jews, or by Turks against Armenians.

He said that Germany and Austria could do much toward ending the Armenian atrocities, and if they did not do so, he said those nations may find that “certain victories are more disastrous than any defeats.”

“If the Germans would alienate the good will of those who still remain neutral,” he said, “let them say to the Turks: ‘Not one more drop of blood must be shed.’ ”

In all the seats were petitions, with blanks for signatures, addressed to the Kaiser and the people of Germany, imploring them to use their good offices to end the atrocities in Armenia.