

REVIEW OF ARMENIAN STUDIES

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY,
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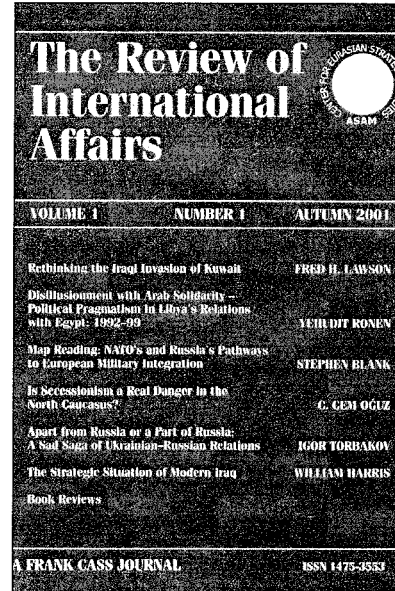
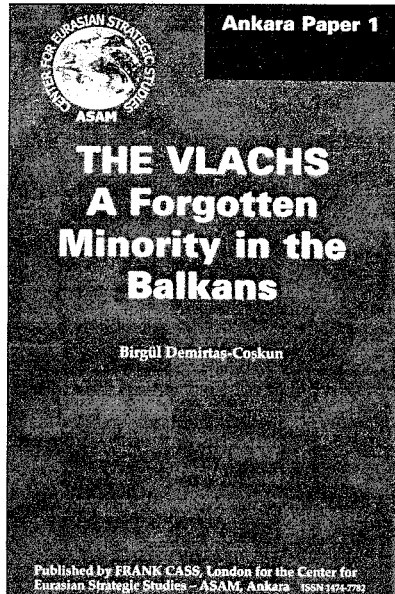
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“The Review of International Affairs” is a new journal that aims to cover current international and strategic issues from a critical and academic point of view. “Ankara Papers” is a series of bi-monthly monographs, aiming to publish quality in-depth analysis of contemporary world issues, with a concentration on Eurasia. Both are co-published by Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies (ASAM), Ankara, Turkey and Frank Cass Publishers, London, U.K.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The **INSTITUTE FOR ARMENIAN RESEARCH** publishes hereby the second issue of the quarterly **Review of Armenian Studies** after having decided to split up the former bilingual **Ermeni Arařtırmaları/ Armenian Studies** into two separate journals, namely in the Turkish quarterly **Ermeni Arařtırmaları** and this English quarterly.

The first article of this second issue is an evaluation of the latest upcomings of the last three months by retired ambassador Ömer LÜTEM, who is an expert in the Armenian issue. His article Facts and Comments reviews the latest meetings, documents, news and opinions on the Turkish – Armenian agenda.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Kamer KASIM comments in his article titled ‘Russian – Armenian Relations: A Strategic Partnership or Hegemonic Domination?’ on this special relationship by evaluating the regional implications too. The eras of the two presidents, Ter-Petrosian and Kocharian, will be compared in the light of their regional policies.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Sedat LAÇİNER’s article is entitled as ‘Identity, Art and Propaganda. The Armenian Film Industry As a Case Study’. The author approaches the topic from the point of view of international politics. He argues that art turned to a mean of international politics, that is easy to abuse. The psychology of art in international politics is presented in connection with the subjects of identity and propaganda.

The researcher Aydan İYİĞÜNGÖR in her article EU’s Assistance Programme to Armenia: A Political Economy Critique draws a general picture of the financial EU aid to Armenia. She further describes the political outcome of this and also the interrelation with the EU’s relations with Turkey.

Hasret DİKİCİ in her article named ‘Armenia After Independence from the Perspective of Migration’ tries to describe the migration habits of Armenians. By doing so she especially focuses on the

economical background that leads to the emigration of Armenians from Armenia and its impact on the economy of Armenia.

A broad review article has been written by Assist. Prof. Dr. İbrahim KAYA on The Encyclopedia of Genocide. His review article named 'The Encyclopedia of Genocide: A Critical Analysis' tries to show the difficulties of terminology of genocide studies. Further the author points that the Encyclopedia has not properly treated the Armenian issue.

As usual the **CONFERENCES** section contains conference reports related to Armenian studies, that members of the **INSTITUTE FOR ARMENIAN RESEARCH** participated at in the last three months. The **BOOK REVIEWS** section presents a book on Armenian terrorism in this issue and further the **RECENT BOOKS** section contains a list of the recently published books on the Armenian issue.

With best wishes

The Editor

FACTS AND COMMENTS

Ömer E. LÜTEM *

1. THE MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Following their meeting in Reykjavik,¹ the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and Armenia met again on the occasion of the celebrations organized for the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization on June 25, 2002. They also met on September 16, 2002 during the meeting of the UN General Assembly.

It appears that at the Istanbul meeting mainly the Karabagh conflict was discussed. On the other hand Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia, Vartan Oskanian, repeated the willingness of his country to initiate diplomatic relations with Turkey with no preconditions attached. The Turkish side listened but did

The main objective of the Armenian side is to secure the establishment of diplomatic relations and the opening of borders with Turkey while making no concessions in return.

not respond to that. There was no change in the policy of the two sides when they met in New York three months later.² The Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs stated, "despite the fact that these meetings have not given any tangible results, I believe that the fact of the dialogue itself is useful".³

As it is understood from these meetings, the main objective of the Armenian side is to secure the establishment of diplomatic relations and the opening of borders with Turkey while making no concessions in return. Because Turkey supports the view of

* Ambassador (Rtd)

¹ Ömer E. Lütem, 'Facts and Comments', *Review of Armenian Studies*, Volume 1, Number 1, 2002, pp. 25-27.

² *Turkish Probe*, June 30, 2002.

³ *Medimax*, October 18, 2002.

Azerbaijan, Armenia does not wish to see Turkey involved in the efforts to settle the Karabagh problem. However, aware that insisting on this issue will prevent them from drawing Turkey to the negotiating table, Armenia has decided to give precedence to bilateral relations and accept the discussion of the Karabagh issue as well. Armenia also hopes that once Turkey starts to play an active role in the solution of the Karabagh issue, it will distance itself from unconditionally supporting the views of Azerbaijan and adopt a more "balanced" policy.

Turkey considers that there can be no improvement in bilateral relations until the Karabagh conflict is resolved and therefore she gives priority not to the establishment of diplomatic relations. But the resolution of this conflict will eliminate only one of the obstacles that Turkish-Armenian relations face. Following this the remaining problems between Turkey and Armenia, such as the allegations of 'genocide', the inviolability of the Turkish-Armenian border and the reference in the Armenian Constitution to some of the eastern provinces of Turkey as "western Armenia" will have to be resolved and only then will it be possible to open the borders and establish diplomatic relations. It becomes obvious that this fact is at least partially understood by the Armenian Minister from his following statement: *"The establishment of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey or complete re-opening of the border before the (Karabagh) conflict's final settlement is certainly not probable, but not impossible. I think the policy of small steps, which I believe will allow to achieve certain shifts in the relations with Turkey before the settlement of the conflict, is more real".*⁴

The differences of opinion on Karabagh issue and allegations of genocide once again surfaced during the UN General Assembly in September.

In his speech to the General Assembly Vilayet Guliyev, the Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan, directed harsh criticism towards Armenia for its stance on Karabagh. The Turkish Foreign Minister Gürel accused Armenia of not complying with the relevant UN resolutions on Karabagh and demanded that Armenian forces evacuate the occupied Azerbaijani territories. Gürel stated that the Karabagh conflict is an impediment to achieving political stability and economic development in the region. The Armenian Foreign

⁴ Medimax, October 18, 2002.

Minister Oskanian did answer the Azerbaijani statement but refrained from mentioning Turkey. He did, however, extend his appreciation to the governments and international organizations that had recognized the “genocide” and promised that Yerevan could cooperate with those states that were in the process of recognition. The Turkish delegation objected, stating that the events to which Oskanian was referring occupied a very short time span in the nine centuries of Turkish-Armenian co-habitation and that the allegation that there was a premeditated, planned and duly executed scheme to annihilate the Ottoman Armenian population remains unsubstantiated. Furthermore, the Turkish delegation demanded from Armenia not to participate in a smear campaign that propagated only one version of events in history.

2. MR. OSKANIAN'S CONFERENCES

It is of particular interest to dwell on some of the conferences of the Armenian Foreign Minister as these shed light on Armenian policy towards Turkey.

In a speech on Turkish–Armenian relations delivered at TESEV, a Turkish think tank, on June 26, 2002⁵ Oskanian stated that it was not up to him to evaluate the friendship of Turkey with Azerbaijan but that this friendship should not be used to isolate other countries (namely Armenia). He added that Turkey was not establishing relations with Armenia not only because of historic problems but that the problems of Armenia with Azerbaijan had taken Turkish-Armenian relations hostage.

He also claimed that Karabagh had never been a part of independent Azerbaijan, that the region was never controlled by Azerbaijan with the exception of the Soviet era and that the population of Karabagh had been separated from Azerbaijan in accordance with provisions of the Constitution.

Oskanian gave priority to the “embargo” issue and stated that Azerbaijan had convinced Turkey to implement an embargo against Armenia, that the two states believed that they could thus impose their own solution on Armenia but the Armenian economy did not collapse despite the embargo. He also stated that contrary to expectations, the Armenian economy was faring better than the

⁵ For the full text of the speech Press Release, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, June 26, 2002

other economies in the region, emphasizing that the GNP had grown by 9,6% last year and that they had achieved 10% growth in the first half of 2002.

On the issue of diplomatic relations, Oskanian restated the well-known Armenian thesis, saying that his country was willing to establish diplomatic relations with Turkey with no preconditions attached. However through indirect remarks he made clear that this would not mean that Armenia would abandon the claims of genocide.

A close study of the views of the Armenian Foreign Minister reveal that they contain some errors in judgment.

Turkish support for Azerbaijan against Armenia is based not only on ethnic and cultural similarities, but also on the fact that Armenia does not recognize the territorial integrity of Turkey and continuously works to secure international recognition of their allegations of genocide. In this context, the thesis that the problems of Armenia with Azerbaijan have taken hostage Turkish-Armenian relations reflects only a part of reality.

As the name implies, Karabagh⁶ has historically been Azerbaijani territory. No one but the Armenians disputes that legally this territory belongs to Azerbaijan. This fact was confirmed by the Council of Europe, European Union, Russia, USA and other countries during the "presidential elections" in Karabagh.⁷ On the other hand, the Karabagh conflict concerns also the regional stability. Lastly, due to a million refugees that resulted from hostilities the humanitarian dimension of this problem cannot be disregarded.

As the economic measures that Turkey has taken against Armenia consist of only closing down of border crossings, this cannot be considered to be a real embargo. On the other hand it is only natural that Azerbaijan should implement an embargo or similar measures against Armenia, a country with which it is at a war that has been temporarily halted by a cease-fire. However Armenia complains that it faces great injustice and works hard for the lifting of the "embargo". These efforts are intended to make believe that the economic measures taken by Turkey and Azerbaijan are putting Armenia in a very difficult position. But

⁶ Karabagh is a Turkish word (Karabağ) meaning "black wineryard"

⁷ See *Asbarez Online*, August 2, 2002; *Armenpress*, August 7, 2002; *Arminfo*, August 24, 2002

Oskanian said in İstanbul that these measures did not have an effect on the Armenian economy, on the contrary the Armenian economy was doing better than the other economies of the region. One should conclude in that case that the Armenian efforts to lift "embargo" are in fact an occasion to complain about Turkey and Azerbaijan in order to put them under pressure.

As to the Armenian willingness to establish diplomatic relations with Turkey, taking into account the policy of Armenia towards Turkey and Azerbaijan which one may easily describe as hostile, it is only natural that Turkey should seek the fulfillment of certain preconditions before establishing diplomatic relations. In fact, establishing diplomatic relations without preconditions with Armenia would mean tacit recognition of the occupation of Karabagh and other Azerbaijani territories, ignoring the fact that Armenia does not recognize the territorial integrity of Turkey and the inviolability of Turkish borders and accepting Armenia to continue accusing Turkey of genocide. The proof that Armenia will not desert its genocide claims even if diplomatic relations are established is found in the TESEV speech of Oskanian where he states that Armenia in this case is not willing to renounce its national memories or dismiss historical injustices it has suffered. In essence, it is not to the benefit of Turkey to establish diplomatic relations with Yerevan, as this will mean accepting all of Armenian demands while getting nothing in return.

As Turkey definitely refuses the claims of genocide, it is clear that there is no use for Armenia to follow a policy that is based on these claims. On the contrary, insisting on such a policy results only in aggravating of the conflict, which makes it even more difficult to achieve the stability that is so much needed in the entire Southern Caucasus region.

In a speech delivered at Yale University on September 19, 2002, the Armenian Foreign Minister stated that the USA had been promising for four years to try to convince Turkey to take concrete steps towards cooperative relations with Armenia. He added that as the USA was aware of the unconditional readiness of Armenia to establish diplomatic relations with Turkey, Washington had tried for Turkey to at least start with gestures such as the reopening of railways or the opening of borders so as to allow trade, but that four years later no progress had been made. Oskanian said Yerevan was well aware of American efforts to convince Ankara. He also said that Washington could not risk applying too much

pressure for the fear of losing the vital Turkish support on a number of critical issues such as Iraq, Israel, and NATO and EU defense. However he did add that the current situation was in fact perceived in Armenia as an American bias or partiality towards Ankara.

The most interesting feature of this speech is that Armenia expects the USA to be active on convincing Turkey to take a step forward on matters Yerevan considers vital such as establishing diplomatic relations, the opening of borders and resumption of railway transportation while it does nothing serious for the realization of these goals itself and goes as far as blaming Washington of being partial when no progress is made.

In another conference on Caucasus security issues on October 30, Oskanian; "pointed out the non-constructive position of Turkey whose one-sided policy was only compounding the problem". According to Oskanian "although the Armenian side has tried to change this negative position of Turkey, no actual progress is being made for Turkey does not want to overcome its narrow ethnic problems and approach the issue from a geopolitical standpoint."⁸

These words are astonishing as all the problems in the southern Caucasus are emanating from Armenia. It is Armenia that has occupied Karabagh and other Azerbaijani territories. It is Armenia that supports the unrest in Georgia's Javakheti region. Armenia does not recognize the territorial integrity of Turkey and the inviolability of Turkish borders and voices accusations of genocide. Finally, the Russian Federation owns its presence in the southern Caucasus to Armenia. The Armenian habit to never search for the blame with themselves but always others constitutes a psychological barrier that is difficult to overcome when dealing with this country.

3. ARMENIAN DIASPORA ACTIVITIES AGAINST TURKEY

The activities of the Armenians of the diaspora against Turkey continue and aim mainly on achieving recognition of the 'genocide' claims in the parliaments of some states. On the other hand Armenians systematically oppose all initiatives -particularly in

⁸ Ayastani Anrapetutyun, October 31, 2002 (ANN/Groong November 2, 2002)

the USA- that may be of benefit to Turkey even if these do not concern any Armenian interests.

a. USA

As always, Armenian activities are at their strongest in the USA where the most powerful Armenian diaspora resides.

Armenians systematically oppose all initiatives - particularly in the USA- that may be of benefit to Turkey even if these do not concern any Armenian interests.

A New "Genocide" Draft Resolution

New Jersey Senator Robert Toricelli (D) presented to the Senate at the end of July a draft resolution that envisaged the supporting of the 1948 Genocide Convention on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the signing of this document by the USA.

A paragraph of the draft resolution reads; "whereas the enactment of the Genocide Convention Implementation Act marked a principled stand by the USA against the crime of genocide and an important step toward ensuring that the lessons of the Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide, the genocides in Cambodia and Rwanda, among others, will be used to help prevent future genocides".⁹

Thus, unable to present a resolution on the alleged Armenian genocide, American Armenians had chosen to bring the issue to the Senate indirectly by hiding it behind the Holocaust. The draft had gathered 31 supporters as of late October and will be accepted if this number reaches 51.

Is there a chance for this resolution to be accepted? Considering the highly increased strategic value of Turkey to the USA following the attacks of September 11, 2001 and the likelihood of a military intervention to Iraq, it is difficult to believe that this resolution which will be met by the fierce reaction of Turkey will be accepted now. In line with this understanding, the Co-Chairman of the Armenian Caucus Frank Pallone told Armenian reporters in Yerevan on August 16 that the September 11 attacks

⁹ Armenian National Committee of America, Press Release, July 29, 2002.

had made things difficult for the resolution and that their opposition was claiming that bringing up the issue of the "Armenian genocide" would harm the war on terror. Pallone stated also that he did not agree with this but it would be very difficult to bring this matter up under the given circumstances.¹⁰

On the other hand it must be noted that ultimately the outcome of this draft will depend on the stance of the Jewish lobby. It would only be logical for the American Jews to oppose this draft, as they rightly believe that the Holocaust is unique and since the draft attempts to equate the Holocaust with the "Armenian genocide".

"Wexler Resolution" on the Accession of Turkey to the EU

Member of the House of Representatives Robert Wexler (D) proposed a draft resolution to assist the accession of Turkey to the EU. The operative paragraph reads as follows:

"Now, therefore, be it revolved that it is in the sense of the House of Representatives that;

1. The United States should continue to support the efforts of the Republic of Turkey to join the European Union,
2. The European Union should recognize Turkey's comprehensive political and economic reforms and set a date for the initiation of accession negotiations at the meeting of the European Council in Copenhagen to be held on December 12-13."

The Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), the Dashnak organization in the USA, immediately objected to this draft resolution. A letter sent by ANCA to the members of the House read: "The American people, through their representatives, should not be asked to confer their approval upon a military-led government that abuses the human rights of its citizens, restricts the religious freedom of its Christian minorities, denies Armenian Genocide, illegally blockades Armenia and continues to maintain a military occupation of Cyprus."¹¹

The Armenian Assembly of America, the opponent of ANCA which does however act parallel with ANCA when the issue is

¹⁰ Armenpress, August 16, 2002.

¹¹ Armenian National Committee of America, Press Release, October 30, 2002

Turkey, wrote in its statement on this issue "How can the USA morally support Turkey's accession to the EU without calling upon Turkey to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide, lift its blockade of Armenia and address its human rights record?"¹²

It's worth mentioning that the 125 member Armenian Caucus which brings together the Representatives and Senators of the Congress supporting Armenian issues was reduced to 114 members after the by-elections, signaling a relative weakening of the position of the Armenian Lobby in Congress.

The Draft Law Which Envisages Economic Benefits for Turkey

In order to assist Ankara economically the US government introduced to Congress a draft law that envisaged the lifting of all taxes on certain goods such as textiles and leather products imported from Turkey. The House of Representatives passed the draft.

Due to strong opposition of the Armenian lobby to this draft, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Armitage wrote a letter to the members of Senate promising to push for the reopening of the Turkish-Armenian border and the restoration of broader "economic, political and cultural links" between Turkey and Armenia.¹³

As can be seen, the Armenian lobby in the USA can even intervene in an issue that does not concern Armenians or Armenia directly, such as granting Turkey trade benefits. The lobby can even compel the Deputy Secretary of State to write a letter, in line with the demands of Armenia from Turkey.

b. Canada

The Canadian Senate, with the initiative of some of its members of Armenian decent adopted a resolution on the Armenian "genocide" on June 13, 2002. The operative paragraph of the resolution reads as follows;

"That this House calls on the Government of Canada: a) to recognize the genocide of the Armenians and to condemn any

¹² Armenian Assembly of America, Press Release, October 21, 2002

¹³ RFE/IRL, *Armenia Report*, October 10, 2002

attempt to deny or distort a historical truth as being anything less than a genocide, a crime against humanity and b) to designate the 24th of every year hereafter throughout Canada as a day of remembrance of the 1.5 million Armenians who fell victim to the first genocide of the 20th century.”¹⁴

This resolution, which was accepted with 39 votes in favor and none against, shows to which extent the influence of the Armenian community in Canada has grown over public opinion. It is difficult to understand the existence of this influence despite the murders of Turkish diplomats¹⁵ in Canada by Armenian terrorists. This can only be explained by a lack of effective opposition to the Armenian allegations that was considered as true over time. Another reason is that Turkish diplomats assassinations are forgotten as time passes.

This resolution does not place Canada amongst the states that recognize the alleged Armenian genocide. For this to happen the House of Commons must adopt a similar resolution and finally the government must implement it.

c. Wales

The National Assembly of Wales recognized the alleged Armenian genocide by a decision taken with 31 votes on October 30, 2002.¹⁶ This decision known as a Statement of Opinion reads as follows: “We recognize the Armenian genocide under Turkish Government in 1915. We call on Turkey to stop economic sanctions against the Republic of Armenia and call on British Government not to support Turkey’s application for EU membership.”¹⁷

It is understood that the different churches in Wales were the main driving force behind this decision.¹⁸

¹⁴ Armenian National Committee of Canada, Press Release, July 13, 2002

¹⁵ The attacks carried out by the Armenian terrorists in Canada and intending murder are listed below:
 - April 8, 1982, Ottawa, Turkish Trade Attaché Kani Güngör was seriously wounded,
 - August 27, 1982, Ottawa, Turkish Military Attaché Colonel Atilla Altıkat was murdered,
 - March 12, 1985, Ottawa, Canadian guard of the Turkish Embassy was murdered, Turkish Ambassador Çoşkun Kırcı was seriously wounded.

¹⁶ The Welsh Parliament has 60 deputies and 48 ballots were cast during the negotiation of this matter. ARCA News Agency, November 5, 2002.

¹⁷ ARCA News Agency, November 5, 2002.

¹⁸ Press Release, Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, October 25, 2002 and Asbarez Online, October 22, 2002.

This decision will have no legal consequences for either Great Britain or Turkey. It is, however, a moral satisfaction for the Armenians and will constitute a precedent for efforts to obtain recognition for the "genocide" in the UK.

Neither British Parliament nor the government accepts Armenian claims of genocide. This was most recently proven by the British Minister Baroness Scotland in February 2001 when in a reply to a question in the House of Lords she answered that evidence showed that the events concerning the Armenians could not be classified as genocide as the term is clearly defined by the 1948 UN Genocide Convention. The British Embassy in Ankara confirmed this position in a press statement issued in July of the same year.¹⁹

British government attitude has resulted in caution on the Armenian side. Despite the fact that they have supporters like Baroness Cox in the Parliament, it appears that before applying to the Parliament Armenians would try to first have decisions taken in organizations that may be sympathetic to their cause such as trade unions, the Greater London Council, the British Council of Churches, the Liberal Party, etc.²⁰

d. Report on "Armenians in Turkey Today"

After Kocharian was elected President in 1998, the Forum of Armenian Associations in Europe was founded to bring together Armenian organizations in Europe and facilitate their cooperation. This organization has worked more on preventing the accession of Turkey to the EU than it has realized cooperation between Armenian organizations. One of the successes of the Forum which is usually engaged in lobbying activity was the adoption by the European Parliament of the South Caucasus Report which reflects the views of Armenians and came into existence by convincing the Swedish Rapporteur Per Garthon to the Armenian cause.

The sensitivity of the EU on minorities has led the Forum to follow a policy based on depicting the situation of the Armenian minority in Turkey as negative, thus intentionally causing Turkey to encounter some problems when it is dealing with the EU. As a

¹⁹ Ömer E. Lütem, 'Olaylar ve Yorumlar', *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 2, Haziran-Temmuz-Ağustos 2001, pp. 25-27.

²⁰ *Asbarez Online*, October 22, 2002.

result the Forum has commissioned a report entitled "Armenians in Turkey Today- A Critical Assessment of the Situation of the Armenian Minority in the Turkish Republic." Tessa Hoffman, the author of the report, is known in Germany for her activities and writing against Turkey. She unconditionally supports Armenian views and has therefore been given an award by the Armenian Benevolent Foundation and the Yerevan University granted her with the academic title of Professor.²¹

The report includes a great number of allegations about the Armenians living in Turkey. Most of the allegations are untrue while some others are wildly exaggerated.²² The report claims that the Armenians living in Turkey face intense prejudice, suffer discriminatory legal and administrative measures as well as many restrictions and arbitrariness and that these measures aim to assimilate the Armenians or to force their migration. The report speaks of unreal events such as the confiscation of church property and even considers the fact that there are not a sufficient number of priests due to the measures taken by the government. It alleges that the authorities can and do paralyze the operations of schools at will.

In the detailed section under the heading "Recommendations"²³ - as if all the allegations were true - authorities are called upon to protect Armenians from threats and attacks as well as to put an end to the pilferage at religious foundations. The report demands that the Turkish press ceases discriminatory and offensive reporting and recognizes its responsibility to that end. The Turkish press is requested to refrain from criticizing those who do acknowledge the alleged genocide. Educating broad sections of Turkish society on the "genocide" and reviewing schoolbooks are among the recommendations. Furthermore it is stated that Turkish politicians must recognize their own responsibility for the protection of minorities. Finally, it is recommended that Turks who do recognize the alleged genocide should not be prosecuted. Finally the report demands that the EU takes the appropriate measures to support Turkish academics, publishers and journalists who critically reassess history, in other words those who recognize the Armenian genocide claims.

²¹ *Armenian in Turkey Today*, <http://www.armenianforum.org/site/english/eu-contact/docs-news/Armenian%20in%20Turkey%20MOD.pdf>, p. 2.

²² *Armenians in Turkey...*, pp. 9-45.

²³ *Armenians in Turkey...*, p. 7.

It is not clear on whom these recommendations are directed at. However bearing in minds the close relations of the Forum with the EU circles, it comes to mind that the EU is the actual addressee. As a significant portion of the members of the European Parliament are against Turkey becoming an EU member, it is likely that these recommendations could be at least partially incorporated into some resolutions of the European Parliament.

The Armenian Patriarchate in Turkey made public a declaration concerning this report²⁴ and reflected the real conditions of the Armenians living in Turkey. This declaration, which could be considered as a denial of the Hoffman report, protests the allegations of assimilation, pressure and ill treatment of the Armenian population in Turkey and reiterates the loyalty of Turkish Armenians to their country.

4. FORTHCOMING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN ARMENIA

Presidential elections in Armenia will be held on February 19, 2003. A number of Armenian politicians including President Kocharian have declared themselves to be candidate. Among them are the leader of the Armenian Peoples Party Stepan Demirjian, leader of the National Unity Party Artashes Geghamian and leader of the National Democratic Union Party Vazgen Manukian.

Although the 19 opposition parties have formed an alliance to nominate a single candidate to face Kocharian, they have been unable to agree on a person. The strongest contender for the office of president is Kocharian. Due to the high number of candidates it is likely that Kocharian will not be able to receive sufficient votes in the first round and could only be elected in the second.

Kocharian's strength in these elections does not come from his successes during his presidency but rather from the relative weakness of his competitors. As we will go into details below, it is difficult to claim that Armenia has registered serious progress under the leadership of Kocharian in the last five years.

Armenia's greatest problem is economic. The weakness of the economy leads to unemployment, poverty and migration. The first years of the Kocharian era were marked by economic stagnation

²⁴ *Lraper Church Bulletin*, October 16, 2002.

During the Kocharian era Armenia continued to pursue a policy directed at establishing good relations with both Russia and Western countries, USA specifically.

yet there is a substantial growth in GDP during the last two years. This growth is only due to the increase of the export of cut diamonds and some metals and the construction of a road financed by the American businessman of Armenian origin Kirk Kerkorian's Lincy Foundation.²⁵ As the growth concerns to very few sectors of

the economy it did little to increase overall wages or decrease unemployment.

A longstanding source of complaint in Armenia is the corruption. A public opinion poll organized recently by the Armenian branch of the Regional Development Center/Transparency International with the support of the British government and the USAID and OSCE Yerevan Offices asked "how has the level of corruption changed during the last five years?". 47% of the respondents think the level of corruption has grown while 25% believed that it has not changed.²⁶ It is clear that the Armenian people's complaints about corruption are continuing at an increasing trend.

It is not possible to say that the current government is more liberal regarding rights and freedoms than the government of Ter-Petrosian. Particularly, at times attempts are made to bring the media under pressure. A few recent examples include the bomb attack on journalist Mark Gregorian²⁷ and the prevention of distribution of the paper Avarot.²⁸

In addition to efforts of the Minsk Group to resolve the Karabagh conflict, approximately 20 meetings were held between Aliev and Kocharian but no progress was made. This constitutes a failure for Kocharian. On the other hand Kocharian tried to use allegations of genocide as a tool to drive Turkey towards a kind of neutrality in the Karabagh issue, yet this tactic failed as Turkey continued to support Azerbaijan and even backfired as the

²⁵ *La Lettre de l'UGAB*, November 2, 2002.

²⁶ *Aykakan Zhamanak*, November 2, 2002.

²⁷ *RFE/RL Armenia Report*, October 29, 2002.

²⁸ *RFE/RL Armenia Report*, October 31, 2002.

borders between the two countries remain closed and the establishment of diplomatic relations is not on the agenda.

During the Kocharian era Armenia continued to pursue a policy directed at establishing good relations with both Russia and Western countries, USA specifically. However as it failed to properly balance the two parties, the Russian Federation further strengthened its leading position in Armenian foreign policy and the country became totally dependent on Russia in the field of defense, not only through the Russian military bases on Armenian territory but also for the procurement of weapons. Russia also became indispensable in the economic field due to its large share in Armenian foreign trade. Furthermore, a number of Armenian companies that could not pay their debts were handed over to Russia for the payment of accumulated debts. Russia continued to be the supplier of fuel for the Metzamor nuclear reactor that is still the main energy source in Armenia.

The biggest handicap for Kocharian during the upcoming elections will be the continued suspicion that he was involved in October 27, 1999 slaying of his political opponents. In this attack Speaker of Parliament Demirjian and Prime Minister Sarkisian were murdered with some other deputies while the parliament was in session. Although the ongoing interrogation of the accused has yielded no information pointing at Kocharian, the fact that he was the only person to benefit from the murders causes continued suspicion.

As mentioned above, despite these failures Kocharian continues to be the strongest candidate for the office of president. The main reason for this is that there is no single and powerful opponent facing him. Kocharian is further strengthened by the support of the Republican party, which is headed by Prime Minister Andranik Markarian. It should be noted that this party won the recent municipal elections. Finally the Dashnak party has recently declared that it will support Kocharian.²⁹ One of the reasons for the support of this party is the effort of Kocharian to gain international recognition for the alleged genocide.

Yet it would not be correct to already say that Kocharian will be victorious in the presidential elections. There are still about two

²⁹ *Asbarez Online*, November 25, 2002.

months until the elections and that is a long time in volatile Armenian domestic politics.

5. REACTIONS OF ARMENIA REGARDING THE NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT

For some time Armenian officials avoided reacting to the Justice and Development Party victory in the parliamentary elections in Turkey. Only ten days after the elections and upon the insistence of journalists did Foreign Minister Oskanian say, "I believe we shall have to wait and see what kind of policy towards Armenia and the region in general the Turkish government will adopt".³⁰

Politicians however were not shy to speak their opinion. Member of the Dashnak party and Deputy Chairman of the Armenian Parliamentary Commission on Foreign Affairs Armen Rustamian said that there would be no serious change in Turkish foreign policy towards Armenia with the new Islamic government. He also stated that the outgoing Turkish government had organized meetings of the two countries' Foreign Ministers with the real intention of veiling their negative attitude towards Armenia, that the actual goal of Ankara was to divert the attention of the international community from the issue of recognizing the genocide of the Armenians and that Ankara aimed at strengthening its influence in the southern Caucasus. Rustamian, added that the new government would follow the policies of the previous one. He also attributed an aggressive character to Islam by saying "the victory of the pro-Islamic forces in the election revealed the true system of values in Turkey, which is based on a traditionally aggressive ideology".³¹

The Chairman of the Armenian Parliamentary Commission on Foreign Affairs Hovhanness Hovhannissian said that Armenia should reconsider its foreign policy and what had happened in Turkey was a cause for serious concern.³²

Artashes Gaghamian, presidential candidate and leader of the National Unity Party said that the new government would attach

³⁰ *Azg Daily*, November 15, 2002.

³¹ *Arminfo*, November 5, 2002.

³² *A1 + TV 7*, November 7, 2002.

The Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Yaşar Yakış indicated during an interview that the new government will be in favor of improving relations with Armenia and that it will take the initiative to that end.

importance to economic cooperation with Azerbaijan and Georgia and try to bolster this with a military pact, something, he said, that would not be in the interest of Armenia and Karabagh.³³

The Parliamentary majority leader Galust Sahakian kept his remarks brief and simply said: "Turkey is Turkey - be it under secular or Islamic rule".³⁴

It is evident that Armenian politicians have a negative attitude towards the new Turkish government. We observe, however, that this attitude is not the conclusion of a research on what the Armenia policy of the new government may be, but rather reflects the traditional hostility for Turkey.

The Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Yaşar Yakış indicated during an interview that the new government will be in favor of improving relations with Armenia and that it will take the initiative to that end.³⁵

President Kocharian himself during an interview he gave on November 22, 2002 while he was in Prague to attend the NATO Summit mapped out the policy of Armenia towards the new Turkish government. Kocharian said, "Armenia is ready to establish diplomatic relations with Turkey and open borders, to expand trade without any preconditions... Improvement of Turkish-Armenian relations should not be contingent of opposition with Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabagh...Armenia is open for discussion with the new government of Turkey for all questions related to possible development of bilateral relations".³⁶

It is understood from the above statement that Armenia will continue to follow its previous policy with the new Turkish government: i.e., to establish diplomatic relations and secure the opening of borders without making any change in its own position.

³³ Azg (Turkish), November 8, 2002

³⁴ A1 + TV 7, November 7, 2002.

³⁵ *Turkish Daily News*, November 6, 2002.

³⁶ *Armenpress News Agency*, November 25, 2002.

However, it is not in the interest of Turkey to establish diplomatic relations and open the borders before Armenia recognizes the eastern borders of Turkey, ceases to support allegations of genocide and solves the Karabagh conflict. Any negotiations that do not take this fact into account are unlikely to yield tangible results.

RUSSIAN-ARMENIAN RELATIONS: A STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP OR HEGEMONIC DOMINATION?

Assist. Prof. Dr. Kamer KASIM*

Abstract:

Russia and Armenia have special relations, which have regional implications. In this paper the characteristics of the Russian-Armenian relations will be analyzed and it will be examined whether Russian-Armenian relations are a strategic partnership of the both states or the relations are based on Russian hegemonic domination. The implications of the Russian Caucasus policy and Armenian policy during Ter-Petrosian and Kocharian era will be dealt with.

Keywords:

Russia, Armenia, hegemony, Nagorno-Karabakh, Putin, Ter-Petrosian, Kocharian

INTRODUCTION

Russia as a successor of the Soviet Union in many ways entered the world politics as a “new” actor. Russia and the Soviet Union are not comparable in terms of their impact on world politics and their visions. The Soviet Union was one of the superpowers of the bipolar world and it was an empire with messianic ambitions. On the other hand, the Russian Federation has domestic tensions, serious economic problems and has only a relative impact in what Russia calls is “Near Abroad” (*blizhneezarubezhe*). Armenia has also joined the world politics as an independent state after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Unlike the other former Soviet republics, Armenia has special relations with Russia. The reasons for this are of geographic, strategic, economic and historic nature. Armenia is a land lock state with

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Armenia has not challenged Russian attempt of regional domination and Russian influence to Armenia. There were also historical ties between Russians and Armenians

lack of natural resources and it has major problems with the two of its neighbors namely Turkey and Azerbaijan. For Russia, Armenia is a country where Russian troops can be stationed without a problem. Armenia has not challenged Russian attempt of regional domination and Russian influence to Armenia. There were also historical ties between Russians and Armenians.

In this paper, Russian-Armenian relations will be analyzed in the context of Russia's policy towards the Caucasus. The paper will evaluate that whether Russian-Armenian relations can be described as strategic partnership or whether the relations are based on Russian hegemonic domination. This paper will also examine how both states view each other and the implications of Russian-Armenian relations to the both states' interests and regional politics.

BASIC PARAMETERS OF RUSSIA'S CAUCASUS POLICY

Russian policy towards the Caucasus can be evaluated in three main periods. The first period started with the establishment of the Russian Federation in 1991 and continued until the end of 1992. The second period started in 1993 and continued until Putin's Presidency in 2000. The third period is being shaped by President Putin.

We will not go through the details of each period instead main features of the periods will be mentioned. Russian administration wanted to continue its influence in the former Soviet territories through the structure of the Commonwealth of Independent State (CIS) and the Russian military presence. However, in 1991 there was confusion within the Russian establishment about Russia's policy towards the former Soviet republics. Direction of Russian foreign policy was discussed in the context of the Russian identity. One group, called Atlanticists, argued that Russia is a Western state and the future of Russia is based on cooperation with the West. Russia's engagement with the former Soviet republics in the Caucasus and Central Asia would prevent Russia to observe Western values. Therefore, Russia must avoid assuming a leading

role in the CIS.¹ Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev and Deputy Prime Minister Gaidar were the main supporters of the Atlanticist foreign policy, which dominated the Russian Federation until the end of 1992. Kozyrev's foreign policy aimed to liberate the Russian Federation from the burdens of the empire and to make Russia a part of community of democratic states. In that period, Russia's administration was concerned with transforming of the Russian economy into a genuine market and to integrate Russia with the Western system. As a result, Russia showed a lack of interest in its relations with the new Caucasian and Central Asian republics. However, Russian military continued its assertive policy towards the Caucasus, despite Russian Foreign Ministry's stand for a pro-Western orientation. As it will be discussed below, Russia directly and indirectly involved in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and intervened the domestic politics of Azerbaijan.

Russia could not overcome the economic and social problems and the Western support to modernize Russian economy was limited. As a result, the Atlanticists lost their popularity and Eurasianist view, dominated the Russian foreign policy, which argued that Russia should defend the Russian population and the Russian heritage in the former Soviet territories and Russian foreign policy should not ignore the Caucasus and Central Asia.² The Eurasianists produced the policy of "Near Abroad" ((blizhneeazarubezhe) according to which Russia should involve in the Caucasus and Central Asia politically and economically as well as militarily. Eurasianists introduced "the foreign policy concept" in 1993. The foreign policy concept envisaged a more active role for Russia in security and economic affairs in the "Near Abroad".³ Russia's policy towards the conflicts in the Caucasus indicated the Eurasianist view about the Russia's role in the "Near Abroad". Russia managed to extend its influence in Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

¹ Robert H. Donaldson and Joseph L. Noguee, *The Foreign Policy Of Russia Changing Systems and Enduring Interests*, (London and New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), pp. 112-113.

² Mohiaddin Meshabi, 'Russian Foreign Policy and Security in Central Asia and the Caucasus', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1993, p. 188

Roy Allison, *Military Forces in the Soviet Successor States*, Adelphi Paper, 280, London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1993, p. 46. See also A. Kortunov, 'Russia, the 'Near Abroad', and the West', G. Lapidus (ed.), *The New Russia: Troubled Transformation*, Boulder: Westview, 1995, pp. 157-160.

³ Neil Malcolm, 'The New Russian Foreign Policy', *The World Today*, 1994, p. 31. See also Oleg Kovalev, *Foreign Policy Belief Systems of Post Soviet Russian Elites*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University Of Delaware, Summer 1996, pp.158-222.

Suzanne Crow, 'Why Has Russian Foreign Policy Changed?', *RFE/RL Research Report*, 1994, pp. 2-4

In 2000, Vladimir Putin became the President of the Russian Federation. A new era opened for Russia. Although Putin's foreign policy has many similarities with the Eurasianist approach, it is difficult to put Putin's foreign policy in one category. On the one hand, as the Eurasianists suggested, Putin strengthened Russia's ties with the former Soviet republics of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Putin was a hardliner in terms of Russia's struggle in Chechnya and, as it will be discussed below, Russia strengthened its military presence in Armenia during Putin's Presidency. Russia introduced the new National Security Concept and Military Doctrine when Putin was acting President. The National Security Concept emphasized the significance of military force in international relations. In the new National Security Concept, Russia expressed concern about the weakening of the integration process in the CIS. The National Security Concept also stressed that transnational terrorism threatens stability in the world and has grown in many countries, including the Russian Federation.⁴ On the other hand, despite the fact that the National Security Concept emphasized the importance of military force and integration process in the CIS, Putin tried to develop Russia's relations with Europe and the US. During Putin's era Russia's relations with the NATO developed considerably and at the NATO Summit in Italy on 28 May 2002, the NATO-Russia Council was established, which provides a mechanism for consultation, consensus-building, cooperation, joint decision, and joint action for the member states of the NATO and Russia on a wide spectrum of security issues in the Euro-Atlantic region. The NATO-Russia Council allows Russia to join the NATO's decision-making process for the first time.⁵ Development of Russia's relations with the West was particularly obvious after 11 September terrorist attacks. While Russia's support of the US's actions against international terrorism helped Russia to develop its relations with the US and Russia had freehand in Chechnya, however, the terrorist attacks and following US operations in the Caucasus and Central Asia resulted in an increase in the US influence in the region. For example, the US soldiers stationed in Georgia and Uzbekistan.⁶

⁴ Jyotsna Bakshi, 'Russia's National Security Concepts and Military Doctrines: Continuity and Change', *Strategic Analysis*, October 2000, pp. 1278-1281.

⁵ 'NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality', <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/b020528r.htm>

⁶ Jean Christophe Peuch, 'Caucasus: Russia To Reluctantly Agree To US Military In Georgia', *RFE/RL*, 28 February 2002. Ewen MacAskill, 'From Suez To Pacific, The US Expands Its Presence Across Globe', *The Guardian*, (8 March 2002). Kamer Kasım, '11 Eylül Terör Eylemlerinin Rusya'nın Kafkasya Politikasına Etkisi', *Selçuk Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 9, Issue. 3-4, 2001 pp. 53-65.

ARMENIA AS RUSSIA'S PARTNER IN THE CAUCASUS

As discussed above Russia gave special importance to the "Near Abroad" particularly after 1992. Russia followed a policy of controlled destabilization in Georgia and Azerbaijan. For Russia's strategy, Armenia was in central position. In the case of Georgia, Russia used Abkhazia and Ossetia to put pressure on Georgia. In fact due to the conflict with Abkhazians, Georgia had to accept the membership of the CIS and Russian military stations in its territories. Georgia has also an Armenian minority in its Javakheti province where Armenians established organizations like Javak Movement, Parvents and Virks. These organizations particularly the last one demands autonomous status to be given to the province. Russia's influence in the Javakheti province appeared in Ahalkelek, the capital of the province, where Russia has a military base, which provides job for the province's population. Armenian population of the province mostly trades with Armenia and they also wanted Russian military presence in Javakheti.⁷ Russia wanted to keep the military base as a tool for making pressure on Georgia.⁸

Russia's ties with Armenia and its strategy to use Armenia to put pressure on Azerbaijan were evident during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict

Russia's ties with Armenia and its strategy to use Armenia to put pressure on Azerbaijan were evident during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict started before the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1988 with the demands of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh, which was an autonomous region of Azerbaijan, to be put under the Armenian jurisdiction. In 1991, Armenia and Azerbaijan became independent states and conflict was transformed from an inter-state conflict to a regional conflict in which independent states involved. For Russia, Armenia was more favorable than Azerbaijan, since Armenia became a member of the CIS and Russian military bases were stationed in Armenia. In contrast, the Parliament of

⁷ Katia M. Peltekian, 'Javakheti Armenians Refresh Calls For Maintenance of Russian Base', *ArmenPress News Agency*, (13 May 2002).

⁸ Hasan Kanbolat and Nazmi Gül, 'The Geopolitics And Quest For Autonomy Of The Armenians Of Javakheti (Georgia) And Krasnodar (Russia) In The Caucasus', *Ermeni Arařtırmaları/Armenian Studies*, June-July-August, 2001, pp. 193-202.

Russian Minister Aman Tuleev accused former Russian military leaders of supplying arms to Armenia and even a list of weapons was sent to Armenia was given by General Lev Rokhlin

Azerbaijan did not ratify Azerbaijan's membership to the CIS and Russia did not have military bases in Azerbaijan. In the Elcibey era, Azerbaijan followed a more pro-Turkish policy and strongly supported the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline project for the transportation of Caspian oil to the world markets.⁹ Russia supported Armenia in the Nagorno-

Karabakh conflict in order to bring Azerbaijan into the Russian orbit. In fact even before Elcibey's presidency of Azerbaijan, Armenian forces captured Khojali and killed many civilians. There were wide spread allegations that Russian regiment of 366 involved in the Khojali massacre.¹⁰ Russian Minister Aman Tuleev accused former Russian military leaders of supplying arms to Armenia and even a list of weapons was sent to Armenia was given by General Lev Rokhlin.¹¹ After Aliyev became the President of Azerbaijan with a Russian back coup, Russia followed relatively balanced policy in the conflict. In fact during the peace process in 1996 OSCE's (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) Lisbon Summit, Russia also supported a proposal, which called the withdrawal of all occupying Armenian forces from Nagorno-Karabakh and surrounding areas of Azerbaijan.¹² Despite Russia's relatively balanced stand during the peace process of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, Russia is viewed by Armenia as a natural protector with its military presence in Armenia. However, as it will be discussed below Armenia's Presidents both Ter-Petrosian and Kocharian tried to reduce Russia's influence on Armenia and to follow a multi dimensional foreign policy. Russian-Armenian relations might be viewed as hegemonic domination

⁹ Kamer Kasim, 'The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict, Caspian Oil and Regional Powers', Bülent Gökay (Ed), *Politics of Caspian Oil*, (London: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 182-184.

¹⁰ See Kamer Kasim, 'The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict From Its Inception To The Peace Process', *Armenian Studies*, Issue 2, June-July-August 2001, pp. 172-173. See Khojali massacre in the international press, The New York Times, 'Massacre by Armenians', (3 March 1992). Thomas Goltz, 'Armenian Soldiers Massacre Hundreds Of Fleeing Families', *The Sunday Times*, (1 March 1992). *Time*, 'Massacre In Khojali', (16 March 1992). *The Washington Times*, 'Armenian Raid Leaves Azeris Dead Or Fleeing', (2 March 1992).

¹¹ Vitaly Naumkin, 'Russia and Transcaucasia', *Caucasian Regional Studies*, Vol. 3, Issue 1, 1998. <http://po-li.vub.ac.be/publi/crs/eng/0301-02.htm>

¹² Kamer Kasim, 'The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict From Its Inception To The Peace Process', *Armenian Studies*, Issue 2, June-July-August 2001, pp. 178-179

rather than strategic partnership between the two states. Hegemony can be described as one state's control over another, whether by physical force, cultural leadership or other methods.¹³ Hegemonic stability theory argued that the overwhelming dominance of one country was necessary for the existence of an open and stable world economy. Theory also argued that the decline of a hegemonic power leads to instability.¹⁴ The Soviet Union was a global hegemonic power in the bipolar world. However, the Russian Federation, the successor of the Soviet Union can be considered as a regional hegemon. Russia tried to establish control over former Soviet territories. In the Caucasus, Russia was particularly successful to establish its control over Armenia through special military and economic relations with Armenia. The question to be asked is that whether Russia's domination over Armenia based on mutual consent of both states or Russia forced Armenia to accept its domination. There are two ways to investigate this question. One is to examine Russia's Caucasus policy. Another approach could be to look at Armenia's foreign policy. As it was discussed above, Russia with the influence of the Eurasianists wanted to establish its control in "Near Abroad" and Russia showed Near Abroad policy during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and Abkhazian-Georgian conflict. It might be argued that Russia's Caucasus policy required Russia to be stationed military bases in all Caucasian states. However, Russia had difficulty in Azerbaijan and Georgia. Azerbaijan rejected Russian military presence and Russian military bases also in the process of closure in Georgia. In contrast, Russia has military bases in Armenia with the consent of the Armenian government.¹⁵ Although Armenian administrations' logic is that Russian military presence provides security for Armenia, the same military presence and Armenian's extreme dependence on Russia also prevents Armenia from following a multi dimensional foreign policy and establishing constructive relations with its neighbors. It

¹³ Gramsci used the term hegemony as one social class (or a fraction of a class) exercises leadership over the other classes by gaining their active consent through ideological, moral or cultural values. The concept of hegemony was the central, most original idea in Gramsci's social theory and philosophy. See William I. Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy-Globalization, US Intervention and Hegemony*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996). John Ikenberry, 'Getting Hegemony Right', *National Interest*, Issue 63, Spring 2001.

¹⁴ Helen Milner, 'International Political Economy: Beyond Hegemonic Stability', *Foreign Policy*, No. 110, Spring 1998.

¹⁵ Armenian Foreign Minister Vartan Oskanian stated that the presence of Russian military base on the territory of Armenia is one of the most important factors for safeguarding the security of the country. Katia M. Peltekian, 'Armenia, Russia Agree on Mutual Assistance, Russian Military Base', *Mediamax News Agency*, 24 May 2002

Ter-Petrosian aimed to reduce Armenia's dependency on Russia, which also fit the Armenian National Movement's (ANM) ideology

might also be argued that Armenia's foreign policy caused dependency on Russian military presence in its territory. Armenia followed an uncompromising foreign policy towards the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which had a negative affect on Armenia's relations with two of its neighbors; Azerbaijan and Turkey. Turkey is especially important for Armenia's economic development. However, there is no diplomatic relations between the two states and no direct trade relations. Armenia's first President Levon Ter-Petrosian tired to establish constructive relations with Turkey. Ter-Petrosian aimed to reduce Armenia's dependency on Russia, which also fit the Armenian National Movement's (ANM) ideology. To reduce Armenia's dependency on Russia required Armenia to normalize its relations with the neighbors. For this, key step would be the solution for the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Peace process in the Nagorno-Karabakh problem continued after the cease-fire in 1994. Ter-Petrosian was about to accept OSCE's peace proposal in 1997, which required Armenian forces' withdrawal from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan outside Nagorno-Karabakh and return of refugees. But Ter-Petrosian was forced to resign by what his advisor Libaridian called the "Karabakh Party". During his Presidency Ter-Petrosian struggled against diaspora parties, particularly, the Dasknaks (the Armenian Revolutionary Front) and Armenian diaspora organizations all over the world. For Ter-Petrosian, Dashnak's foreign policy strategy was unrealistic and dangerous for the Armenian national interests. Being a land lock state Armenia needed to establish normal relations with its neighbors for its economic prosperity and political stability. In order to normalize its relations with Turkey, Ter-Petrosian did not bring Armenian genocide allegations in the international arena. However, he did not take necessary steps for the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and Armenian occupation of the territory of Azerbaijan continued. As a result, Armenian dependence on Russia even increased, because no war-no peace situation prevented stability and the possibility of resumption of war caused security alert in Armenia.¹⁶

¹⁶ See Kamer Kasim, 'Armenian Foreign Policy: Basic Parameters of the Ter-Petrosian and Kocharian Era', *Review of Armenian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2002, pp. 90-103.

After Ter-Petrosian, Robert Kocharian became the President of Armenia. Like Ter-Petrosian, Kocharian also wanted to reduce dependency on Russia. Kocharian's strategy was to improve Armenia's relations with the US and Europe. Kocharian attended the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of NATO in Washington in 1999 during the time of tense relations between Russia and the West. Unlike Ter-Petrosian, Kocharian had good relations with most of diaspora organizations in the US and they wanted Armenia to distance itself from Russia.¹⁷ During the discussions about a Russia-Belarus union, Kocharian stated that he was against Armenia's joining to the possible union between Russia and Belarussia.¹⁸ However, Kocharian was also not successful to follow a multi-dimensional foreign policy. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem continued and unlike Ter-Petrosian era, the supporters of Kocharian represented the uncompromising stand in the peace process. Putin's Presidency in Russia and the new President's assertive policy towards the Caucasus did not leave Armenia much room to maneuver.

Armenia's dependency on Russia is evident in economic and military fields and this increased in the last two years. Russian President Putin visited Armenia on 14-15 September 2001, which strengthens Russian military presence in Armenia, since an agreement was signed for the legal status of the Russian military personnel.¹⁹ Armenia's economic dependency on Russia is also obvious, since 60 per cent of Armenia's budget revenue comes from Russia in the form of loans. Armenia's food and fuel dependency on Russia is even higher.²⁰ Armenia's debt to Russia is 100 million US dollars. Armenia and Russia reached an agreement in September 2001, according to which, key Armenian enterprises will be handed over to Russia and joint ventures set up between the two states in return of Armenia's debt to Russia.²¹ Russia will have Hrazdan electrical central, one electronic

¹⁷ Kamer Kasim, 'Diasporanın Ermenistan'ın Dış Politikasına Etkisi', *2023 Dergisi*, April 2002, pp. 42-45.

¹⁸ Asbarez, 11 June 2001.

¹⁹ Vladimir Socor, 'Armenia's Reliance on Russia Increase After Putin's Visit', *Jamestown Foundation Monitor*, Vol. VII, Issue 171, 19 September 2001. Nazmi Gül ve Gökçen Ekici, 'Stratejik Ortaklar Arasında Bir Sorun mu Var? Putin'in Ermenistan Ziyareti ve Moskova-Erivan İlişkileri', *Stratejik Analiz*, Vol. 2, Issue 19 November 2001, pp. 32-38.

²⁰ Dmitri Trenin, 'Russia's Security Interests And Policies In The Caucasus Region', Bruno Coppieters (Ed), *Contested Borders In The Caucasus*, Chapter III, (Vub University Press, 1996).

²¹ Ara Tadevosian, 'Armenia Leans East?', *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*, <http://www.iwpr.net/index.pl?archive/cau/cau-200110-104-1-eng.txt>, 6 November 2001.

Armenia's increasing economic dependency on Russia was criticized by the opposition parties and some sections of the press in Armenia

company called Mars and two research institutes. Russia also wants to have the administration of Metzamor nuclear central, since Armenia has 26 million US dollar debt for the central's fuel.²² Armenia's increasing economic dependency on Russia was criticized by the opposition parties and some sections of the press in Armenia. For example, daily Aykakan Zhamanak, argued that "Russia is demanding the wholesale giveaway of our assets instead of Armenia's debts. Except for Kocharian and Putin's handshakes and smiles, it is difficult to find evidence of anything strategic in Armenian-Russian relations."²³

In 2001, the trade volume between Russia and Armenia was approximately 180 million US dollars and Russian direct investment in Armenia was 29 million US dollars.²⁴

Armenian dependency on Russia raised the question about the future of the sovereignty of Armenia. Russia came in a position where it can interfere Armenian foreign policy and domestic politics of Armenia. Armenia's policy towards the Nagorno-Karabakh problem prevented Armenia to develop its relations with Turkey and Azerbaijan. As a result, Armenia felt insecure politically, which turned Armenia for Russian military presence and Armenia also became depended on Russia economically. As it was discussed above this economic dependence reached a stage in which Armenian enterprises were handed over to Russia. Russian-Armenian relations have also regional implications. Regional blocs, that opposed each other, are being established due to the political and strategic reasons. Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia cooperated in economic and security fields and the US also as a non-regional actor looked a part of this bloc. On the other hand, Russia, Armenia and Iran seemed to establish another bloc, that might encounter Turkey and/or US led bloc. The only thing might reduce the rigidity of these blocs is the development of relations between Turkey and Russia particularly in the field of energy. Having

²² Fikret Ertan, 'Ermenistan-Rusya İlişkilerinde Yeni Bir Boyut', *Zaman*, (8 August 2002).

²³ Ara Tadevosian, 'Armenia Leans East?', Institute for War and Peace Reporting, <http://www.iwpr.net/index.pl?archive/cau/cau-200110-104-1-eng.txt>, 6 November 2001.

²⁴ Arm info, <http://www.arminfo.am/political-issue6.htm>, 29 January 2002

considered the developments of Turkish-Russian relations, it would be rational for Armenia to follow a multi-dimensional foreign policy rather than just being dependent on Russia.

CONCLUSION

The direction of the Russian-Armenian relations mainly was shaped by Russia's Caucasus policy and Russian desire to exert influence on the former Soviet republics of the Caucasus. Armenia was a natural partner for Russia, since Russian military presence was not objected by the Armenian administration. Russian-Armenian economic relations have also developed. It might be argued that Russian-Armenian relations started as a strategic partnership and then turned into the hegemonic domination of Russia over the small state of Armenia. Armenia became the pawn of Russia for Russian strategic interests in the Caucasus. After Israel, Armenia receives the highest amount of the US foreign aid on per-capita basis. However, this does not prevent the Armenian administration made Armenia dependent on Russia in military and economic fields. With this policy Armenia might increase its security for the expense of Armenia's sovereignty. It is the choice of the Armenian politicians to follow multi-dimensional foreign policy as the former President Ter-Petrosian tried to take some steps towards it or to continue to be depended on Russia for security and economic survival. Cooperation in the Caucasus will increase the security of regional states and stability might be established after that. It might be argued that the first step for regional cooperation should be taken by regional powers in the Caucasus, namely, Russia, Turkey and Iran. The structure of the Russian-Armenian relations and particularly the Russian military presence in Armenia can only be understood in the context of lack of understanding and competition among the regional powers of the Caucasus.

IDENTITY, ART AND PROPAGANDA

The Armenian Film Industry As A Case-Study

Assist. Prof. Dr. Sedat LAÇINER*

Abstract:

As the effects of globalisation have increased, almost any issue has become a part of international politics. As relations became more intricate, it has become impossible to prevail with the classic defence tools. This trend increased the importance of the role of art and literature in propaganda. Cinema in particular has become an effective part of propaganda machines of the states. Turkish-Armenian relations provide a significant example for art's role in propaganda. In this context the study examines the Armenian cinema and its connections with the problems in Armenian-Turkish relations. The study argues that the Diaspora Armenians facing a strong assimilation process in the West has seen 1915 events as the only uniting factor for the Armenian community and this feed the hatred among the Armenians against the Turks. The author says that the Armenian identity crisis created an anti-Turkish campaign encouraged by the Armenian Church and political arties. As a natural result of this the political aims reflected on the Armenian art (cinema, theatre, literature etc.). In another word art has become a partner of politics and propaganda as seen in many cases. The study further gives examples to show the relations between the Armenian art and politics.

Keywords:

Armenians, Armenian Art, Armenian Identity Crisis, Armenians In The U.S., Art And Propaganda, Diaspora, Turkey.

INTRODUCTION

When movies and anti-Turkish stance are discussed in Turkey, mostly *Midnight Express* and another few movies are remembered. But it should be noted that in the last three decades, this has become a significant part of the movie business, in particular of the Armenian film industry. Even though the Turkish media presents that there are only a few movies made

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by the Armenians dealing with the Armenian allegations, documentaries, television shows and movies dealing with the subject are widely broadcast in the Western countries, and this kind of

For the preservation of Armenian national identity, the genocide myth has been as important as their religion

works make a significant effect on the Armenian mind. Therefore Turkish-Armenian relations and the Armenian public's ideas regarding Turkey and Turks cannot be understood without referring the connections between the Armenian art and the propaganda activities. In this context the Armenian identity crisis in Diaspora is another key issue since this problem determine the Armenian Diaspora art and its attitude about the Turkish – Armenian relations.

In this framework, this propaganda network and its strength will be examined by the author. The study also focuses on the identity, art and propaganda triangle.

A. ARMENIAN PROPAGANDA NETWORK AND ITS MOTIVATION

Before examining the Armenian cinema and the publishing sector, the reason why Armenians spent so much time and resources in order to make anti-Turkish movies should be investigated. Some in Turkey claim that the Armenians' bad intentions against Turks are the real reason, however it is understood that the radical Armenians' real strength lies in their belief and sincerity about the Turkish people's so-called hostility against the Armenians. The communication between Turks and the Armenian Diaspora are close to naught and for these Armenians the 'fact' that their ancestors were massacred by the Turks is unquestionable. For the preservation of Armenian national identity, the genocide myth has been as important as their religion, Gregorian Christianity. This myth symbolies their 'Armenianness' and most probably is the only bond that hold them together in a foreign land. The fact that Armenians unlike Greeks, have not been able to get back at Turks, and this feeds their hate and anger. Many Armenians obsessively believe that they were massacred by the Turks and do not understand why the Turkish State and people do not recognise this 'simple' fact. For Armenians this is the point that makes them angry most. According to them Turks, 'with blood of millions of Armenians on

their hands, can still strut as a respectable member of the international society'. They view this as a blatant insult to their ancestors. The genocide myth is so strong among the Armenians of the Diaspora that they usually give names to their businesses in the most remote places in Canada and the United States (U.S.) that remind them of the genocide myth. For example Mount Ararat is one of the most used shop and product names in Canada and the U.S. Many construction companies, restaurants, schools or catering firms are named 'Ararat'. The most popular jam among the Armenians for instance is also named 'Ararat'. Similarly many firms have chosen their names from among the town names in Anatolia. This demonstrates how firm their convictions and beliefs are with respect to the events of 1915 and the Turks. In other words, it cannot be said that Armenians, just to disparage Turks, are proclaiming opinions and beliefs that they really do not believe in.¹ Their strength comes from their conviction. While the Turkish people cannot understand the hate against themselves, on the other side there are millions of people who identify themselves with the so-called Armenian Genocide and anti-Turkish feelings.² It is difficult not to think that in an environment such as this, these deep emotions will not be translated onto the black screen or other fields of art.

The Diaspora's Negative Impact and the Identity Problem

One other point to consider is that Armenians mostly have lived in Diaspora environment. Several generations have seen neither Armenia nor the Turkish lands and have found their identities within the community they have been living. *Ararat's* director Atom Egoyan is a typical example of such a person. As he expressed, for Egoyan one of the most important problems was his

- 1 It is expected that after a certain stage, propaganda creators distort some of the truth. It is common among the radical Armenian groups to falsifications and forgery of historical documents. The statements attributed to Atatürk and Hitler are obvious examples. But even for these, Armenians are sincere in their objectives. They are just trying to prove to the world, what they believe to be the facts. For examples of the forgeries and falsification made by Armenians look: Türkkaya, Ataöv, *The Andonian 'Documents' Attributed To Talat Paşa Are Forgeries*, (Ankara: Sistem Ofset, 1984); Türkkaya, Ataöv, *A 'Statement Wrongly Attributed To Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*, (Ankara: Sistem Ofset, 1984).
- 2 As known, in the recent years, some marginal groups are voicing the Armenian case and translating Armenian Authors studies in Turkey. Among Armenians, leftists and rightists both unite on the issue of Turkey. This is because Turk and Armenian identity are founded on different principles. The events of 1915 are like cement that holds Armenians together. Turks, on the other hand have not based their identity on hating anyone. A Turk, no matter if he likes or hates Armenians, is still a Turk, cannot be assimilated and will not have an identity crisis. In other words, Turks being less fanatic than Armenians in voicing their opinions, is not a weakness but a richness.

national identity. He felt himself as alien until his youth. Atom Egoyan found opportunity to feel his Armenianness when he was a college student. In another word he was an identity convert. Egoyan was no exception. Most of the Armenians in diaspora discover their ethnic identity with the help of others and not in natural ways.

The most unfortunate side, with respect to the Turkish and Armenian question arises in the context of finding on identity in diaspora. Armenians, who emigrated from Sudan, Russia, Egypt or Cyprus to Paris, London, or Los Angeles, had almost nothing in common. Languages and traditions have been diversified. The lands they have originated from are so diverse that these people who call themselves Armenian are hard to call a single nation. The host countries' (U.S., Canada, France and etc.) culture, language and etc. had a relatively stronger cultural and national identity than the Armenians had. In this way, assimilation has been unavoidable. Although the old generation is less susceptible to this force, younger generations are more open to outside influences. For example, in London, the younger generation celebrates their Christmas on the 25th of December instead of January 6th according to the Armenian customs.³ Younger generation feels that the British culture is stronger than Armenian culture and realize that they live in a new society, where to be different also means to be apart. This process continues until assimilation is completed and the Diaspora loses its characteristics that differentiate it from the society in which it lives. This is actually an undesirable horrific development for the Armenian people who live outside their motherland, who constitute most of the Armenian population in the world. The assimilation of overseas Armenians means the dying out of the Armenian nation.

It is obvious that Armenians living in Armenia, who are only 2.5 to 3 million, cannot be the future of the Armenian nation. First of all Armenia is a poor country. Its population is constantly emigrating and consequently its population is falling.⁴ Another

³ For Armenians in London and similar examples see: Sedat Laçiner, 'Armenian Diaspora in Britain And The Armenian Question', *Armenian Studies*, Vol.: 1, No.: 3, September-October-November 2001, pp. 233-257, 'The UK Armenian Community', *Exile*, February 2001, Karnik Taverdi, 'A History of Armenians in Britain', *Armenian Voice*, 2001.

⁴ As a result of the Karabakh war, economic catastrophe and corruption many Armenians have immigrated from Armenia to European, North American and CIS countries since 1991. Despite the current official figu-

handicap for Armenia is that it is surrounded by the Turkish and Muslim neighbours except Georgia.⁵ In this context, it is apparent how alarming this assimilation process-taking place outside Armenia is.

In addition to the problems stated above, it seem that the bonds that hold the Armenian nation are not that strong. As known, the most important components that hold a nation together are common successes and pains experienced in a nation's past. If the Armenian history is examined, it can be seen no great empires or states, political or legal successes. Apart from a short period (Cilicia Armenian State)⁶ Armenians have always been ruled by other nations. Their successes in many fields like medicine and music cannot be overstated, but these successes were recorded in history not as Armenian successes but successes of the dominant nations. Armenian society could not recognize these accomplishments as a part of their national consciousness. For example, there were many Armenian musicians in the Ottoman Empire, but the music they created has been branded as Turkish music, not as Armenian music. The situation in Russia and Iran is not so different. Moreover their financial and commercial successes were on a personal and local level.

In this environment, the only thing that can hold them together is a common pain. From this perspective, there does not seem to be any valid subject matter apart from the events of 1915. For nearly a thousand years, Armenians had lived quite comfortably under the Seljuki and Ottoman governance. Armenians, who lived mainly in the commercial centers or interior regions, can be said

re which shows the population of Armenia as 3.2 million the reality is quite different. The Western embassies in Armenia argue that Armenia's real population is less than 2 million. Even one of these embassies claimed that the number of permanent residents in Armenia is about 750.000. Hugh Pope from the Wall Street Journal describes the situation as "a country without people". That is to say the independence of Armenia could not change the trend and the Armenians have continue to be a diaspora nation until now. For the details of the population figures of Armenia see: Sedat Laçiner, 'Ermenistan Dış Politikası ve Belirleyici Temel Faktörler, 1991-2002', (Armenian Foreign Policy and the Determinants Factors, 1991-2002), *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, Vol. 2, No. 5, Spring 2002, pp. 168-221, p. 175; 'Sayılar Kafa Karıştırdı' (The Figures Confused the People), *Agos*, Armenian weekly, 22 February 2002; Hugh Pope, 'Armenia After a Decade of Statehood, Suffers Rapid Loss of Human Capital', *The Wall Street Journal*, 6 July 2001.

⁵ Armenia has no good relations with Georgia as well, while Georgia has developed close relations with Turkey and Azerbaijan. The main reason behind this is Armenia's support for the Russian Caucasasia policies and the radical Armenians' irredentist declaration which claim some parts of Georgia as an Armenian territory. For a detailed analysis see: Sedat Laçiner, 'Ermenistan Dış Politikası ve Belirleyici Temel Faktörler, 1991 – 2002' (Armenia's Foreign Policy and It's Main Determinants, 1991 – 2002), *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, Vol. 2, No. 5, Spring 2002, pp. 168-221.

⁶ Though it is named as 'state' in the modern times, this 'state' was actually a regional administration in very restricted area.

to have experienced not a single serious military invasion in the Ottoman period. Armenians, who lived in the eastern border regions, did not suffer like the Balkan Turks or Jews by the Russian invasions, because they were both Orthodox Christians. Especially in the 19th century and in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire, they cooperated with the foreign powers and attracted significant support of the Western and Russian powers. It is not a coincidence that during this period, Armenians and Greeks were dominant in the trade with the U.S., Britain and France.⁷ In an environment like this, it is difficult to find a common national moment, apart from the uprisings instigated by the radical Armenian groups. We are not going to give details about these uprisings here apart from saying that these uprisings instigated by some nationalist and Marxist groups over a period of 50 years caused a lot of Muslim and Armenian deaths. The year that these events reached their climax was 1915, when the empire was fighting on many fronts in the First World War. Compounded with forcible migration, these events caused a lot of deaths on both sides. Many Muslims lost their life as a result of the armed Armenian attacks with assistance of the invading Russians. Similarly many Armenians lost their life as a result of the communal clashes, the cold, illness and economic shortcomings. The soundness of the decision to forcibly migrate tens of thousands of people under very hard conditions can be questioned. But it is obvious that to call it 'genocide' is not accurate. The numbers of death being very high on both sides can be explained by the circumstances of the time. If we consider that in Sarkamış, near the Russian border, 100,000 Turkish soldiers died of cold and illness, around that time, it is obvious how civilians, without similar equipments and under very cold conditions, would cope.⁸ Whatever the extent of the events,

⁷ For the details see: Sedat Laçiner, 'Armenia's Jewish Scepticism and Its Impact on Armenia – Israel Relations', *Armenian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4, December 2001-January-February 2002, pp. 297-300; Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, (New York: New York University Press, 1991).

⁸ For more information on the resettlement of the Armenians see: Azmi Süslü, *Ermeniler ve 1915 Tehcir Olayı* (Armenians and the 1915 Resettlement), (Van: Yüzüncü Yıl University, 1990); Kamuran Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası* (The Armenian File), (Ankara, 1983); Mim Kemal Öke, *Uluslararası Boyutlarıyla Anadolu – Kafkasya Ekseninde Ermeni Sorunu, 1914 - 1923* (The Armenian Question In The Anatolia – Caucasus With The International Context, 1914 – 1923) (Istanbul: İz, 1996); Hüsamettin Yıldırım, *Ermeni İddiaları Ve Gerçekler* (Armenian Accusations And The Truth), (Ankara: Sistem Ofset, 2000); Türkçüoğlu Ataöv (ed.), *The Armenians In The Late Ottoman Period*, (Ankara: TTK and the Turkish Grand National Parliament publication, 2001); Ergünöz Akçora, *Armenian Uprisings In And Around Van (1886-1916)*, (Istanbul: TDAV, 1994); Halil Metin, *Türkiye'nin Siyasi Tarihinde Ermeniler ve Ermeni Olayları* (Armenians And Armenian Events In Turkey's Political History, (Ankara: MEB, National Education Ministry publication, 2001, 3rd Edition).

Armenians considered the disaster only from their own point of view. Those who were attacked by armed bandits; those who suffered hunger and illness and those who lost their loved ones on the road to relocation always accused Turks for their misery. If the current population of Armenians is considered, it seems that most of those who forcibly migrated reached their destination and then went on to migrate to third countries.⁹ The real problem arises here. In other words, if there had been a genocide that wiped out 75 percent of the Armenian population, there would not have been the strong Armenian population in the Western countries. Most of them reached their destinations in Syria or Lebanon and then moved to third countries. Another interesting point is that, among the first generation Armenian migrants, anti-Ottoman and anti-Turkish attitudes were much less than today. If we separate radical nationalist and Marxist Armenians, ordinary Armenian was upset with the Ottoman state and the Turks and missed his or her country of origin. Especially those that were forced to migrate from big cities miss their neighbours and their old life styles. Among these people, it is difficult to see a strong hate towards the Turkish people. In other words, forcible migration was less important to those who lived through it than to the second or third generation Armenian migrants who did not live through it. It is hardly possible to understand how an event that happened a century ago, could still be an issue that generates hatred and hostility between two peoples. If this was the norm, no country in Europe should have good relations with any other European country, and Turks should have reasons to hate all their neighbours.

It can be said that the period that the hate of Armenians reached today's level was in the 1950s and 1960s. These years

⁹ According to the Armenian claims the Ottomans killed 1.5 million Armenians during that period and also according to the Armenian argument this number constituted about 75 percent of the Armenian population. If we make a calculation, we find out that only 500 thousand Armenians were left after 1915. If we consider that the current Armenian population, again according to Armenian statistics, is 9 million, we start wondering how, in less than a century, the number of Armenians grew by 18 times its original population. If the Turkish population grew by the same rate, its current population would have been over 200 million. If we do the same calculations for China's population, their population should reach 20 billion in the next century. It is known that the Turkish population growth rate is much greater than the Armenian rate. Consequently it can be seen that Armenian allegations have no basis. Armenia has had a negative population growth rate for a long time. Armenians living in the USA and France, due to low growth rates and high rate of assimilation, cannot bring about a high grow rate. As a result, a nation cannot grow by 18 times within a century.

Another clue is the surnames of today's Armenians. Most have surnames that originated from Turkish. This proves that, contrary to the Armenian allegations, most of the Armenians survived from the 1915 events. It should be also noted that about a million of Turks were massacred as a result of the armed Armenians' attacks in these events.

If the 1915 is taken away, Armenian Churches would not be able to collect donations, and many parties and organizations would not be able to justify their existence. Additionally, for many Armenians, the distinction of being Armenian would steadily erode

were also the period when the Armenian Diaspora attained its final shape. Rising nationalist movements and economic difficulties in the Middle East forced Armenians in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus and many other Middle Eastern countries to move to the Western states. This can be named as Second Relocation movement, because as will be seen it's impact on the Armenian people was more important than the 1915 relocation. While these migrations created new organizations, the need for a new Armenian identity became acute. Both the Armenian Church and the ideologically radical Armenian groups reached the conclusion that the only way to overcome this impasse was religious and ideological radicalism. As explained above, they found that the best tool in their hands was the events of 1915. As a result, in order to justify their existence and the Armenian nation's separate identity in a foreign society they strengthened the propaganda network, that was weak in the previous generations and created a legend around the events of 1915. With the use of publications and meetings in Armenian, they succeeded in generating hatred towards Turks in the second and third generation Armenians. This 'education' process (if not a brain washing), which started at very young ages, was transformed into a lifelong 'education' and as a result of this process the Armenian young generations have accepted the myth as an unquestionable fact. This network of hate consists of hundreds of Armenian Churches and thousands of organizations in America, Asia, Europe and Australia, and has become a permanent part of the Armenian identity since the 1960s. **If the 1915 is taken away, Armenian Churches would not be able to collect donations, and many parties and organizations would not be able to justify their existence. Additionally, for many Armenians, the distinction of being Armenian would steadily erode.**

In conclusion, the problems the first generation Armenians experienced with their Turkish and Kurdish neighbours have been

transformed into an uncontrollable hate in the second and third generation Armenians, who have never met a Turk or visited Turkey. This hate naturally fed many fields of art and an exceptional propaganda mechanism arose as a network of hate.

B. ART AS A TOOL FOR ARMENIAN POLITICAL GOALS

After considering the pattern above, it is natural to expect anti-Turkish propaganda, wherever an Armenian is present. In fact, ever since the beginning Armenians have described their 'pains' to the Western public in a one-sided and sometimes untrue manner. These descriptions through media, literature and almost all fields of art, were accepted by the "prejudicial" Western Media without any doubt or questions. Armenians, even as early as the 1920s and 1930s, taking heart from the Greeks similar activities, portrayed the Turks to the British, Americans and the French as a race who enjoy killing those people who they govern. The books and memoirs of Armenians published at that time, in the U.S. are especially interesting. Tens of Armenians, who safely made their way to abroad, wrote their memoirs that considerably exaggerated the events. These books were translated into other languages and were promoted by various Armenian organizations. These books eventually became a part of university and public libraries. Additionally, Armenians, who shifted from trade to education¹⁰ and media, rose in these sectors and become important tools for the Armenian accusations. One of the most important tools in this process is definitely art.

Theatre, movies, music and literature have always been popular among Armenians. Rouben Mamoulyan, Sergei Parajanov and Saroyan are just a few to name. This interest became even more pronounced for Armenians of diaspora, because it could be used to make the public opinion. In other words, Armenians became more artistic and this made it easier for the society to accept them. Without doubt, the principal sufferer of this development is the Turkish - Armenian relations because the most popular topics of Armenian art were the events of 1915 and 'Turkish barbarity'.

¹⁰ Since many Armenians were employed at the education sector, a special importance was given to the higher education of younger Armenians. The Church and the political parties, with the scholarships they granted, succeeded in Armenian and Western researchers to study the Armenian question from the Armenian point of view. As a result, a large collection of pro-Armenian publications was produced. Armenians, compared to Turks, were very successful in the education field. It can be said that, they hold a monopoly in the USA and Canada. They also rose in educational fields other than political science.

The biggest incentive to chose these topics were personal emotions, belief in 'genocide' and public pressure. Artists who produced works of art that dealt with 'genocide' were eulogized, and were given financial and emotional encouragement. Armenian organizations, the Church and the political parties were the biggest contributors. As a result political objectives became an integral part of Armenian art. Armenian artists, referred to the Armenian question in every platform and event. Armenian photographers reserved part of their exhibitions in London or New York to the 'genocide', Armenian classical musicians dedicated their songs to those who died in the 'genocide' and asked for support from their admirers. Some exhibitions, concerts and plays were solely dedicated to the so-called genocide and the influence on the spectators was considerable. In the movie and television business the outlook is even more depressing for the Turks.

The movie and television sector, in particular, became a powerful and conscious propaganda mechanism. After the partial ending of the Armenian terror campaign (post 1984 and the following period) Armenian lobby was reorganized and begun to use more 'peaceful' methods of persuasion. In this context, wealthy Armenian organizations in the USA and Europe started to set up budgets for propaganda and lobbying. On the one hand, full time political lobbyists were hired and on the other hand organizations, which would support and direct Armenian artists were founded. It is thought that this propaganda arm alone has a budget close to 100 million dollars. Moreover this budget does not include gifts or donations. For example, when Atom Egoyan decided to shoot the movie 'Ararat' in Canada, Canada based Armenians donated tens of thousand Canadian dollars worth of objects related to the period of the movie. As a result, it became possible to do more with a smaller budget. Works of art, which supported the Armenian cause, not only received financial backing but were also honored by Armenian organizations as the 'movie of the year', 'photograph of the year' or 'song of the year' and the artists were proclaimed as 'heroes'. The professional evolution of Canada based Armenian theatre director Hrant Alianak is an obvious example. Alianak, who is originally from Sudan, came to Canada in 1967. After his play, which dealt with the 'Armenian genocide', presented in 1997 he said that he realized that most of the guests were Armenian and that he received significant support for producing more play dealing with the same topic.

"I decided for my company, Alyanak Theatre Productions, to exhibit a play about Armenians at least once every two years. I could also request funds from the Armenian population. Armenians were very supportive."¹¹

We can say that artistic activities of Armenians became professional in and around the 1960s. Before this, they had some personal successes, but to become influential as a group took time. There are two main reasons behind this development. The first is that Armenian Diaspora in the West became an effective force. While Armenians have been a migrant people for hundreds of years, their population being small impeded them from becoming an important minority in the West. During this time, majority of Armenians were living in eastern countries. Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Cyprus and Iran had significant numbers of Armenians. Third World nationalism that was awakened after the Second World War affected the stability of the region and caused reprisals against minorities. Armenian migration started in Cyprus and Lebanon around the 1960s due to rising tensions, and intensified in the 1970s, and as a result, a considerable number of Armenians established themselves in the Western capitals. With these migrations, Armenians who left Middle East, Africa and Asia for a better life in Europe and North America started to feel more Armenian in the Armenian quarters of the cities. Especially in the Anglo-Saxon countries (U.K., U.S., Canada, Australia and etc.) they received support from central and local governments for preserving and developing their identity. Consequently, Armenians gave more emphasis to artistic endeavors. The other reason for the developments in the 1960s is that Armenian groups started to bring up the Armenian question as a political problem more frequently. Increase of communications within Armenians, expanding financial well-being and the ideological environment of the time caused these groups to view art as an important tool for their goals.

If we look at the beginning, we see that art at first for the Armenians in Diaspora was in Armenian and for the Armenian population. As they adapted to their parent society and mastered the language, the number of Armenian artists increased. As success was attained, it became easier to install the topic of

¹¹ Hrag Vartanian, 'The Armenian Stars of the Canadian Cultural Universe, Hrant Alianak', in *Feature Articles on Canada*, www.agbu.org

'genocide' onto the movie screens, stage or exhibitions. So, this process, which at first grew on its own, became a conscious well-maintained system after the encouragement of the Armenian political groups in the diaspora.

When the link between Armenian artistic and political activities during the Soviet period is examined such a picture surfaces: Armenian allegations frequently appeared in the media during and after the Soviet period. There are also a few movie projects considered. These projects, due to being in either Russian or Armenian, were overlooked by the Turkish media. But, due to Russian language being spoken in a large part of the Eurasian mass, nations living in this region have been developing considerable anti-Turkish attitudes. These regions also include the Central Asian Turkic Republics. The most important handicap for these projects is that they are not in English and cannot reach the Western media. Additionally, having small budgets causes the projects to have low quality and limited exposure. On the other hand, cooperation between Armenian companies established in America and Europe and Armenia based companies, shows that in the future many anti-Turkish movies might appear in Russia and Armenia. Furthermore, it is observed that many Armenian and Russian movies have been dubbed or subtitled in the diaspora. Right now, many Armenians who have been moderately acclaimed in the U.S., France or Canada dream of the day when they can produce an art object that deals with the Armenian 'genocide' and collaborate with Armenia. After Armenia declared its independence, these activities intensified. Armenians became more confident and relaxed after the appearance of a country that would bestow unreserved support.

Indirect Propaganda

In addition to the direct propaganda tools we investigated above, there exist Armenian artists and art objects that do not deal with the Armenian allegations, which are perceived as a part of the propaganda mechanism. These artists, while making movies or other art about universal topics or about their parent nations' problems, bring up the Armenian problem even at the most awkward moments and use their status for political objectives. While admittedly direct propaganda is more obvious, we can say that indirect propaganda is more effective. Because the society trusts an actor who is not known to be as a political activist. For

instance, when the U.S. Congress or another parliament starts debating on the Armenian problem, such names sending letters or giving out short statements might be very influential. Politicians and their need for vote might cause them to appease the artists' fan base. Additionally, it is interesting to note that some well-known Armenian artists, while not being perceived as political, support the Armenian artists in their environment. Arthur Sarkissian can be given as an example for Armenian artists who deal in universal topics. Sarkissian, who co-produced the popular movie *Rush Hour*, had not seemed to be interested in the Armenian problem until he announced that he would like to be involved in the making of projects like *Forty Days Of Musa Dagh*.¹²

C. IMPORTANT PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS IN ARMENIAN PROPAGANDA MECHANISM

After summarizing how Armenian propaganda network uses visual arts for their own purposes, we can concentrate on its most popular tools namely movies, theatre and television programs.

The Armenian Film Foundation

This might be the most important organization, which uses art as a tool for Armenian political goals. Armenian Film Foundation was established in 1979 and provides support for recording and distribution of movies without handing any financial assistance. Its founder is J. Michael Hagopian. If the movies are examined an obvious anti-Turkish bias can be seen. His apparent fanaticism can be noticed in most of his work.

Being a non-profit organization makes the foundation eligible for considerable tax benefits. Additionally, because its vocation covers art, education and culture, it gets substantial state and national grants. It also can be said that it performs an intermediary role for the Armenian society's donations to be spent on 'artistic' endeavors. While the foundation receives financial support from all of the Armenian society, the largest contribution comes from the south of the State of California.

The principle beneficiaries of the funds collected are film students. While majority of those who receive these grants are

¹² 'Armenians in Hollywood', *USANOUGH* (Armenian students association publication), 12 September 2001.

Armenian students, some students with similar ethnic background have also benefited. The foundation itself also produces movies. Movie projects supported by American organizations are given priority. The foundation furthermore sets up campaigns in order to promote Armenian films in the West. Its activities on the internet are very successful, and it is also trying to establish a distribution network for its own and for some other films. Moreover it gives special importance to the distribution of videocassettes.

Armenian directors with limited funds obtain technical and financial support from the Armenian Film Foundation. The foundation, moreover, has created an Armenian Movie Archive. The archive is open to all media organizations and researchers. The archive also supports many cinema and media organizations. Some countries, which have contacts with the foundation, are Britain, Japan, Australia, Brazil and Israel among others. As to be expected, all movies that are sent to these countries are pro-Armenian.

Officials of the foundation or experts invited by it attend conferences all over the U.S. At these conferences movies are shown to create a more pleasing visual atmosphere. Speeches highlighted with visual demonstrations are obviously more effective.

The foundation also organises a biannual Armenian Film festival.

Film International

A Los Angeles based video distribution firm that deals mostly with the sale of Armenian movies.

MGN / Paradise, Inc.

MGN / Paradise is an important firm in the Armenian show business. Besides Los Angeles, it has offices in Moscow and Yerevan. It deals with both movie distribution and promotion. Some important television channels collaborate with this firm.

Arc Film

It is a film company established by Roger Kupelian in 1994. Kupelian's, who worked in the digital production of the movie of

Lord of the Rings, most important work is a documentary called *Dark Forest of the Mountains*. The firm, which mostly concentrates on distribution, currently is working on the movie project '*Fugitive Prince*'. We can say that the firm mostly deals with marketing over the internet. The links it gives on its internet site are all sites, which represent the most radical segment of anti-Turkish Armenian accusation.

Bars Media

A documentary film studio based in Yerevan, Armenia. It mostly deals with Azerbaijan – Armenia ethnic conflict from an Armenian perspective. The studio, which has links with Television channels, produces its works in cooperation with both ex-Soviet block and the Armenian Diaspora. Additionally, it has successfully completed many projects in collaboration with international agencies like UN, UNDP, UNICEF and etc. Among its productions are *Winter Melody*, *To be and Never to Forget*, *Prison Art* and *Non-Stop*.

NAREK

It is a firm that markets Armenian books, video and music. Its activities are most done over the internet. It markets all the movies that are described below.

AIM (Armenian International Magazine)

It is published in English and is widely read by the Armenian Diaspora. While the magazine includes cultural and political articles, it describes and markets movies by at least three Armenian directors in each issue. In almost all the articles about the films authors touch the so-called genocide issue and use an aggressive style.

Local Governments

In the West, local governments are the largest contributors to Armenian visual arts. Because Armenians usually are concentrated in particular neighborhoods and regions, it is easier for them to be influential in that region. During election periods they use their power to act as a group to dictate their opinion. Normally, people close to governments are used. Additionally, in some regions of

France, the U.S., and Canada number of Armenians involved in politics is quite large. These people use the prestige of their positions in order to help Armenian artists. Especially the free use of municipality concert, exhibition or cinema halls by Armenian artists provide substantial opportunities for all that are involved. The assistance the local governments provide in the promotion of the artists cannot be overstated. Municipalities, which have the opportunity to publicize a person all around the city, sometimes set the ground for Armenian artists to become famous. Additionally, local government sponsored exhibitions and plays, lend a lot of credibility to Armenian artists. While the number of supportive local governments is very high, the most supportive are Paris (France), Toronto, some cities in Quebec, (Canada), Boston, Los Angeles and some other cities in California (U.S.). Especially in Anglo-Saxon countries small groups of immigrants are encouraged to cultivate ethnic identities. For example in London, local government encourages all ethnic groups, including Armenians, to publish at least one newspaper or magazine and lends financial and residential support for them to continue their cultural activities. Local Armenian population, which is about 10 thousand, makes full use of this assistance. Armenians in London have established their association (CAIA) in a building supplied by the government and use the financial support given to offer lessons to children, social functions for the elderly and to create political or social contacts with the Armenians and the British public. Armenians publish books in both Armenian and English languages and as a result, use the funds they get from the British government to inculcate their version of events to the British public. The latest example is CAIA's statement giving total support to the movie Ararat and its director Atom Egoyan, and requesting its members to do the same. The same association decided to hold a London Armenian Film Festival on the last five days of June 2002. During the festival, Armenian films in both English and Armenian were shown but priority was given to films made by Armenians in diaspora.¹³ In these activities a large promotional campaign for the movie was arranged during the festival similar to the other festivals.

¹³ 'In Sight Of Ararat: London Armenian Film Festival 2002', *Armenian Voice*, Winter 2002, No. 45.

Armenian Student Associations

Armenian student associations have become very important in the last few years in bringing Armenian propaganda films to the viewer. Armenian associations present in most Western universities have been organizing single film screenings and film festivals with the financial support of they get. The most recent example was at the California State University in 2001. At the Armenian Film Festival, organized by the Armenian Student Association and with the financial help of the university, a number of short-films were shown. Mostly young directors were chosen to show their work, while the topics were carefully chosen among mostly universal subjects. But some still included the typical Armenian accusations of 'genocide and massacre'. While some readers might find this as a positive development, in reality diversity of subjects would make the festival more interesting, as opposed to a number of boring political movies, and make the Armenian problem appear more credible and real.¹⁴

Armenian Media in Diaspora

Armenian media in diaspora plays a very important role in using the Armenian movies in order to reach their political objectives. Especially Armenian newspapers and magazines that are published in English, French and Russian languages provide page spaces for the promotion of movies made by Armenian directors, and they work like missionaries in marketing the movies to the Western media. The first stage of the strategy concocted by the Armenian media is to mention the so-called Armenian genocide, no matter how political the movie they are promoting is. We see that the word 'genocide' is included in the review, even when the movie or other artistic events are about love or financial problems. Another stage is to make non-Armenian persons say what need to be said. Armenian media acknowledges the positive feedback made about Armenian movies; it either ignores negative criticisms or uses them to fill in gaps in pages just to make their stories more credible. A third stage is to examine the home country of the Armenian director introduced in the magazine. That's why the headlines usually are like 'A nice film from Germany', 'A French movie narrates the Armenian genocide' even though all of these

¹⁴ Primarily new generation Armenian Directors' movies were screened during the festival. Some of the directors are, Vem Yenovkian, Ara Ebra, Armen Titizian, Andrew Simonian and Jason Kartalian.

movies are done by Armenians and most of the actors are Armenians. Lastly, they immediately translate articles published in Armenian and Russian into English and French. Some news articles are even translated into Turkish.

With the help of communication and information technologies, internet and other IT media's use as a propaganda tool has become more widespread. The fact that the number of web sites about the movie *Ararat* and director Egoyan has exceeded 100 gives an idea about the Armenian propaganda.

Armenian Associations and Political Parties

We briefly mentioned above that some extremist Armenian groups and associations justify their existence solely by the continuation of the Armenian problem. These groups promote Armenian movies and do everything in their power to make these films a success in the West. Furthermore, some moderate groups, in a nationalist passion, also help in the distribution and promotion of Armenian movies. In almost all the Armenian social activities in diaspora these films are shown. Additionally, during fund raising the cassettes of these movies are sold at prices much higher than their market value. It's known that campaigns held for generating funds for furthering the cause of 'genocide' accusations are also done by such groups.

Hellenic Associations

One of the groups that give the most support to Armenian propaganda in the West is the Greeks. Especially, the Hellenic nationalists and the radical Cypriot Greeks consider Armenians having a common cause and support every activity that belittles or criticize Turkey or the Turkish people. In this context, local governments controlled by the Greeks give considerable support to productions of Armenian artists.

Festivals

The festivals held by the Armenian associations that promote Armenian movies in the West were mentioned earlier. Another tool, as influential as this, is international festivals. While, festivals held at cities with an Armenian population are usually attended, Armenian artists also attend some festivals that are concerned

about cultural variety, minority rights and political divisions. We can list the festivals that regularly have Armenian movies as: Toronto Film Festival (Canada), Cannes Film Festival (France), New York Film Festival, The Philadelphia Festival of World Cinema (the U.S.), International Rotterdam Film Festival (the Netherlands), Gothenburg Film Festival (Denmark), Canada Film and Video Festival, Cine-World Film Festival and etc.

The Armenian Church

The Armenian Church is very influential in the use of Armenian movie industry for political purposes. Especially in the USA, the Church is prominent in the promotion of political movies. In addition to promotion, it also finds theatres for the movies to be screened. The screening of the movie *Voices from the Lake* in the Armenian Church in Richmond (Virginia, the U.S.) is such an example. Another reason for screening a movie in a church is to legitimize the accusations made in a movie in a house of worship.

The Armenian Church can also use its connections all around the world with other religious organizations in order to request the screening of a movie. It is unfortunate that the role of the Church presents the Armenian-Turkish problem as a religious or civilization problem.

Important Personalities, Theatre and Movie Halls

We encounter certain names when we investigate who is involved with the production of movies spreading Armenian accusations. Among these, some actors, directors and theatre personalities will be introduced, when individual movies are examined. Additionally, there are people who are involved in the technical production and financing of these movies. In the USA, Canada and Europe established Armenian businessmen support the Armenian Cinema. If the movie is about the Armenian political claims, then more funding can be collected from these businessmen. This is also another incentive for Armenian actors and directors to make anti-Turkish movies.

Additionally, movie and theatre halls owned by Armenians make the screening of Armenian movies in the West so much easier. Georgia Krikorian is a good example of an Armenian from the diaspora who invests in movie business. His family is originally

from Bursa (Turkey). He is based in California and owns many movie halls. Each of these movie halls, which mean an investment of millions of dollars, can be and is utilized to the benefit of the Armenian political cinema.¹⁵

Other Firms and Organizations

Some of the other organisations can be listed as follow: Don Film (Armenia), Askarian Film (Germany) and Molorak Films Inc.

D. EXAMPLES OF 'ANTI-TURKISH' ARMENIAN FILMS

Voices from the Lake: A Film About the Secret Genocide

This movie was completed in 2000, and is one of the most well known Armenian movies of the recent years. It is 86 minutes, in English and was produced by J. Michael Hagopian. The Armenian Film Foundation produced the movie. The story of the movie is like a summary of the Armenian allegations. It continuously states that the events of 1915 were "the first genocide of the 20th century" and claims that "it is still a secret". It is asserted in the introductory leaflets of the movie that, the *Voices from the Lake* is "the first documentary movie about the Armenian Genocide". While this assertion can be justified as an marketing strategy, this documentary movie is latest and one of the most 'successful' documentary that deals with the Armenian allegations. The movie claims that the film is based on documents and observations of Western witnesses, though it avoids any questioning of its accusations by the viewer. It stresses the use of the memoirs of the people who lived through these events. Film's booklet states that the film uncovers many secret documents and reports that were unknown until now. Considering that some of the radical nationalist-Armenians have falsified many documents in the past, we can't be sure how authentic these "new" revelations might be.

It can be said that the movie is one of the most popular among the Armenian videos. The movie is sold either with or without an introductory booklet. The booklet restates the Armenian allegations in the movie in a more acceptable way.

¹⁵ Janet, Samuel, 'George Krikorian, Reviving Hollywood Glamour at the Movies', AIM, *Armenian International Magazine*, January-February 2002, p.65.

Forty Days of Musa Dagh

This 120-minute movie is one of the most important films that present Armenian allegations. The language is English and Independent Production produced it. The movie tells the story how Turks committed 'genocide' and massacres against Armenians. The movie portrays that Turkish soldiers like to torture them. The movie is based on a book by Austrian author Franz Wertel.

The Turkish and the U.S. governments were blamed for trying to stop the recording and distribution of the movie. However no evidence has been produced about that. Some Armenian researchers claim "the book was to be made into a movie in the 1940s but Turkish lobbying stopped it from becoming reality".¹⁶

The videocassettes of the movie are still on the shelves. Additionally, Armenian organizations show this movie to a large number of viewers on every 24 April.¹⁷

Assignment Berlin

The director and producer of Assignment Berlin is Hrayr (Peter) Toukhanian, who is based in Detroit (U.S.). The movie portrays the assassination of Talat Pasha in Berlin, solely from an Armenian perspective. The assassin is shown as a 'hero' of the Armenian people, not a terrorist who committed one of the earliest terrorist acts of the 20th century, while the terror victims, Talat Pasha and his friends are described as 'the real terrorists'. In the introductions, it is stated that the objective of the film is to immortalize the assassin. After watching such a film, it is only natural for the Armenian youth to think that terrorism is a tool to reach their cause.

Assignment Berlin is said to be the first full sized movie that was made about this subject. All posters of the movie state that Talat Pasha was the main architect behind the so-called massacres. The most used phrase on the posters is "an actual history event". Additionally, the popular claim of massacre of 1.5 million Armenians is repeated both in the movie and in the introductions. The director first thought of recording the movie in

¹⁶ For studies related to Armenian claim look: Ed Minassian, 'The Forty Years of Musa Dagh - The Film That Was Denied', *Journal of Armenian Studies*, Vol. 2 (2), Autumn-Winter 1985-86.

¹⁷ As happened on the Virginia University campus on April 24, 2000, the movie is shown in large halls where respected personalities and large groups can be accommodated.

Berlin, but after visiting the place saw that most historic buildings were destroyed during the Second World War, and decided on to record the movie in Detroit.¹⁸ The majority of the movie was recorded in Masonic Temple in Detroit.¹⁹ The première of the movie was also made before 1500 'enthusiastic' viewers in the Masonic Temple on 19 February 1982. As can be guessed, most viewers were Armenians and they transformed the occasion in to a spectacle. The West Side première of the movie was on 14 and 21 October 1982 before 2000 viewers. These screenings widely promoted by Armenians and tickets for the event were sold out.²⁰

The shooting of Toukhanian's film took the course of a typical political Armenian movie. Firstly, Armenian population in the U.S. gave considerable help and some Armenians accepted to work at lower wages. However, the real assistance came from the U.S. based organizations. Because the film was shot in Detroit, Toukhanian received funding from the firm New Detroit, the Mayor, local media and other companies for his help to the local economy. Additionally, Detroit City Art Council also contributed to the funding of the movie. Some of this assistance might have political connotations, but Toukhanian used funds that are accessible to any American citizen in order to further his ethnic cause. In conclusion, the director gathered more than 1 million dollars of funding for his movie. While it is modest compared to today's figures in film industry, when considered difference of inflation and the value of donations for the film, we can say that the assistance he received is more than 1 million dollars at today's value.

Another feature that this 94-minute movie shares with Ararat is that the movie came to fruition as a result of the labours of both the director and his wife. Hrayr Toukhanian, who portrayed the movie as an outcome of their love and marriage, said that his wife Sona Toukhanian wrote the script of the film.²¹ The movie Ararat is also a product of combined labours of Atom Egoyan and his wife Arsinée Khanjian. In short, both movies are a product of professional assistance, amateur instincts and idealism. In other

¹⁸ The Director gave this explanation. But in reality, to record the movie in Detroit would allow him the use of considerable funds from the local government.

¹⁹ We have no proof that the director has any links with the Masonic Order. Old Detroit Bar is another location where the movie was recorded.

²⁰ George Robertson, 'A 17-Year Overnight Success', *Michigan Vue Magazine*, March-April 2000.

²¹ Sona Toukhanina died in 1997.

words, most people on the front line of the propaganda mechanism are those who are amateur in heart and think that they are doing something worthwhile. Another point to consider is that the wives are more idealist and nationalist than their husbands. Both directors stated that when they were worn out their wives were a driving force pushing them on.

While some moderately well known actors played the lead parts in the movie, Toukhanian let some local and Armenian actors play the lesser parts.²² Similar to Egoyan's political choices in casting Canadian actors, Toukhanian tried to guarantee the success of the movie by casting moderately well known actors and actresses from Detroit. This achieves both objectives of making the movie a part of the U.S. and Detroit cultural landscape and assist in the careers of Armenian actors.

The movie received enthusiastic appraisal from the Armenian audience and almost every Armenian in the West watched it. At the regions, where Armenians are an important minority, local population also was interested in the movie. The firm, which distributed the movie, International Releasing Corporation, states that the movie was screened in France, Italy, Spain, Greece, the U.S.S.R., Australia, Thailand, Taiwan and all South American countries. Additionally, the copies of the movie were distributed in videocassettes and other recording tools. The distribution firm stated that in spite of all the efforts of Armenian groups, they did not make profit from the movie. However, this statement does not seem to convey the truth, because the movie is still being sold all around the world in DVD and videocassette formats and over the internet. Additionally, Armenian organizations through mass screenings during festivals have been showing the movie to new members and the young generation. Obviously the other ethnic groups in the neighbourhoods where the organizations are located also view these movies. The latest such example is the mass screening held by ARFYOC in the Armenian Community Center. On the 25th January 2002 Assignment Berlin was shown free of charge to a large audience and the all costs were covered by ARFYOC Armenian organization. This incident shows that the movie still has not lost its effectiveness.

²² Important names who played in the movie are: Eddie Mekka, Val Avery, Roger Jackson, Michael Carroll, James Reynolds, Michael Kermoyan, Herand Markarian, Gayne Hovsepian, Gerald Papp and Joe Penberthy.

Mother (Mayrig)

Henri Verneuil produced this movie and Omar Sharif (Hagop) and Claudia Cardinale (Araxi-Anne) played. Some other actors who played in this movie are Gerard Torikian (Zaven), Nocolos Silberg (Defence Lawyer), Stephane Servais (Azad). This movie, which was recorded in 1991, is seen as one of the most important movies that puts forward Armenian 'genocide' claims. The main story of the movie is the difficulties faced by an Armenian family, which migrated to France in 1921. Turks are shown as the bad guys in this movie. The movie was praised for highlighting the role of Armenian women in the family.

While the movie disappointed its producers at the box office in terms of financial considerations, *Mayrig* has been a focus point for Armenian activities in the movie business. The movie is still shown in French with English subtitles in most countries. The mass screening of this movie is still continued by Armenian organizations. The latest screening took place in London at the Gulbekian Hall on the 5 of February 2002. The distribution of the movie is done by M Pathe (Switzerland) and AMLF (France).

The real name of French citizen Henri Verneuil is Ashot Malakian and was born in 1920 in the Ottoman State. He is seen as one of the most important figures of French cinema. In 1996, he received an honorary Cesar Awards, which is considered France's Oscar, for his contribution to cinema. His most successful movie is considered as *La Vashe et le Prisonnier* (1959). He worked with the most famous personalities of the French Cinema, like Jean-Paul Belmondo and Alan Delon. In spite of his considerable success, his most cherished dream was to make a movie about the 'Armenian genocide' and he accomplished this with *Mayrig*. The director died on 11 of January 2002.²³

The Yearning, Karot

This movie was produced in Armenia in 1990 and is 137 minutes-long. It is promoted and distributed by the Armenian

²³ Some other important movies by the director are: *Escale au Soleil* (1947), *La Table aux Crevés* (1952); *Le Fruit Défendu* (1952); *Carnaval* (1953); *L'Ennemi Public No 1* (1953); *Le Mouton a Cinq Pattes* (1954), *Les Amants du Tage* (1955); *Des Gens Sans Importance* (1955); *Maxime* (1958); *Le Grand Chef* (1959); *La Vache et le Prisonnier* (1959); *Le Président* (1961); *La Clan des Siciliens* (1969); *Le Casse* (1972); *Le Serpent* (1973); *I. Comme Icare* (1979); *Mille Milliards de Dollars* (1981); *Les Mortaloous* (1984); *Mayrig* (1991); *588 Rue Paradis* (1992).

organizations in the Armenian diaspora in the West. Levon Sdharafyan, Rafayel Atoyan and Galia Novents played in the film and Frunze Dovlatyan directed it. The story of the film is quite dramatic:

“An Armenian named Arakel Aloyan’s village is burnt down and the Turks rape all women of the village. As a result Aloyan moves to the U.S.S.R. but he still misses his village. Later, Aloyan cannot overcome his emotions and goes back to Turkey in a wholly caring outlook. His aim is to visit the graves of his family and to kiss the walls of the burnt church, which he was married at. However, the government of the USSR perceives this as a spying attempt” and the story follows on from there.

The beginning of the movie shows in detail the ‘Turkish brutality’ Aloyan witnessed. Additionally, Armenian nation is revealed as a nation divided between East and West, where Turkey is repeatedly portrayed as “Western Armenia”.

The movie is in Armenian but has subtitles and is widely promoted in the U.S.A.

The Armenian Genocide, Annihilation of the Armenian Population of the Ottoman Empire 1915-1923

It is a documentary produced by the Atlantis Productions in 1991 and is 25 minutes. It is sold in the videocassette and VCD forms and is aimed to ‘educate’ school children. A tutorial booklet is given with the videocassette. A teacher’s edition was produced for instructors. Armenian organizations in the U.S.A. give this video as a reference for ‘history of genocide’. We can say that besides Armenians, mostly Americans sensitive about genocide and Jews are interested in the documentary. We can easily guess those American and Jewish teachers who want to instruct their pupils about the subject of genocide might show this documentary in order to better explain the Jewish Holocaust without really knowing the subject of the Armenian case. As a result, this documentary not only forms an anti-Turkish bias but also tries to draw apart the young Jews and Turks in the U.S. The Atlantis Productions claim that the documentary was produced for The Curriculum Development and Supplement Materials Commission of the State of California.

An Armenian Journey

It was first screened in 1987 and was produced by WGBH Boston. In this 56-minute documentary, Theodore Bogosian visits places where the so-called 'massacres' took place with a survivor of the 'genocide'.

The Armenian Case

This documentary was written and produced by J. Michael Hagopian and was first screened in 1975. It is 45 minutes. The documentary consists of interviews with people claiming to have survived the events of 1915, in a totally Armenian perspective. The story begins with the start of the First World War, apart from showing many examples of the 'terrible Turk', it explains how Armenians migrated to all over the world and started a new life in diaspora. Another interesting point is that most evidence provided comes from Western and especially the U.S. resources. The American President Wilson's plan on minorities and Armenians form an important base for the arguments advanced in the film. The producer Hagopian is an important personality in the Armenian film industry. He is also the founder of the Armenian Film Foundation and the chairman of the Atlantis Productions, which produces many Armenian movies. Since 1954 Hagopian has aimed to spread his nationalist political opinions via art and one of his main objective is to integrate cinema and education. That might be the reason why he concentrates more on movies similar to 'The Armenian Case'. In other words, he produces movies that can be shown in the American schools. It is obvious that as the age of the viewer decreases, the movies' affects on him or her increases. Michael Hagopian, who has produced over 70 films, has also given lectures at various universities. It is also important to mention that the U.S. Office of Education and Ethnic Heritage Program, California Endowment for Humanities and California Ministry of Education, have funded most movies of Hagopian.

A Wall of Silence, The Unspoken Fate of the Armenians

It was made in 1997 and was directed by Dorothee Forma. It is in English and is a 54-minute documentary. The accusation that, "the first genocide of the 20th century was committed against Armenians" is repeated in this documentary. The documentary is based on the life stories of two people, Taner Akçam and Vahakn

Dadrian. The producer introduces Taner Akçam as a “Turkish historian”, which is false. As known, Taner Akçam is a graduate of the Middle Eastern Technical University, Economics and Management Sciences Faculty, Ankara who later completed a Sociology Doctorate in Germany. In his research, his main handicap is to ignore the historical facts and to concentrate on his personal observations and opinion.²⁴ Taner Akçam is included in the film as a balancing influence, but his representative power can be easily questioned.²⁵ However, the director does not really trouble himself with these arguments. His objective is to prove that the Armenian genocide really happened by using Akçam and Dadrian’s opinions. Akçam states here that Turkey has to face its past and has to reassess the ‘wrongs’ it did in its history. The name of the film implies that Armenian allegations do not receive the attention it deserves. The production of this documentary is made by the HBF.

The Forgotten Genocide

This is another J. Michael Hagopian film. The narrator is the famous actor Mike Connors. While it is a 28-minute documentary, its influence has been broader than much longer movies. The documentary was nominated for two Emmy Awards and this clearly shows how much interest it had generated. Its name alone was inspirational for many pro-Armenian people. It is claimed that in the movie, interviews with witnesses and archival documents prove that Armenian accusations are factual. Later, a 17-minute extension was made to the movie.

From Bitlis to Fresno: 100 Years of an Armenian Family in California, the Karabians of Fresno

It is a 56-minute documentary film. J. Michael Hagopian both wrote and directed the film. The most important objective of this type of movies is to both prove that Armenians are integrated to the American society and that Armenian homeland is Anatolia.

²⁴ For Taner Akçam’s studies see: Akçam, Taner, *Diyalogtan Başka Çözüm Var mı? (Is There a Solution Except Dialogue?)*, (Istanbul: Su Yayınları, 2001); Akçam, Taner, *Türk Ulusal Kimliği ve Ermeni Sorunu (Turkish National Identity and the Armenian Problem)*, (Istanbul: Su Yayınları, 2001).

²⁵ As a well-known fact that Taner Akçam represents one of the most marginal opinions in Turkey. As a radical leftist he shares the radical Armenian groups’ arguments.

Everyone's Not Here: Families of the Armenian Genocide

This documentary, produced by the Armenian Assembly of America, mostly targets educational institutions. A tutorial booklet is given with the videocassette of this 28-minute film. The well-known allegations are repeated in this film and the most sensitive part of American psyche, separation of families, is emphasised.

The Hidden Holocaust: The First Genocide of the 20th Century

It is a 45-minute documentary produced by A & E Home Video.

Cilicia... Rebirth

It is a 27-minute documentary, sold in videocassette form. It is produced and written by J. Michael Hagopian, who was funded by the Armenian Film Foundation. Historical consultant of the documentary is Prof. Avedis K. Sanjian from the UCLA. The documentary claims that Armenians had created a great civilization in South-Eastern Anatolia and some parts of Syria. According to the claims made in the movie, Armenians who survived the massacres of the First World War arose again in the city of Aleppo (Syria). It is a typical Hagopian movie, portraying the Armenian people as a nation that was never overwhelmed by the tragedies it suffered and found the strength to rise again. It will be seen later that Ararat has a similar premise. This belief is widely accepted among the Armenians, who relate their torment to the myth of Noah's Ark.

Historical Armenia

This film is a 53-minute documentary written and directed by J. Michael Hagopian. It is narrated by Guy Runnion. It is interesting to note that, while it is claimed that the homeland of Armenians is visited, the cities visited are Istanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep, Van and Bitlis, purely Turkish cities. A person who watches this film would think that the homeland of Armenians is these cities. The film, just like the others, tries to prove the similar arguments by using only the 'Armenian sources'. In the introduction of the film, we are informed that the film crew is following the path taken by the US mission sent to Turkey (The film says 'to Turkey and Armenia') in 1919. Consequently, an emotional bond between the film and the viewer is cultivated.

Komitas

It's a 96-minute movie produced in West Germany. It is one of the most internationally renowned Armenian movies. The director is a Soviet Armenian, Don Askarian, who is based in Germany. Some see Askarian as the most important Armenian director after Sergei Paradjanov.²⁶ He was born in 1949 in the region of Upper Nagorno-Karabakh and found success during the Soviet era. While working as an associate-director in Moscow, he was jailed for his seditious remarks. He then migrated to West Berlin (West Germany) in 1978 and has been living there ever since. Don Askarian is one of the most popular Armenian directors in the world.

In *Komitas*, with Samvel Ovasapian as the lead actor, 'the Turks massacring millions of Armenians' is accepted as a fact and the story goes on from there. According to the movie the main character, Komitas is a Kütahya-born Armenian monk, who lost his mind after witnessing the 1915 massacres the Turks perpetrated.²⁷

The biggest success of *Komitas* is receiving the Interfilm prize. The reason why the jury, which had close links with the religious establishment, gives us an idea how political this choice was.

*"We share in the pain of the monk and composer Komitas, who kept silent and the Armenian nation, who still grieves, after the mass killings of 1915."*²⁸

Some other actors who took part in the movie are Onig Saadatian and Margarita Woskanjan. The movie is in German but has English subtitles. The movie is still acknowledged with the phrase of "The Armenian genocide perpetrated by the Turks."²⁹

²⁶ 'Directors in Focus, Hieroglyphs of Armenia: Film By Don Askarian', *The Harvard Film Review*, 21 January-23 January ?.

²⁷ Interestingly, in almost all of the films the Armenian directors use 'Turks' and 'Turkey' words instead of 'Ottoman', 'Muslim' or 'Ottoman State' words. In fact the communal clashes in 1915 occurred between the Muslim population of the Empire and the armed Armenian groups and there was no state in that years as called 'Turkey'. Even some of the directors use the flag of Turkish Republic as if it was the same flag during the Ottoman years. Atom Egoyan for instance used the modern Turkish Republic's flag instead of the flag of the Ottoman State in his film *Ararat* about the 1915 Van revolt. Ironically, Egoyan claims that he does not accuse Turkey for the Ottoman years, yet his film does not confirm these words. It is obvious that such an attitude cannot be considered as accidental.

²⁸ 'Screening of the West German Film *Komitas*', *Nor Gyank*, Los Angeles, 2 March 1989.

²⁹ For other reviews of '*Komitas*' see: '*Komitas*', *Asbarez*, 25 February 1989; Paul Sherman, 'Armenia Subject of MTA Films', *The Boston Herald*, 8 June 1993; Mansel Stimpson, 'Uncompromising', *What's on in London*, 18 April 1990.

Avetik

It is another Don Askarian movie. It was made in 1992 as a German-Armenian collaborative project. It is in Armenian but has English subtitles. It is in colour and is 84 minutes long. The leading man of the movie is an Armenian director who is exiled to Berlin, just like Askarian himself. The movie mentions sad events like German racism, 1989 earthquake and the 1915 episode.³⁰ As can be expected, the events of 1915 are told from the Armenian perspective. Because the movie portrays many events like the 1915 incidents, Nazi soldiers and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, concurrently, viewers might have made a correlation between Hitler's Fascism and "Turkish barbarity". Since all reviews of the movie mention the "genocide perpetrated by Turks", this conclusion is easy to reach. A paragraph from a review from the Japan Times sets a good example about such impressions:

"...These convey Avetik's thought during his exile. German Racism, Armenian genocide in 1915 perpetrated by Turks (an terrible episode comparable in extent to the Holocaust), 1989 earthquake which cause great devastation (Armenian's believe the earthquake was caused by Russian seismic devises),..."³¹

The movie is not an easy one due to the flashbacks, dreams and unusual dialogue and music. Askarian, as with his other movies, reach only a very restricted audience. However, the audience he reaches is the upper echelons of the society. We see that the film reaches the widest possible audience with considerable efforts of the Diaspora organizations.

Nagorno-Karabakh; The Third and Fourth Volume of the Armenian History

The film is a 1988 Germany production made by the Armenians in diaspora. This 60-minute-long movie was directed by Don Askarian and produced by both Don Askarian and Margarita Woskanian. The language is Armenian and Russian but the movie was screened on German Television with German and English subtitles. The documentary, which is currently sold in the

³⁰ Davis Rooney, *Variety*, 19-25 September 1994.

³¹ Giovanni Fazio, 'Through the Doors of Perception', *The Japan Times*, 25 March 1995.

videocassette format, portrays the state of Azerbaijan as an unlawful and oppressive regime.

Some claim that Askarian secretly recorded the large demonstrations for Nagorny-Karabakh that took place in Armenia in 1988 and produced this documentary. Naturally, the film consists of more than recordings of the demonstrations. There are some accusations against Azerbaijani Turks. Even though Armenians are currently forcefully occupying a large part of Azerbaijan, Armenians are shown as the victims. The movie includes many rape, torture and murder scenes, which are all attributed to the Turks. The effects of the movie, which was shown in many international festivals, can be surmised if one looks at one of the reviews that said, "A depiction of the dirty truth of ethnic cleansing".³²

The film is one of the most important creations of the Armenian lobby in the last decade that targets the German media.

On the Old Roman Road

This is another Don Askarian movie that describes an exiled artist. It was made in 2001 and lasts 76 minutes. The movie takes place in Rotterdam (Netherlands) and is about an Armenian author Levon, who struggles between his past and present life. He remembers some many inconsistencies about his past like a Turkish Policeman, a woman with red hair, a relative who is robbing dead Turks, pressure, tears, camels, dogs and etc. The director portrays these as a consequence of the contradictions between esthetic and political pressures bearing on the character. Later the director ties all these happenings to today's Netherlands. In this part of the movie we witness the tragedies of a Kurd and an Armenian terrorist.

The movie is in both English and Armenian. Additionally, when necessary, English subtitles are used.

Dark Forest in the Mountains

The issue of Nagorny-Karabakh is maybe the last subject that Armenians can claim any moral authority. To defend the Armenian

³² Desmond Ryan, 'Nagorno-Karabakh': Depicting Dirty Truth of 'Ethnic Cleansing', *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 7 May 1993.

military aggression that currently occupies one fifth of another nations territory, turns one million people into refugees against every international rule of law, is very hard to justify. However, cinema is a magical tool. Cameras sometimes do not show the truth, but the reverse. Silver screen does not show the righteous. The latest Armenian political movies are the best examples of such a distortion of this tool. *Dark Forest in the Mountain* is a case in point. In this Roger Kupelian film, the victim and the captor have traded places. This movie, which has been shown in many university and cinema halls, proves that Armenian political cinema also uses current topics for its own political benefit.

Director Kupelian expresses the reason why he made this documentary:

*"At that time, there was an unknown war waged between Azerbaijan and newly established Armenia. There was a Bosnia issue. The government of Azerbaijan was trying to banish Armenians living within the borders of the country draw by Stalin. The media was writing things about the issue but it had no influence. As a person who had a blood connection with the region, I took upon myself to go there and record the true story."*³³

Mandate for Armenia

It is claimed in this 25-minute documentary that some very secret US documents are brought to light. The story is about American President Woodrow Wilson sending General James G. Harbord to Anatolia for investigations, and the same Armenian accusations are repeated. We frequently see Ankara, Istanbul, Harput, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Erzincan, Erzurum and Yerevan in the film. The narrator and historical advisor of the film is Richard G. Hovannisian (UCLA).

Where are My People?

This is a classic 28-minute J. Michael Hagopian production. The period during and after the First World War is studied from an Armenian perspective. This 1965 film is considered as the first film that put forward the Armenian accusations of 'genocide'.

³³ John B. Virata, 'Documentary Filmmaker Roger Kupelian', *Digital Producer.com*, www.arcfilm.net/virata.html, 2002.

The Armenian Americans

One of the most interesting features of American and Canadian Armenians are their closeness to each other. As a significant character of diaspora communities can easily be seen among the Armenian Diaspora: They co-operate closely and assist each other since they see this co-operation as part of their ethnic cause. This film proves a similar understanding.

The film *The Armenian Americans*, which consists of the life stories of famous Armenians who live in the U.S., tries to show how much they have contributed to American culture and become a permanent part of the American cultural landscape. Turks, of course, do not receive many praises in this film.

This 90-minute movie was made in 2000 and is in colour. The dialog is in English. Producer and director is Andrew Goldberg. Some names included in this film are the tennis player Andre Agassi, author Peter Balakian, actor Mike Connors, actor-author Eric Bogossian, actress-author Andre Martin and NCAA basketball coach Jerry Tarkanian. Additionally, some familiar faces are also included. Some of the names included in this film have collaborated in many other cinema projects, which prove their professional and private links to each other.

California Armenians: The First Generation

This is another Michael Hagopian production. It is a 30-minute documentary. It tells the story of how Armenians came to California from the Ottoman Empire lands (In the movie "Turkey" is insistently used instead of the proper "Ottoman Empire" word) and what hardships they endured. As always 'genocide' allegations 'pepper' this film. The videocassettes and VCDs of this movie are still being sold in the U.S.A.

Ararat Beckons

This movie informs us how important Mount Ararat is for Armenians as a 49-minute documentary. Art and Armenian allegations are joined in this film. This is also a 1995 Hagopian production and is narrated by Mike Connors. The Atlantis Productions Inc. produced it. The language is English, but an Armenian version was also made.³⁴ In the introduction, it is claimed that the movie was secretly smuggled out of Turkey.

³⁴ Other actors who played in this movie are, Masis Parseghian, Gregory Parseghian and Hamlet Nersesian.

Back to Ararat

This movie repeats the genocide accusations of Armenians and is strangely introduced as the 'first movie that deals with the issue'. This movie was made in 1988. The director is Swedish producer Pea Holmquist. This 100-minute film, which is still being sold, can be found in most local libraries in the United States. The review of the movie in *The Boston Globe* on 8th of June 1989 shows how effective this movie has been on the national psyche:

"Back to Ararat is at its best when it interviews survivors of 1915 (children then. they are now In their 80s) and when it takes us to the beautiful but empty countryside in Turkey that once was Armenia. An old woman who still lives there describes herself as "a refugee in my own country." Survivors who now live in Germany and New York describe how Armenians were shot, thrown down wells, stabbed or forced on death march to Syria that, for many, ended In being burned alive in caves. The government of Turkey still denies that massacres of three-quarters of the civilian population took place and talks Instead about "resettlement" and wartime Inhumanities that oc-curred on both sides. In the film, a spokesman for a Turkish-American group waved away the suggestion of genocide as "hearsay." The film would have done well to stick to straight historical documen-tary. Instead, it loses its focus by shifting to present-day politics. There's an Interview with an Armenian extremist who shot a Turkish diplomat, and a lengthy portrait of a young Armenian couple living in New York who quixotically hope their homeland will be liberated from Turkey.³⁵

In a segment recorded in Turkey, there is an interview with a 92-year-old elderly woman. The elderly woman recalls those days with great sorrow. She says, "be careful. If the police hears of this, they'll take you away" to the camera crew. No one asks how an Armenian woman who utters these words could have lived in an Anatolian village for the decades. It is obvious that the journalists like to present an unknown country (Turkey) as a mysterious place under a 'fear and terror governance' and the Armenian propaganda machine provides what the newspapers like to report. Actually the reality is less exciting, less 'attractive': Now about 100.000 Armenians live in Turkey in peace. They have schools,

³⁵ Robert Garret, 'Two Films at MFA Evoke the Agony of Armenia', *The Boston Globe*, 8 June 1989.

churches, social foundations and all the rights as the other Turkish citizens have. Moreover their rights are protected not only by the Turkish laws, but also by the written agreements and the European legal system.

Legacy

This movie was produced, directed and written by Hagopian. Any event that can be used to blacken Turkey and the Turks is used in the 23-minute documentary. From burning of İzmir (Smyrna) to Armenian massacres in the deserts of Syria can be found in this film. The narrators are George Deukmejian, Mike Connors and Walter Karabian.

This is Armenia

This film is in English and lasts 60 minutes. It was directed by Arsen Aslanian as a 1988 MGN / Paradise production.

Films Made in Armenia

While the Armenians in diaspora make most of the Armenian movies, many movies are also made in Armenia. If any of the Armenia based movies are deemed good enough, they are translated into mainly English and French. For example *Our Fatherland Armenia* (1999)³⁶ has both an English and Armenian versions. Additionally, almost all Armenian films are presented with subtitles in a second language (English, Russian, German or French).

Conference Recordings

Apart from the movies and documentaries mentioned earlier, recordings of conferences held by Armenian lobby groups, are also sold in videocassette, VCD or DVD formats. For example, Prof. Ron Sunny and Vahakn Dadrian's speeches are sold separately as videocassettes. No detail will be given in this study about these recordings due to the space limitations.

³⁶ Director and Camera: Arsen Alanian. Music: Komitas, Aram Khachaturian, Sayat Nova and Tigran Mansourian. Language: Eastern Armenian and English.

E. THE EFFECTS OF THE POLITICAL ARMENIAN MOVIES IN THE WEST

This type of movies creates an environment where Armenian allegations are accepted as fact. Though art is the best tool in inter-communal communication, when it is used as a part of propaganda or political aims cinema, theatre or any other type of art become the most dangerous arm against stability, dialogue and peace. While it is hard to examine how influential these movies are on elite and administration, we can guess how effective they are on impressionable young children who are the future. Another consequence of these movies is to strengthen the already existing religious and historical prejudices of the West. The anti-Turkish activities of Greek and Armenian lobbies cause a deterioration of the image of Turkey and the Turks.

The most seriously affected group of all is the Turkish Diaspora. Especially those who live in France or the U.S. states where there is a significant Armenian minority have been suffering under the prejudices that result in these films. Some Turks even try to hide their nationality because of questions asked about Greeks or Armenians. Even more upsetting is the abuse Turkish children receive in states where the Armenian 'genocide' is accepted as a fact into the school curriculum. These children who are at a very impressionable age will take these memories to their deathbed. There are two consequences of these abuses on the Turkish youth. Majority reacts in an emotional and extreme way, which usually make the matter worse. Minority on the other hand ignore all the debate totally.

Additionally, it is hardly possible to guess how harmful these movies and propaganda is on the economic and political interests of Turkey. However, the only victims are not Turkey and the Turkish people. Maybe the most destructive harm is done on the Armenian nation itself. If a nation makes hate of another nation its ideal, it cannot be successful and hate becomes the defining characteristic of that nation. Unfortunately, we see the system of this hate among the Diaspora Armenians. Bilateral relations between Turkish and Armenian nations have also suffered. These movies and other activities of Armenians nourish the hate and poison the relations between the people.

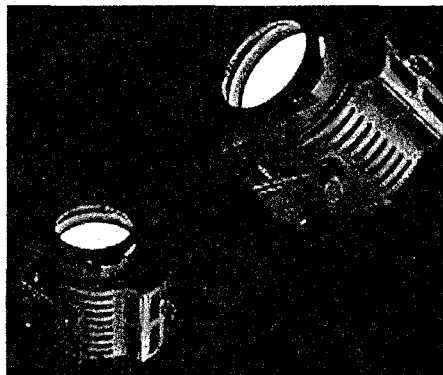
CONCLUSION

While Turkish and the world public are mostly unaware, Armenian art has become a useful tool in the hand of the Armenian political objectives. This is more clear-cut within the Armenian cinema and theatre. Extremist Armenian groups have convinced their generation of the 'truth' of the genocide and created a myth around the 1915 relocation event. Armenian groups dispersed all around the world have taken advantage of Turkey's silence, and have mostly convinced their host countries. The current objective is to transform political organizations and the international community into an anti-Turkish body. As the lobbying activities increased, Armenian propaganda network has become more and more professional. Financial incentives included into this network have drawn both members from the Armenian and other ethnic communities. This network has developed beyond worst nightmare of Turkish politicians and has caused considerable harm to Turkey. While the Turkish media and the government took into account these developments only at a crisis point, this network in cooperation with art has developed into a very powerful force.

As discussed this propaganda web is a direct result of the Armenian identity crisis in the diaspora. The Armenian Church and the radical political groups saw the problems with Turkey as the only solution to assimilation of the Armenians in the Western cultures, and used the anti-Turkish feelings as a uniting factor. However by doing this, the Armenian elite established an identity, which is based on hostility against another identity. That is to say the Armenian identity in the diaspora has been based on hostility. The Armenian terror in the 1970s and 80s and the violence in the Armenian Parliament showed that this kind of identity-making not only damage Armenians' relations with the other peoples but also undermine stability and peace among the Armenians. The history has clearly showed that these two peoples, **Armenians and Turkish people, must be in co-operation, and art or literature should not be used in order to build new walls between the peoples. Art as the most perfect way of communication, should be in service of peace.** In another word the Armenian artists and the diaspora organisations should focus on the common problems and problem of lack of communication instead of deepening the prejudices in both sides.



J. Michael HAGOPIAN: Founder of the
Armenian Film Foundation



Cinema: Not always innocent,
not always shows the truth

EU'S ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME TO ARMENIA: A POLITICAL ECONOMY CRITIQUE

Aydan İYİGÜNGÖR*

Abstract:

In this first part of the 'EU's Assistance Programme to Armenia: A Political Economy Critique' the process that the EU has been going through in the last decade in its foreign policy has tried to be made up at the example of its policy towards Armenia, and the region in general. The interrelation with Turkey, directly affected by this policy is being shown. Is the EU's Caucasus policy realistic? Or is this policy just a new card against Turkey? What will the future of the Caucasus bring and what will be the role of Turkey in the EU - Caucasus axis?

Keywords:

Armenia, Caucasus, Counterbalance, Economy, EU, Policy, Turkey

INTRODUCTION

This research aims to draw superficially EU's Armenia policy from the economical perspective first and its political outcome later with a special eye on the impact of this policy on Turkey. This is being done by presenting the EU's several assistance programmes to Armenia.

In the fiery EU discussion, which is going on in Turkey and to which a new dimension is added almost every day, the EU's policy towards Armenia constitutes a special field of interest to Turkey. The problematic tendency of the Turkish – Armenian relations is no more problematic on the bilateral level only. The relation between Turkey and Armenia turned within the last years to an issue on which the Western states, headed by the USA and leading European states, not only comment on, but interfere in an active way. The statements, decisions, reports and advices of the European states play an important role for both, Turkey and Armenia, for both states have certain expectations from the

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The former non-policy that resulted from a lack of common foreign policy of the EU, has turned to a profiled policy in the last decade.

European states, particularly the EU.

Turkey is in the process of becoming a full member of the EU, for which Turkey is expected to fulfill previously determined criteria. Armenia, as a newly formatted state that arose after the break down of

the Soviet Union, seeks for the economical and political support of the EU. The EU on the other side turned from an originally economic community to a political union. This transformation brought along a more characteristic foreign policy rather than the previous moderate and distanced position. Not only in terms of this triangular relation, but also in the regional concept of the Caucasus the EU's Armenia policy plays a significant role. Actually, it is to answer what role the EU plays in the regional formation.

So, in this connection for each of the parties the policy of the others is of an importance. In this article, Turkey's viewpoint, as an applicant to the EU, to this relation, the advantages and disadvantages that Turkey receives out of this relation will be analysed. What role does the EU play in the Turkish – Armenian relations? What role does the EU intend to play? What role should the EU play in order to have a positive impact on peace in the region and on the problematic relations between Turkey and Armenia. Facts, statistics and numbers will be given on the EU's policy towards Armenia.

EU'S POLICY TOWARDS ARMENIA

The EU turned from a geographical and political distanced organization in Europe to an active actor in the region. The former non-policy that resulted from a lack of common foreign policy of the EU, has turned to a profiled policy in the last decade. Furthermore, the role of the EU in the region seems to increase day by day. European states like France and Germany, which both had a special and evident relationship with Armenia in history, seemed to have brought their foreign policies into the EU and made them EU foreign policy. Under the pretext of conflict resolution, peace keeping and economic aid the EU seriously entered the region and as time goes by the interest shifted from

economy to policy also. Nowadays the EU openly shows its interest in a transport route going from Europe to Central Asia and does everything to secure this route and to stabilize its surrounding politically. Therefore the EU insists on Turkey to open her border to Armenia and puts pressure on Turkey by turning this issue to an obstacle for a full EU-membership.

The EU put some priorities in its relations with Armenia, which is the peaceful resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict in order to contribute to peace in the region. The closing down of the Medzamor Nuclear Power Plant plays also a major role for the EU.

The EU supports the opening of the Turkish – Armenian border, from which it is argued that Armenia would benefit about 300 million € and reduce 40% of its transportation costs.¹ The given numbers as well as the basic logic of this viewpoint need to be interpreted critically: a basic and simple fact is that the opening of the border will be much more for the benefit of Armenia rather than Turkey. Armenia would have a direct access to the West, a close market of 60 million people, whereas the 2 million Armenian market does not constitute any serious interest to Turkey. Still under the given facts there exists a trade between the two states, which is being realized via Iran and Georgia – so it is not true that there doesn't exist any trade relation at all. Therefore, it is quite obvious that the EU in this issue seems to take place at the side of Armenia. If the above mentioned number would be true it would mean that there would be an increase of the trade volume of almost eight times, which does not seem too realistic.² The border issue and the economic facts of the region, the transport connections, the possible economic developments in case of opening the border are a separate topic worth researching exclusively.

Economically the EU market constitutes a great potential to Armenia for at present about 40% of the Armenian exports go to the EU market,³ which is triple than its export to the USA. The EU has given Armenia about 300 million € as financial aid since its formation. Therefore Kocharian stressed at a meeting with

¹ europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/armenia/intro, 26 October 2001

² Sedat Laçiner, 'Ermenistan – Türkiye İlişkilerinde Sınır Kapısı Sorunu ve İlişkilerde Ekonomik Boyut', *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, Vol.2, No:6, Summer 2002, pp. 35-68

³ *Armenia Diaspora*, <http://www.armeniadiaspora.com/history/2001jun.html>, June 2001

Romano Prodi rather the economic ties with the EU than the political ones.⁴

1991 to 2000	Total € m	% of total
Tacis National Allocations	68.9	24.07
Nuclear Safety Tacis	22	7.68
ECHO	67.75	23.67
FEOGA food aid	50.18	17.53
Food security	51.00	17.82
Exceptional Financial Assistance	17.7	6.18
Exceptional Humanitarian Aid	8.0	2.79
Aid to mitigate effects of Russian crisis	1.5	0.52
Total	286.13	100

LINKS, AGREEMENTS, INSTITUTIONS:

Tacis:

Tacis is the EU's financial and technical assistance programme to Armenia since 1991. It supports institutional, legal and administrative reforms in Armenia, private sector development, development of alternative energy sources. The Tacis National Action Programme is a 10 million € per year programme, that is being used for the

- support for institutional, legal and administrative reforms
- support to the private sector development and assistance for economic development
- development of infrastructure networks, especially for the closing of the Medzamor Nuclear Power Plant, which is run at a dangerous level

The Tacis programme has also regional sub-programmes at which Armenia participates, which are the *TRACECA*, *INOGATE*, *Regional Environmental Centre for Southern Caucasus*.

Tacis is viewed as the most important program for Armenia. Investment issues will gain importance in this program in the future. Tacis is implementing national, international and regional projects.

⁴ *Armenia Diaspora*, <http://www.armeniadiaspora.com/history/2001jun.html>, June 2001

⁵ europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/armenia/intro, 26 October 2001

The coordinator of the EU's program in Armenia, Sebastian Dubost describes TACIS as follows:

"Every two years EU representatives and the Armenian government determine the main lines of activities under the TACIS program. Seven or eight urgent issues are normally submitted to discussion and three or four most urgent are selected. The projects being implemented in Armenia now (2002) are financed from the 2000 budget. At that time preference was given to administrative reforms, private sector development and energy. The 2000 budget provides for 4 million € for the reconstruction of Armenian hydro-power plants. The works, which is to begin soon, will be focused on Argel and Tatev Hydroes. Besides in 2001 the EU allocated 11 million € for the enhancement of safety of the Armenian NPP and technical assistance to Arm. State Atom Control. In 2000-2001 the TACIS budget was 10 million €. Similar sums were budgeted for the next 2 years. It is difficult to call the exact amount of funds Armenia has received during the ten years the TACIS program has been implemented as it includes a number of international projects as well. The approximate sum is 100 million €. The total assistance rendered to Armenia by the European Union is 300 million €."⁶

**Tacis projects under the 2000-2001 Action Programme
(total € 10 million)**

Project	Institutional, legal and administrative reform	Private sector and economic development	Development of (energy) infrastructure networks
Support to the Armenia-EU Policy, Legal and Advice Centre (AEPLAC)	X		
Support to the National Assembly	X		
Support to SMEs		X	
Hydro-power development			X
Policy and Legal Advice	X	X	X
Statistics	X	X	X
Institution Building Partnership Programme	X	X	X
TEMPUS	X		

⁶ *Arminfo News Agency*, www.arminfo.am/political.htm, 29 January 2002

Food Security Programme:

Under this programme Armenia has received 61 million € in total up to date.

Apart from humanitarian assistance, another program. Assistance to the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Social Security. Annual budget is 10 million €. The priorities of the programme for 2002 – 2003 is the field of education.

ECHO:

This programme is the Humanitarian Assistance Programme of the EU. ECHO supports development issues. In this framework Armenia has received 65 million € up to date. In 2000-2001 2 million € support in form of food etc.

Partnership and Cooperation Agreement:

The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement is signed in 1996, and entered into force in 1999. A joint commitment for closer cooperation. Political dialogue is aimed for strengthening Armenia's relations with the EU and the member states on political, economical and cultural level. Implementing democratic values.⁷ The institutions of the PCA are the Cooperation Committee, Parliamentary Cooperation Committee and dependent sub-committees.

Cooperation Council:

Intensification of the EU – Armenia relations is its main target. Supports reforms in the fields of democracy and human rights. Welcomes Armenia's application and membership to the Council of Europe. Supports regional cooperation projects that support peace and stability in the Caucasus. Support of the closure of the Medzamor nuclear power plant. Trade relations between the EU and Armenia shall be deepened with Armenia's accession to the WTO.

⁷ AEPLAC Activities, www.aeplac.am/activities/PoliticsDialogue.htm, 10 April 2002

Armenian European Policy and Legal Advice Center:

TRACECA:

Has been founded at a conference in Brussels in 1993 by trade and transport ministers of the region. A transport corridor on a west-east axis from Europe, across the Black Sea, through the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea to Central Asia is aimed by TRACECA.⁸ The EU pointed out in the latest report on the relations with South Caucasus that this route is of a major interest to the EU in the future. TRACECA includes the modernizing of the gas supply infrastructure. Creating a corridor for transportation from Europe to Central Asia and other way round is aimed. Harmonizing border procedures is planned, too. Restoration of the Yerevan, Tblisi and Baku highways is a part of this project, too. Cargo terminals at Karmir and Gymru are planned. Port facilities at Poti and Batumi from which Armenia will take advantage, too. Railway of Kars-Gymru-Yerevan-Nakhichevan-Baku is planned for the future, when the dispute between Turkey, Armenia and Azerbaijan is settled. This project is considered as the modern version and the restoration of the historic Silk road.

“Almost half of the world's cargo traffic is made up of goods transported from Europe to Asia and vice versa. Operations on these routes brings over US\$ 1 billion to transport companies and transit countries annually.”⁹

The TRACECA project will be dealt in a detailed way in the second part of this research, which will follow in the forthcoming issue of REVIEW OF ARMENIAN STUDIES.

INOATE:

INOATE is the international project of oil and gas transportation to Europe: Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe. Improving the security of Europe's energy supply. Promoting the regional integration of the oil and gas pipeline systems and facilitating their transport in the region and towards the West. Maintenance of the gas pipeline through Georgia. Reconstruction of the underground gas storage in Abovian. Financement of 1,5 million €. Turkey joint INOATE in 30 March 2000.¹⁰

⁸ www.traceca.org

⁹ Silkroad, *Transport Strategy for the Third Millenium*, www.globalink.kz

¹⁰ www.inogate.org

Total EU grants to Armenia 1991 - 2000

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Tacis National Allocations	2.3	9.6	17.0	-	6.0	14.0	-	10.0	-	10.0
Nuclear Safety						10	1			11
ECHO	-	-	10.39	19.09	25.9	5.07	2.1	1.6	2.1	1.5
FEOGA	-	-	-	-	34.0	13.18	-	-	-	3
Food security Exceptional Humanitarian Aid	-	-	-	-	-	13.0	6.0	12	10	10
Exceptional financial assistance	-	-	-	5.7	-	-	-	8	4	-
Aid to mitigate effects of Russian crisis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.5	-
Total	2.3	9.6	35.39	24.79	65.9	55.25	9.1	31.6	17.6	34.6

The EU will shift its aid to Armenia from the economical base to the political one by focusing in the future on developments in the fields of institutional, legal and administrative reforms, so on the establishment of a democratic functioning state formation. The social fields, like education health care etc. will also be included more into the future programmes.

Except from the planned and calculated financial assistance within special programmes, Armenia has also received 'exceptional financial assistance'. This exceptional aid started in 1998 with 28 million €, shrunk to the half in 1999 (12 million €). From 2000 onwards Armenia received 5,5 million € per year. For the year 2004 1,5 million € is foreseen. A total exceptional aid of 77 million € can be seen here.

THE IMPACT OF THE EU'S POLICY TOWARDS ARMENIA ON THE TURKISH – EU RELATIONS AND ON THE TURKISH – ARMENIAN RELATIONS

Within the last years, the EU put Turkey's relation to Armenia on several institutional levels on its agenda. Armenia's approach of propaganda that is being realised towards Western states on the bilateral level, is also been practiced and fruited on the EU level.

The EU actively gives directions to 'states/ international relations' balances by supporting or opposing things. The EU

supports the closing down of the Metsamor nuclear power station. In relation to that, the EU gave signals of supporting financially a gas pipeline in Armenia and Iran. The EU promised 3 million € for the starting of the project.¹¹ There are two other project drafts between the two states that might be supported by the EU, which are a hydro-electric power station on the Arax river, at the border and a refinery in Armenia that is meant to refine Iranian oil. This support may look economically only, but it is also a political orientation that the EU gives Armenia. A tripartite meeting concerning the gas pipeline took place between the European Commission, Armenia and Iran.¹²

During a meeting of the Parliamentary Cooperation Committee of the EU and Armenia, a joint declaration has been made in which the EU pronounces it as a precondition for a full membership for Turkey to solve her border problem with Armenia.¹³ The parliamentarian Demetrio Volcic said that the EU condemns Turkey's blockade towards Armenia and that this constitutes an obstacle for Turkey's full membership to the EU. He further implied that this problem must be solved within the European security framework.¹⁴ Here, it is surprising to see that a border problem between Turkey and Armenia is considered as an obstacle for the full EU membership. According to the Copenhagen criteria border problems must be solved before entering the EU,

**A border problem
between Turkey and
Armenia is considered as
an obstacle for the full
EU membership.**

but Turkey does not have a border problem with Armenia. The border is closed out of several reasons, but can be opened as soon as the political conditions for that are given. The second astonishing thing in the speech of Volcic is that the EU views this 'problem' to be solved within the EU security framework. This is an open declaration of how much the EU is interested in the region and therefore it sees this 'problem' worth to be solved within the EU. Putting pressure only on Turkey is the outcome of this.

¹¹ *Radio Free Europe*, www.rferl.org/nca/features/2001/01/25012001111522.asp, January 2001

¹² *ArmlInfo*, www.armlinfo/political.htm, 29 January 2002

¹³ *Azg*, 11 September 2002

¹⁴ *Asbarez*, 10 September 2002

In a report of the Swedish parliamentarian Per Gahrton of the European Parliament adopted on 28 February 2002, Turkey is openly criticized. This report which is on the 'EU's Relations With South Caucasus' contains a very important statement that shows openly the EU's interest in the region and in connection with that it also explains the EU's policy towards the Turkish – Armenian relation. Under article 15 it is said that the European Parliament:

"Welcomes the recent inclusion of Turkey among the routes planned under the TRACECA programme, which will allow the European Union to contribute to improving the infrastructures between Anatolia and the Caucasus through Armenia, once the border is opened."¹⁵

This statement openly shows the EU's interest in an open and secure road from Europe to the Caucasus, which might be out of economic reasons firstly but surely also out of strategic reasons in terms of security policy. It is the talk of 'a genuine gateway to Central Asia'. In a following article of the report (19) it is said that the European Parliament:

"Calls on the neighbouring countries Russia, Iran and Turkey to contribute constructively to the peaceful development of the South Caucasus Region; in this respect especially calls upon Russia to fulfil commitments to downgrade its military presence and calls upon Turkey to take appropriate steps in accordance with its European ambitions, especially concerning the termination of the blockade against Armenia; reiterates in this respect the position in its resolution of 18 June 1987 on the political solution to the Armenian question recognising the Armenian genocide of 1915-1917 and calls upon Turkey to create a basis for reconciliation."¹⁶

In this article of the report the EU's policy towards Turkey in connection to her relationship to Armenia has been made public. Although this report is on the EU's relations with South Caucasus and also throughout the report the peace and stability in the region is put on highest level, the EU in this report does not call out for Armenia to remain from occupied (according to international law) Azerbaijani territory. There is only the talk of 'a conflict in Nagorno Karabakh' which has to be solved peacefully.

¹⁵ *Report of the European Parliament* (COM(1999)272-C5-0116/1999-1999/2119(COS)), Article 15, 28 February 2002

¹⁶ *Report of the European Parliament* (COM(1999)272-C5-0116/1999-1999/2119(COS)), Article 19, 28 February 2002

Armenia isn't even addressed as a responsible of this conflict. Contrary to that Turkey is directly addressed (twice in the report for opening her border to Armenia) and is viewed as responsible and a factor of instability in the region. The fact that the border between Turkey and Armenia remains closed is attributed to Turkey only. The political fact and realities are not taken into

The EU carries a bilateral problem/ between Turkey and Armenia on the EU agenda and tries to make this to a criteria of Turkey's access to the EU.

consideration at all. Turkey's border to Armenia is closed, yes, but there are some very historical and serious reasons for that: Armenia up to date does not accept Turkey's eastern border. Armenia up to date uses the term of 'western Armenia' when talking of eastern Turkey. These are not

the principles of a good intentioned neighbouring and these are the reasons for Turkey to keep her border with Armenia closed. Although Turkey was one of the first states to accept Armenia's independency, Armenia goes on with its aggressive policy. The EU shows openly in this report that the EU takes party in this issue. The view of the EU is completely one sided and does not take Turkey's viewpoint into consideration at all. The EU goes further and carries a bilateral problem/ issue between Turkey and Armenia on the EU agenda and tries to make this to a criteria of Turkey's access to the EU. At this point it is important to stress that this is a new dimension that the EU puts on the agenda. The genocide claims are attributed to events that took place in 1915 – did the EU just recently got aware of this? What is the reason for the EU, that has full membership negotiations with Turkey since the 80's, to discuss this question now?

The draft of the EU's report on the relations with South Caucasus of 22 November 2001 included even more accusations than the final report included. In a footnote of the draft it was stated that the majority of the Armenian politicians support the genocide allegations (which is true) further that they rely on a speech of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk held in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on 10 April 1921 by doing so.¹⁷ This statement included a new allegation: namely that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, accepted the so

¹⁷ *European Parliament Draft Report, 22 November 2001*

called genocide and that he, together with this, distanced himself clearly from the Union and Progress Party and accuses them for the events before Atatürk. Primarily the register of the Grand National Assembly shows that no such a speech exists, not only on that date but also not on any other day. Secondly one has to take the whole policy and behaviours of Atatürk into consideration. This allegation does simply not fit to his basic opinions and attitudes. There is a research on this topic in the *Ermeni Araştırmaları/ Armenian Studies* no.4, which proves that the argument is simply not true.¹⁸

Conclusion

When we have an analysing look at the history of the EU we can easily figure out that for a long time there was no specific policy towards the region and towards Armenia existing. Contrary to that, when we have a look at the EU's Armenia policy of the last years and also to the EU's reports on Turkey, one does not go far by saying that the EU seems to have adopted the foreign policies of its strong members France and Germany. Both states traditionally support religious and ethnic groups abroad. France played always the role of the mentor of Armenians in the history. After the USA the biggest Armenian community lives in France (400.000). When Armenia was accepted as a member of the Council of Europe, Kocharian first thanked Jacques Chirac for his efforts.¹⁹ France also supports strongly the improvement of Armenia's relations with the EU. The fact that France recognized a so called genocide towards Armenians in 1915 in Ottoman Empire constitutes also an example for other European (and not only European) states.

The EU uses its economic power and aims to make states more democratic with this tool. But the Armenia example shows that this policy failed. After more than 10 years of independence there is still a serious lack of democracy, implementing of human rights, free press etc. Additionally economically Armenia did not advance positively. It faces problems such as emigration in high amounts, which leads to economical instability. In this issue of *Review of Armenian Studies* there is a study on migration movements in

¹⁸ Şenol Kantarcı, 'Ermenilerce Atatürk'e Atfedilen Sözler ve Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi ile Ermeni Teröristler Tarafından Şehit Edilenlere Atatürk'ün Gösterdiği İlgî, *Ermeni Araştırmaları/ Armenian Studies*, Vol.1, No. 4, (January-February 2002) pp.92-121

¹⁹ NTV – MSNBC, www3.earth.com/turkey/news/kocaryan.html

Armenia after the independence. Having the given facts in focus one can say that the EU did not succeed in implementing democracy and human rights values to Armenia. Torture, ill-treatment, religious discrimination, obligatory military service, death sentence exist in Armenia today.²⁰

Under these circumstances, it is even more difficult to understand why the EU is so harsh in its criticism towards Turkey, but completely moderate towards Armenia. The Nagorno Karabakh problem is viewed from this perspective, too. Whereas the EU's contribution to peace in the region is always stressed officially, factually no such development could be viewed. The details of the political outcome, the region and Turkey's role will be dealt with in the second part of this research in the forthcoming issue.

²⁰ Amnesty International 2002 Report, <http://web.amnesty.org/web/ar2002.nsf/eur/armenia!Open>

ARMENIA AFTER INDEPENDENCE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MIGRATION

Hasret DİKİCİ*

Abstract:

Armenia has faced with population drain in the last decade. The immediate post-1991 period produced difficulties, particularly in terms of economy. The transition to the market economy from the command system with an incompatible systemic heritage, and the war in Karabakh produced economic difficulties. People inclined towards considerably more developed regions of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Europe, and of course, the United States. This population outflow from Armenia provided political stability and contributed to the state budget on the one hand, however, also resulted in money and human capital loss. It also created problems in the destination countries, as well.

Keywords:

Internal Migration, International Migration, Transit Migration, Emigration, Diaspora, Political (In)stability, Human Capital, Refugee, Cheap Labour

Population movements, internal or international, have always been a matter of concern for the policy-makers. Internal migration has flown from the less advanced regions to more advanced places, that's from villages and towns to cities. International migration follows a parallel path from developing/underdeveloped to the developed countries or even continents. This direction of migration, regardless of being internal or international, gives a clue about the reasons of the phenomenon, and outlines a general rule: people emigrate from places having political, social and especially economic problems to the ones which offer better services and opportunities, and conditions.¹ The place-village, town, city, region, country or

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¹ For a general overview of migration, see W.A.V Clark, *Human Migration*, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, c1986); Paul Boyle, Keith Halfacree and Vaughan Robinson, *Exploring Contemporary Migration*, (Essex:

continent- which is emigrated from, usually has high rates of inflation, unemployment, economic and political crises and it is faced with an additional problem of draining of its human resources after migration. Especially, the people with higher education migrate in order to satisfy their expectations, and this in return prevents further economic development. Considering the international migration, the migration process may also have positive impacts on the political stability and the economy by pushing the discontented groups out of the country and increasing the state budget with the money transfers from the Diaspora. On the other hand, from the perspective of the receiving country, the migrants are sources of dynamic and cheap labor. For this reason, in the history, some countries welcomed, even demanded labor migration. However, this is true only to the extent that this reciprocal voluntarism is valid. Otherwise, drastic problems emerge, and this is the common situation of many European countries at present. First of all, social problems arise out of the cultural differences between the migrants and the native people. These social problems may range from simple dislike to serious racist/fascist tendencies, even to violence. The rise of ultra rightist parties in the European politics is a good example in this respect. Secondly, the influx of cheap labor leads to the increase in unemployment rate of the native population. Moreover, the government programmes plotted according to the official statistics, are jolted by the arrival of migrants, who entered the country secretly and illegally.

Moving from the theoretical framework to the recent course of migration, one question is very significant: "Although migration has always existed in the history, why did it move to the forefront agenda of policy-makers especially in the last few decades?" The answer to this question lies in the boundaries the issue has reached and in the nature of the international conjuncture. Previously, the advanced countries had been in need of cheap labor. Nevertheless, their capacity is saturated in terms of labor both because of the size the migrant population reached, and due to the declining demand for labor by the developments in the production technology. The problems emerged because of the mass inflows, and the Western countries began to rethink on the political migrants (asylum seekers and refugees) after the end of

Longman, 1998); Peter A. Morrison, *Population Movements : Their Forms And Functions In Urbanization And Development* (Liege(Belgium) : Ordina Editions , 1983)

The Armenian Diaspora, particularly located in the US and Europe, corresponds to a figure of 3,5-4 million people out of total 7 million Armenians on the Earth.

the Cold War. Currently, mainly the US, Canada and European countries are in the process of tightening their migration procedures day by day. The 11 September Attacks on the US have further affected this process. However, none of the attempts succeeded in preventing the population movements, rather changed its course more from legal to illegal ways.

The migration context of Armenia reflects this historical and theoretical framework as well. There have always been Armenian population's movements between countries and continents. The Armenian Diaspora, particularly located in the US and Europe, corresponds to a figure of 3,5-4 million people out of total 7 million Armenians on the Earth. This Diaspora has its own advantages and disadvantages to the home country as well as to the destination countries, politically, socially and economically. Comparing the last level, migration in the world and Armenian migration have reached, both have gravitated to the illegal ways: migrant smuggling and trafficking. In this article, this last stage of Armenian migration after the independence will be analyzed.

In my study, I have relied on the resources by the international organizations, Armenians, and to an extent by the Turkish writers. In this respect, the reports of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on Armenia construct the basis of my arguments. The studies of Armenian Sociological Association are used in analyzing the impacts of migration on the Armenian state and society. Main aim of this study is to set up a neutral outlook to the migration process in Armenia with its causes and effects. The forms of migration, the historical process of population movements after the independence, the reasons behind the population outflow, the migrant profile, the destination countries, and lastly the impacts of the concept over Armenia will be studied in the framework of this intention.

HISTORY OF MIGRATION IN ARMENIA

In Armenia, interstate migration materializes in two forms: transit migration, and emigration from Armenia. The transit migration over Armenia is usually from the Middle East, South Asia and Africa, and the final destination is usually Europe and Russia. These people come via Tehran, Tbilisi and New Delhi to Armenia with the help of international crime organizations. So far as the emigration concerned, the figures are astonishing. 2002 census declared the number of people living in Armenia as 3.200.000. Since the official number in the initial years of independence had been 3.800.000, the statistics indicate a loss of 600.000.² However, the real number is pretty much higher than 600.000, and closer to 800.000- 1.000.000 according to Ovsanna Babayan, the national coordinator of International Organization for Migration to Armenia.³ Even the National Statistics Service declared that “the country’s ‘permanent population’ which includes ‘temporarily absent’ citizens” is meant by this number.⁴

The first population flow from Armenia in the last 15 years started with the 1988 earthquake, which resulted in the death of 25.000 people, left 500.000 homeless. Consequently, over 300.000 people migrated, 100.000 of which spread to different regions of the country and almost 220.000 to the countries of the former Soviet Union. Another migration movement after the outbreak of Karabakh Conflict, which started in 1988 and lasted until 1994, followed this first wave, and a third came in 1990 after the termination of trade relations between the country, Turkey and Azerbaijan. Subsequent economic crises additionally worsened the conditions. The independence of Armenia was born into such situation. The emigration process that Armenia has been

Total number of people who left the country in this period, now amounts to almost a quarter of the population.

experiencing traces back to the days under the Soviet Union. Total number of people who left the country in this period, now amounts to almost a quarter of the population.⁵

² Sedat Laçiner, ‘Ermenistan’ın Dış Politikası ve Belirleyici Temel Faktörler: 1991-2002’, *Ermeni Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Sayı 5, Bahar 2002, p. 177

³ Ken Stier, *Study Highlights Inefficiencies And Evils Of Armenian Emigration* (04.06.2002), <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/business/articles/eav041602.shtml> (24.11.2002)

⁴ Anush Dashtents, *More Armenian Census Data Released*, Armenia Liberty, 23.10.2002

⁵ “Sayılar Kafa Karıştırdı”, *Agos*, 22.02.2002

THE REASONS OF THE EMIGRATION

The main causes of the emigration can roughly be summarized as the economic problems in the country and better opportunities and services of the West, which totally count as the general rule of migration around the world. Moving to the details, the transitional period from the command economy to the free market one by the dissolution of the Soviet Union put a hunch on the back of the economy. The Karabakh Conflict, and consequent closure of the main transportation ways, the hyperinflation between 1992-1994, the continuing impacts of 1988 earthquake combined with the incompatibility of the economic heritage with the free market system resulted in a deep crises in this transitional period.⁶ The economic embargo from some of the neighboring countries and the decrease in the industrial production contributed to the economic problems and led to impoverishment especially in the urban context.⁷

Against this difficulty of life conditions of the country, existence of high standards for living in Europe and America pulled people who have already decided to leave the country. That's, push effects intermingled with the pull effects and the basis for the migration has been prepared. In addition to these basic reasons, some points maybe not caused them to migrate, but motivated. There exists a huge and prosperous Armenian Diaspora that

The legal codes are not designed well for the prevention of emigration.

arrived in Europe and the US long years ago and that has moved upwards economically, socially and even politically in these years. Existence of relatives or friends in a target country provides accommodation and probably a job, and culture shock is easier be overcome with these already known people. In addition to this outlier effect, in the home country the legal codes are not designed well for the prevention of emigration. Although recently signed, Armenia has not ratified the United Nations Protocol on Smuggling of Migrants in relation to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime yet.⁸ Moreover,

⁶ Mahmut Niyazi Sezgin, 'Geçiş Sürecinde Ermenistan Ekonomisinin Değerlendirilmesi', *Stratejik Analiz*, Cilt 3, Sayı 28, Ağustos 2002, p.45

⁷ See the report of the International Organization for Migration for the statistics and overall analysis of the migration process in Armenia after the independence. (IOM) *Irregular Migration and Smuggling of Migrants from Armenia*, International Organization for Migration, (Geneva: 2002)

⁸ IOM report, *Irregular ...*, p. 10

amendments to the Criminal Code have been made, but it has also not entered into force yet.⁹ Plus, there is no direct reference in the Constitution other than simple punishment of illegal transpassing of the boundaries. The economic difficulties, the motivating factors and the attractiveness of West drained the country of its population in the end.

THE MIGRANT PROFILE

A survey conducted by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the year 2002¹⁰ puts forward that the majority of migrants are married males who have children and who are in the 30-49 age category. (See Table.1 below). They usually migrate alone and try to bring their families later. An important aspect of this study is that it indicates a correlation between the desire/attempt to migrate and the education level. The higher education level creates a higher desire to migrate since the educated people have more courage and more capital (human capital) and therefore have more chance to find a better job in the West. After the disintegration of U.S.S.R, many of the university graduates became unemployed or underemployed. A last point about the migrant profile is the economic motives rather than the political problems are prior to the migrants. Although the reports of Human Rights Watch¹¹ and Amnesty International¹² indicate ongoing human rights violations and political suppression, most of the asylum applications are turned down by the European countries. One reason is the persistence of economic factors behind the political applications, and the other reason is the changing asylum and refuge criteria of Europe after the end of the Cold War and the increasing problems rooted in the migrant population.

⁹ IOM report, *Irregular ...*, p. 28

¹⁰ IOM report, *Irregular ...*, p. 16

¹¹ www.hrw.org/europe/armenia.php, 20.11.2002

¹² <http://web.amnesty.org/web/ar2002.nsf/eur/armenia!Open> , 18.11.2002

Sex	Number
Female	33
Male	67
Age	
18-29	8
30-35	21
36-49	57
50-65	14
Marital Status	
Single	8
Married	71
Divorced	10
Widowed	10
Children	
Yes	83
No	17
Accompanying Family Members	
None	51
Spouse	37
Children	37
Grandchildren	1
Education	
Secondary	57
Graduate	43
Place of Origin	
Yerevan	67
Alaverdi	4
Armavir	5
Echmiatzin	4
Talin	4
Pyatigorsk	2
Villages	10
Other	4
Occupation in Armenia	
Own/family business	6
Unemployed	65
Blue collar employee	6
White collar employee	12
Other	11

Table 1: Profile of Irregular Migrants according to a UNHCR survey (cited in the IOM report)

MIGRATION PROCESS

Once people decide to migrate, they begin to gather information about the conditions and migration policies of the target country via friends and relatives in the Diaspora. Which country will be chosen to migrate, depends usually on the possibility to stay in that country, once they entered by one way or another. The statistics show that most of the Armenian migrants

Once people decide to migrate, they begin to gather information about the conditions and migration policies of the target country via friends and relatives in the Diaspora.

roam inside the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as there is free movement inside the Commonwealth other than Turkmenistan. This is provided by the 1992 Bishkek agreement and some bilateral agreements between the countries. So, most of them go to Russia (70%) and Ukraine (12%).¹³

Also the transportation cost is considerably lower in migrating inside the CIS compared to Europe and the US. Considering that going to Spain costs more than \$3000, it is not so difficult to calculate the costs to enter other countries.

Despite the costs and other difficulties almost 15% of the migrants move to Western Europe and the US usually via illegal ways. Germany, Belgium and Netherlands can be mentioned as the first three countries preferred by the Armenians because of the level of life standards. However, the tightening of policies of Western countries towards the migrants cause a decline in the flow especially after 1998, but could not stop it (See Table 2 and 3 below). This policy change and relatively cheap transportation costs increased the demand to Poland and the Czech Republic as new destination countries after year 2000. Switzerland and Greece are other countries that are preferred. The migrants usually do not go directly to these countries, rather they initially enter Russia, Ukraine and Belarussia where they can pass the borders more easily, and where the middlemen and international migrant smugglers are mostly located.

¹³ IOM report, *Irregular...*, p. 13

Year	Western Europe	Central Europe	USA/Canada
2000	4,991	1,579	1,332
2001	3,026	1,306	1,614
Total	8,017	2,885	2,946

Table 2: Source-governments, compiled by UNHCR, asylum seekers in Europe and Canada in 2000-2001 (cited in the IOM report)

Country	2000	Country	2001
Belgium	1,331	Germany	654
Germany	882	Austria	558
Netherlands	812	Netherlands	401
France	379	Belgium	387
Austria	165	France	385

Table 3: The number of Armenian asylum applicants in the top five Western European countries in 200-2001 (IOM statistics, www.iom.int)

IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON ARMENIA

Migration has a dual impact on Armenia: one in the positive direction, the other one in the negative direction.

Looking at the positive impacts of population outflow, with an economy unable to sustain jobs enough to a young population, in fact the political system of the country benefits. The unemployed, and particularly educated, population otherwise might have created social disorder and political instability. Although the opposition forces criticize president Robert Kocharian for the high migration rates, system somewhat relies on this outflow. On the other hand, economy also takes the Diaspora as a premise. As stated before, usually young but married men migrate without taking their families together. Therefore, they transfer money to their families and relatives on a regular basis. It is a known fact that the Armenian Diaspora is not only socially but also politically and economically organized,¹⁴ this characteristic of the community living far from the home country is a source of constant revenue. The money transfer from the Diaspora amounts

¹⁴ See the article by Mahmut Niyazi Sezgin mentioned above for further information about the relations between the Armenian Diaspora and home country.

to the three fourth of the national budget.¹⁵ Although the money transfer from the Armenians in Russia has decreased by 40% since the August crises of 1998, still significant amounts of money flow go on.

On the other hand, migration can be seen as population loss from the negative perspective.¹⁶ Majority of the migrants are from the dynamic and economically active class of the society. The reports of the Armenian Sociological Association relate the failure of Armenia to establish a middle class, which is very important for transformation of economy to this reason.¹⁷ In the long-term, improvement of the economy relies on the human capital at some point and the transformative class of Armenia even does not exist. Moreover, the migration smuggling market is around a \$100 million. This huge and profitable market can explain the high number of international crime organizations. This situation means that an additional \$100 million has gone out of the economy, which could have lead to a 3,6% rise in the Gross National Domestic Product (GNDP).¹⁸

CONCLUSION

In the last decade, around 800.000-1.000.000 people have left Armenia in order to go to the CIS countries (mostly to Russia and Ukraine), Europe (mostly to Western Europe), and the United States, either legally or illegally. The reasons behind this are overwhelmingly the economic problems dating back to the war in Karabakh, and the transitional period from the command economy to the free market system. Usually young and educated people have migrated by getting help and information from the Diaspora, cooperating with international smugglers if the illegal ways will be used. The population flow on the one hand has ensured political stability by pouring out the dissatisfied population, and economic relief by the money transfers from the Diaspora community. Nevertheless, it is likely to produce economic and therefore

¹⁵ Ken Stier, *Study...*

¹⁶ Sedat Laçiner cites this point in his article that population is very important for a state to exist and he analyses Armenia's losing a quarter of her population from this perspective. Sedat Laçiner, *Ermenistan'ın...*, p. 178

¹⁷ Gevork Pogossian, *Armenian Returnees From Germany, Back to Homeland*, Report, Armenian Sociological Association, (Yerevan: 1997)

¹⁸ Ken Stier, *Study...*

political problems in the long run: a territory devoid of population.¹⁹ On the other hand, as discussed, it has also produced cheap labor, but social discontent, and economic and political problems to the destination countries. The sponsoring of the international studies on Armenia and her population movements by the government of the Netherlands cannot be taken as a mere coincidence in this context. The narrowing criteria for asylums, refugees and migrant workers are an outcome of the process. As a conclusion, although slowed down, emigration from Armenia seems to be continuous in the future, unless the problems of the home country are solved.

¹⁹ Huge Pope, "Armenia After a Decade of Statehood, Suffers Rapid Loss of Human Capital", The Wall Street Journal, 06.07.2001

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF GENOCIDE: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Assist. Prof. Dr. İbrahim KAYA*

The Encyclopedia of Genocide is claiming to be a “basic and comprehensive reference work” on the Genocide Studies. It includes major sections on the Holocaust, Denial of Genocide, Comparative Study of the Genocides of All Peoples, Process of Genocide, Early Warning Systems for Genocide, legal deterrents and punishment in Law and Genocide, other means of Prevention of Genocide and, of course, “The Armenian Genocide” which makes this two-volume Encyclopedia to fall within the scope of Armenian Studies. Israel W. Charny is the editor in chief of the two-volume Encyclopedia composed of 670 pages and published in 1999 in Santa Barbara, California by ABC-CLIO, Inc.

As a well known fact the term genocide has controversial meanings. It is observed that there is a tendency to overuse or misuse “genocide”. As rightly pointed out by Samuel Toffen “Many use the term to simply “hype” their issue or cause”.¹ It is also true that when it is used in a loose manner it distorts the meaning of the term and diminishes the significance of those actions that constitute true genocides, such as the Holocaust. On the other hand, equally true that, any restrictive use of the term “genocide” would exclude the real genocides. This also brings the issue of the uniqueness of Holocaust into question. The uniqueness, or universality, of the Holocaust is well discussed, bringing the balanced arguments for and against each view by the Encyclopedia of Genocide. The question remains how to decide whether a given case is genocide or not. The most appropriate solution for this question could be found in the legal approach. First of all, genocide is a legal term which is coined by Lemkin whose efforts helped the formation of a Genocide Convention in 1948. The United Nations Convention on Genocide was discussed by Balint as a separate entry to the Encyclopedia, pointing also to the shortcomings of the Convention to which more than 125

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¹ *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 1999), p.35.

countries are party.² Despite criticism mainly by non-lawyers, the Convention's definition is the only authority in the legal sphere. This argument is also supported by the fact that the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court adopted the same definition after all these fifty years. The definition of "genocide" by the Convention also discussed by Charny who pointed out that many events will be disqualified from being labeled genocide if there is an obligation to establish "clear-cut specific intent".³ In a recent paper Aktan argues that intent is definitely required and therefore the 1915 cannot be called a genocide.⁴ It is obvious that the editor in chief of the Encyclopedia of Genocide is in conflict with the UN Convention according to which "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".⁵ The requirement of intent is not only laid down by the Convention in the first paragraph of the article on the mental element of the crime of genocide, i. e. intent, but also some acts in the listing of the material element of genocide makes reference to the intention of perpetrator, as underlined above. From a legal point of view, it is impossible to speak of the crime of the genocide if one element, either intent or genocidal acts, is missing. Professor Schabas, who wrote a brick-thick book on genocide in international law, is also of this opinion.⁶ It could be said on the Encyclopedia of Genocide that it neglects the law of genocide, an important shortcoming of a such comprehensive reference book.

The Encyclopedia of Genocide gives many balanced views on different cases and issues, as an example of the uniqueness of the Holocaust is given above. Surprisingly, or not, this balanced approach disappears when it comes to the Armenian case. All the

² *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, pp. 575-577.

³ *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 14.

⁴ Gündüz Aktan, 'The Armenian Problem and International Law' in Türkkaya Ataöv (ed.), *Armenians in the Late Ottoman Period*, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2001), pp. 288-294.

⁵ Article 2, italics added.

⁶ William A. Schabas, *Genocide in International Law*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2000), pp-206-313.

entries on the Armenian issues are either written by Armenians or scholars to be known as the committed supporters of the Armenian view, among them Vahakn Dadrian and Rouben Adalian. The reader would be more satisfied if the counter arguments were also presented without labeling them "denial". In the entry titled "The Armenian Genocide" is nothing new but same old Armenian allegations. Adalian begins with describing Armenians "lived as second class citizens subject to legal restrictions that denied them normal safeguards" whose neither lives nor properties were guaranteed security.⁷ He further argues that the new Ottoman Government led by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) expoused an ultranationalistic ideology according to which non-Turks were to be eliminated and the CUP used the war time circumstances to destroy the Armenians stood between the Turks of Anatolia and Central Asia.⁸ For an ordinary reader who has not in depth-knowledge of history, the reasoning for a genocide of Armenians is obvious: 1. Turks who are Muslims hated Christian Armenians 2. Armenians are treated as second class and as soon as the Turks had opportunity they destroyed the whole Armenian population. This clearly a genocide because intent is there and genocidal acts are committed, if proved. However, these need to be supported by the facts. Otherwise they prove to no avail.

A reader on the Ottoman history would be expected to be aware of the status of the non-Muslims in the Ottoman legal system. The principles upon which non-Muslims were governed have their roots in the earlier traditions of Persian and Roman rule and Islamic norms. Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians had a special place in Islam. They are all called "People of Book" and allowed to live in a country governed by Muslims as long as they accepted the Muslim rule and paid special taxes. In the fifteenth century Sultan Mehmet II established the *millet system* to facilitate coexistence between the different ethnic and religious groups. After his conquest of Istanbul in 1453, Mehmet II vested the new Greek patriarch, Gennadius, with ecclesiastical and civil authority over his coreligionists of the Empire and invited Bishop Jovakim, the Armenian primate of Bursa, to Istanbul in 1461 and conferred upon the title of "patriarch", thus placing him on the same footing as the patriarch of the Greek community. By implementing *the millet system*, the Ottomans restored peace and order in the

⁷ *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 61.

⁸ *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, pp. 64-68.

classical period. The Ottoman Empire reached its height in the sixteenth century. The decline also started in this century, becoming more apparent in the following centuries. In 1839 a reform edict was issued in Gülhane in the name of the sultan. The principle of equality of persons of all religions is recognized by the edict. However, in practice, it is not to be supposed that the immediate equality for all Ottoman subjects was to be secured. Therefore, in 1856 another reform edict renewed the commitments of 1839; guaranteeing free exercise of religion, charge of their own belongings, access to public employment, equal taxation and equality before the law. In 1876, constitutional monarchy was proclaimed and the parliament convened. The constitution granted all subjects equal rights and liberties.⁹ As a result, between 1876-1915 twenty nine Armenians served in the highest governmental rank of pasha; twenty two served as ministers, including the ministers of foreign affairs, finance, trade and post; thirty three served as members of the parliament; seven served as ambassadors; eleven served as consuls-general, eleven served as university professors; and forty one served as other officials of high ranks.¹⁰ This overview demonstrates that the proposition that the Armenians were treated second class citizens and deprived of rights is unfounded. The striking point that just before 1915 Armenian citizens of the Empire served in the highest bureaucracy, therefore, it is impossible to find any anti-Armenian feelings in the Ottoman society and administration.

The Ottoman Empire did not fully experience the Renaissance. The decline of the Empire brought corruption and oppression to all subjects, irrespective whether they were Muslims and non-Muslims. Most striking of all was the armed forces. In some provinces they became oppressive, taking without payment whatever they wanted from the population, again notwithstanding whether it was Muslim and non-Muslim. The first Ottoman Armenians who received advanced Western education were sent to Italy.¹¹ Others went to various European capitals. In Europe most of these young men were given the opportunity to acquaint themselves with constitutional political systems and progressive ideas, including positivism and materialism. Many Turkish

⁹ Yves Ternon, *The Armenians*, (Delmar:Caravan Books, 1981), pp. 37, 38 and 49.

¹⁰ Jamanak, *Facts from the Turkish Armenians*, Istanbul, 1980, p. 4.

¹¹ Artinian, *The Armenian Constitutional...*, p. 59.

Ottoman students in Europe experienced the same. They compared their falling country's conditions with those of European ones and developed ideas for securing the welfare of their societies and reforming the political system. The first Armenian societies were non-political, aiming at especially expanding education among the members of the Armenian *millet*. For example, on 27 April 1849 the Young Armenians formed the Ararat Society in Paris, which brought together almost all the Armenian students in the French capital. They declared that "... the happiness of a nation can only come through education...(The Ararat Society) is to bring progress to the Armenian nation and to provide for all its needs" in their society's program. Most of the European-educated students took important posts in the civil service of the Ottomans.¹² However, not all Armenian organizations had this kind of innocent aims. Especially towards the end of the nineteenth century, many revolutionary organizations with armed sections were formed. The Union of Salvation and the Black Cross were created in Van in 1872 and 1878 respectively. The Protectors of Fatherland was formed in Erzurum in 1881. The first non-local Armenian revolutionary party was the Armenekan, founded in Van in 1885. The Armenekan expanded to Muş, Bitlis, Trabzon, Istanbul and even Russia and Iran. The Armenekan bought and smuggled arms and engaged terrorist activities. This was followed by the Revolutionary Hunchak Party, created in 1887 in Geneva, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (commonly called by the name of the Dashnak Party) formed in 1890 in Tiflis. Although all were called parties, what they had common was their military wings which carried out many armed activities, or as called today terrorist activities. The flag of the Dashnaks which had on one side five stars encircling the number sixty one and on the other side the slogan "vengeance, vengeance" and a skeleton makes the aim and the method of the 'party' clear.¹³ It is definitely accepted even by the Armenian nationalist historians that the Armenians tried to take advantage of the entry of the Ottoman Empire in the World War I. For example Nalbandian pointed out that this was regarded by the Armenian revolutionary committees as "the most opportune time to begin a general uprising to achieve their goals".¹⁴ In early April 1915 the

¹² Artinian, *The Armenian Constitutional...*, p. 65.

¹³ Ternon, *The Armenians*, pp. 74-82.

¹⁴ Louise Nalbandian, *Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 110-111.

Armenian uprising in Van began. Coupled with the Russian advance, the government ordered their own Muslim population to evacuate the city. Many Muslims suffered and lost their lives during the process of evacuation. It is clear that it was the bloody Armenian rebellion in Van that left no alternative to the Ottoman government but relocate those citizens deemed disloyal and rebellious in other parts of the Ottoman territory. On 27 May 1915, the Ottoman Empire passed a law for the resettlement of the people who posed security threat to the Ottoman Army. This obviously included especially the Armenians who were engaged in rebellious activities. The relocation was painful because displacing thousands of people and resettling them was not an easy task. The year 1915 witnessed the killing of some Armenians by some elements of the local Muslim population for revenge on their route to their new settlements. Some government officials also contributed to these crimes. The 1915 relocation was not a total campaign directed against the Armenians, as an infamous Armenian author accepts that sometimes the Armenian Catholics and Protestants as well as the Armenians of Istanbul and Izmir were exempted from the relocation decrees.¹⁵ As pointed out by Halaçoğlu, of course, when some those allowed to stay were seen engaged in harmful activities, they, too, were relocated irrelevant of their creed.¹⁶ A detailed examination of the Ottoman legal documents on the 1915 relocation makes it clear that not only the extermination of the Armenians was out of question, but also the government made it clear that anyone committed crimes against the population relocated would be punished severely. As a matter of fact, before the end of war 1,397 were sentenced with more than half of them being executed by the CUP administration.¹⁷

In order to prove that the Turks committed a genocide against the Armenians the Encyclopedia of Genocide refers to some sources among which are: the Andonian Documents, US news reports, Treaty of Sevres, Ottoman Military Tribunal Verdicts and a decision of Permanent People's Tribunal. All sources cited by the Armenian view's supporters were examined in detail and counter-

¹⁵ Richard G. Hovannasian, 'Etiology and Sequele of the Armenian Genocide', in George J. Andreopoulos (ed.), *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*, (Philedelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p. 124.

¹⁶ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, 'Realities behind the Relocation' in Türkkaya Ataöv, *The Armenians in the Late Ottoman Period*, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2001), p. 122.

¹⁷ Kamuran Gürün, *The Armenian File*, (London: K. Rustem and Bro., 1985), p. 259.

arguments were advanced by scholars on Armenian Studies. However, since these sources are still being used as proves of a genocide, each will be touched upon briefly as long as the borders of this review allow.

By the end of the World War I, the ruling CUP's leading figures fled from the country and a new government with strong opposition, if not hostility to, the former ruling party was installed by the sultan. The new government formed a special Court Martial whose statutes were set forth on 8 May 1915. The principal task of the tribunal was the investigation of the alleged "massacres and unlawful personal profiteering" as well as the charge of "overthrow of the government".¹⁸ The second task makes it clear that the tribunal directly involved in politics and the punishment of those associated with the former governing party. The political considerations of the special tribunal were reflected on its composition and decisions as well as the way it operated. It was composed of non-professionals of law, composed of Armenian members who may have not been completely unbiased, operated under pressure, sometimes with intervention, of the government and Allies which occupied Istanbul, relied on the testimonies of the people who had never been to the places where the massacres allegedly taken place and testimonies of the children who were even under the age of five as eye-witnesses.¹⁹ As a result it would not be correct to say that the Turks after the war recognized the genocide and the current Turkish government should do so. As a matter of fact, the first Turkish Grand National Assembly cleared the names who were found guilty and executed by the so-called Ottoman Military Tribunal and in 1926 a law to give financial support for the families of those who were executed by the Court Martial was enacted. Therefore, it is far from convincing to rely on the verdicts delivered by the Ottoman military tribunal, as did Vahakn Dadrian in the Encyclopedia of Genocide.²⁰

There were also attempts to bring those who were allegedly responsible for crimes committed against the Armenians before a

¹⁸ *Takvimi Vekayi*, No: 3540, 5 May 1919 and *Takvimi Vekayi*, No: 3571, 13 June 1919.

¹⁹ See Senol Kantarcı, "Speeches on the Armenians Attributed to Atatürk and his Help to the Victims of Armenian Terrorists and 'Court Martials'" *Armenian Studies*, Vol. 1, Issue 4 and Nejdet Bilgi, *Ermeni Tehciri ve Boğazlayan Kaymekemi Mehmed Kemal Beyin Yargılanması (Armenian Relocation and the Trial of Governor of Bogazlayan Mehmet Bey)*, (Ankara: Köksav, 1999).

²⁰ *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, pp. 87-89.

court of law. The Encyclopedia of Genocide rightly quotes a joint declaration by France, Great Britain and Russia.²¹ As the relocation was beginning, the Allies issued a joint declaration on 24 May 1915. They alluded to the “assistance of Ottoman authorities” in harming the Armenians and announced that “they will hold personally responsible ... all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres”.²² This declaration is a result of the wide coverage by the European and US press of the relocation which was presented by the Armenian committees abroad as an attempt to massacre of the Armenians. It is true that some US papers presented the Armenian dead as 1,000²³ and 9,000²⁴ while again the same sources put victims at 500,000²⁵ and 1,000,000.²⁶ The huge disagreement on numbers is readily obvious. The striking point is this all the numbers were provided by the same source, i.e. The New York Times reported on the information provided by the Armenian committees. However, it seems that the Ottomans were confident and made an attempt to form an international tribunal which requested two lawyers each from Denmark, Spain, Sweden and Holland “to participate in the international committee to be formed to investigate if any injustices were made during relocation”.²⁷ The delegates of the international committee were to visit places where the alleged massacres occurred to make investigations and to establish the facts which would have led to prosecution of alleged criminals. But the attempt failed and the British decided to prosecute the accused themselves. The British took measures for the transfer of the detainees, who were arbitrarily arrested by the new government in Istanbul, often, by the directives of the occupying Allied forces, to British custody in Malta.²⁸ The total number of the Malta deportees were more than one hundred and forty. The prominent members of the Turkish society, like the former Grand Vizier, speaker of parliament, chief

²¹ *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 82.

²² FO 371/2488/51010 (28 May 1915) (Also cited by Vahakn N. Dadrian, ‘Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: The World War I Armenian Case and Its Contemporary Legal Ramifications’ *The Yale Journal of International Law*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1989, p. 262.)

²³ *New York Times*, 20 August 1915, quoted by *the Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 75.

²⁴ *New York Times*, 4 August 1915, quoted by *the Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 75.

²⁵ *New York Times*, 24 September 1915, quoted by *the Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 75.

²⁶ *New York Times*, 1 November 1915, quoted by *the Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 75.

²⁷ BOA, HR:MÜ. 43/17, 6 May 1919.

²⁸ Dadrian, *Genocide as a Problem of...*, p. 285.

of general staff, ministers, members of parliament, senators, army commanders, governors, university professors, editors, journalists composed the deported.²⁹

On 4 August 1920, the British Cabinet decided that "The list of the deportees be carefully revised by the Attorney General with a view to selecting the names of those it was proposed to prosecute, so that those against whom no proceedings were contemplated should be released at the first convenient opportunity."³⁰ And the Attorney-General wrote to the Foreign Office that the "British High Commissioner at Istanbul should be asked to prepare the evidence against those interned Turks whom he recommends for prosecution on charge of cruelty to native Christians."³¹

Sir Harry Lamb, the political-legal officer of the British High Commission at Istanbul, stated on the issue of evidence of the alleged massacre:

"No one of the deportees was arrested on any evidence in the legal sense...The whole case of the deportees is not satisfactory...There are no dossiers in any legal sense. In many cases we have statements by Armenians of differing values...The Americans must be in possession of a mass of invaluable material..."³²

Then, the British Foreign Office decided to ask the assistance of the US State Department. On 31 March 1921, Lord Curzon telegraphed to Sir A. Gedes, the British Ambassador in Washington, the following:

"There are in hands of His Majesty's Government at Malta a number of Turks arrested for alleged complicity in the Armenian massacre...There is considerable difficulty in establishing proofs of guilt...Please ascertain if United States Government are in possession of any evidence that would be of value for purposes of prosecution."³³

The Embassy returned the following reply:

"I regret to inform Your Lordship that there was nothing therein which could be used as evidence against the Turks

²⁹ Bilal N. Şimşir, *The Deportees of Malta and the Armenian Question*, (Ankara: Foreign Policy Institute, 1992), pp. 18-33.

³⁰ FO 371/5090/E.9934: Cabinet Officer to Lord Curzon of 12.8.1920.

³¹ FO 371/6499/E.1801: Law Officers to Foreign Office of 8.2.1921.

³² FO 371/6500/E.3554: Inclosure, minutes by Sir H.Lamb, dossier Veli Nedjdet.

³³ FO 371/6500/E.3552: Curzon to Geddes. Tel No 176 of 31.3.1921.

who are being detained for trial at Malta. The reports seen...made mention of only two names of the Turkish officials in question and in these case were confined to personal opinions of these officials on the part of the writer, no concrete facts being given which could constitute satisfactory incriminating evidence...I have the honour to add that officials at the Department of State expressed the wish that no information supplied by them in this connection should be employed in a court of law...Having regard to this stipulation and the fact that the reports in the possession of the Department of State do not appear in any case to contain evidence against these Turks..., I fear that nothing is to be hoped from addressing any further enquiries to the United States Government in this matter."³⁴

The Attorney-General's Department returned the following reply:

"...It seems improbable that the charges made against the accused will be capable of legal proof in a Court of Law...Until more precise information is available as to the nature of the evidence which will be forthcoming at the trials, the Attorney-General does not feel that he is in a position to express any opinion as to the prospect of success in any of the cases submitted for his consideration."³⁵

Upon the receipt of this reply, W.S. Edmonds, Under-Secretary in the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office, minuted:

"From this letter it appears that the chances of obtaining convictions are almost nil... It is regrettable that the Turks have confined as long without charges being formulated against them..."³⁶

Sir H. Rumbold, the High Commissioner in İstanbul, wrote:

"Failing the possibility of obtaining proper evidence against these Turks which would satisfy a British Court of Law, we would seem to be continuing an act of technical injustice in further detaining the Turks in question. In order, therefore, to avoid as far as possible losing face, in this matter, I consider that all the Turks... should be made available for exchange purposes."³⁷

³⁴ FO 371/6504/E.8515: Craigie, British Charge d' Affaires at Washington, to lord Curzon, No.722 of 13.7.1921.

³⁵ FO 371/6504/E.8745: Procurator-General's Department to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 29.7.1921.

³⁶ *Ibid*: Minutes by Mr. Edmonds of 3.8.1921.

³⁷ FO 371/6504/E.10023.

From now on, the Turkish detainees at Malta were not considered as "offenders" for prosecution, but rather as "hostages" for exchange against British prisoners in Anatolia.³⁸ Subsequently all Turkish deportees at Malta were exchanged with the British prisoners of war. The Law Officers of the Crown abstained from accusing anyone of Turkish deportees of massacre of the Armenians and all Turkish deportees were released and repatriated without being brought before a tribunal. The incident of the Malta detainees makes it clear that the British could not find any evidence to prosecute the alleged criminals of the crimes against the Armenians. This also clarifies that the coverage of the 1915 Relocation by the US press was not supported by the reliable sources of information. In the same column, the Encyclopedia of Genocide cites the telegrams by Talat Pasha who was a leading figure in the Ottoman war time administration. The telegrams according to which Talat ordered the extermination of the Armenian population are brought as evidences of the genocide.³⁹ This is a well known strategy of the supporters of the Armenian view.⁴⁰ However, the Armenian sources avoids from using these telegrams anymore. The main reason for this is that the Andonian documents are proven forgeries.⁴¹ The signatures on them are not authentic. The numbers given to the documents do not correspond to the numbers of the Ottoman official documentation system. Even the dates put on the documents do not match the dates of the Ottoman official documents. It seems absurd that the Encyclopedia of Genocide claiming to be a "basic and comprehensive reference work" keeps referring to these forged documents. Had the telegrams attributed to the war time Ottoman officials be authentic, it would have been illogical for the British not to use them.

The Encyclopedia of Genocide also uses two sources that the reader could regard them as legally binding to prove the genocide, namely some provisions of the Treaty of Sevres⁴² and a decision

³⁸ Şimşir, *The Deportees of Malta...*, pp.45-48.

³⁹ *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 96.

⁴⁰ See for example Vahakn N. Dadrian, 'The Naim-Andonian documents of the World War I and Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians: The Anatomy of Genocide' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1986), pp. 311-360.

⁴¹ See for details Türkaya Ataöv, *The Andonian "Documents" Attributed to Talat Pasha Are Forgeries* (Ankara: Sistem Ofset, 1984).

⁴² *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 86.

of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal.⁴³ First of all the Treaty of Sevres is not a binding material from a legal point of view. It is true that it was signed by all parties on 10 August 1920. However, none of its signatories except Greece ratified it. Even Armenia itself did not ratify the document. Therefore it never came to force. Similarly Permanent Peoples' Tribunal which is said "found Turkey guilty of committing the crime of genocide" on 13-16 April 1984 has no jurisdiction at all.⁴⁴ As understood from its formation and practices it is an organization without any juridical power. Only the politically oriented issues are dealt with it and it makes calls to states to adopt policies in accordance with its decisions. The citation of its decision on 1915 could be deceiving. Its legal status must have been made clear by the Encyclopedia of Genocide to prevent such a misunderstanding.

After all, the Encyclopedia of Genocide is an attempt to create a reference book on Genocide Studies. The reader should be cautious about all the information provided by it, because it is far away giving balanced and unbiased arguments on the Armenian issues. If it is correct for one section, why not it is not be the same for other sections. This definitely damages the reliability of the Encyclopedia. It is hoped that the editors will consider the criticism about the Encyclopedia and make necessary alterations to the full satisfaction of the reader and scholars of the Genocide Studies.

⁴³ *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, pp. 82-85.

⁴⁴ *Quoted by the Encyclopedia of Genocide*, p. 82.

CONFERENCES

Third Annual Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society

University of Wisconsin-Madison, October 17-20, 2002

Third Annual Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society was held in Madison with 103 participants. In the first day of the conference there were 10 sessions. Topics of the main sessions were international relations, social issues, medieval Eurasian history, language policy, folklore and music, geography, society and politics I, Central Asian politics. In the second day of the conference there were 13 sessions. The topics of the main sessions were international relations II, economy and law, languages of the Caucasus, Islam, culture I, education, shifting boundaries of imperial authority: war and diplomacy in the North Caucasus 1700-1859, culture II, society and politics II, modern Central Asian history, identity and international relations III.

Papers, particularly, which were presented in the international relations sessions, and Ottoman and Turkish foreign relations were interesting; since they covered a wide range of subjects such as globalization in Central Asia, Central Asian security issues, the geopolitics of the Caucasus, Russian foreign policy towards the Ottoman Empire and Turkey's policy towards Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia. There were also two interesting papers presented in the society and politics I and II sessions. One was presented by Lowell W. Barrington from Marquette University. He spoke about ethnic stereotypes among Russians in Kazakhstan. Erin Epstein and Charity Fain from the National Democratic Institute presented paper titled as Democracy in Central Asia. They spoke about National Democratic Institute's activities in Central Asia and Institute's experiences in the new republics.

There were three papers, which focused on the Caucasus; Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and Turkey. One was Khatchik DerGhoukassian and Richard Giragosian's "Huntington Revisited: Ethnic Conflict, Economic Transition and Corruption in the

Caucasus". Another one was Aspet Kotchikian's "Where Worlds Collide: The Geopolitics of the Caucasus in a New World Order". Kamer Kasım from Abant İzzet Baysal University, Turkey and Institute For Armenian Research presented a paper titled "Turkey's Foreign Policy Towards Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia". He analyzed the importance of Turkish foreign policy to each state and the basic parameters of Turkey's relations with them. Regional alignments and the areas for cooperation and competition among the three states were also dealt with.

Third Annual Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society was very successful in terms of the quality of the papers presented in the conference and organization. Next year Fourth Annual Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society will be held in Cambridge.

ARMENIAN STUDIES WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS IN THE TURKISH UNIVERSITIES

The Institute for Armenian Research organized workshops and seminars in some of the Turkish universities in Autumn 2002. First meeting was held at Ankara University with the participation of more than 100 lecturers from the universities of the Central Anatolia, Mediterranean and Eastern Anatolia regions. The second workshop and seminar was organized in Atatürk University, Erzurum. The participant number was about 140 in this activity. The third and fourth organizations were in İstanbul University and Bosphorus University, İstanbul, and about 300 Turkish historians and lecturers from the Marmara region universities participated it. Fourth event will be at Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir. And finally, the last meeting will be in Ankara again and the host university will be Hacettepe University. The Institute expects more than 300 historians and lecturers to these activities.

In the workshops the lecturers found opportunity to discuss the recent developments in Armenian issue and Armenian studies. They focused on methodology and newly published works on the area. Many lecturers argued that they need more materials to give the subjects regarding the Armenian studies in the courses. They also argued that a better communication is the only way to overcome the prejudices among the Turks and Armenian. The lecturers further said that the Turkish and Armenian universities should be in co-operation in all areas to give the history courses

more objectively. Another point which was pointed out by the lecturer was that the new dimensions of Armenian studies, like the cultural and economical areas, should be studies. The lecturers said that both, Turks and Armenians have focused on the most problematical issues, however a dialogue cannot be long-lasting with such a method.

In each of the meetings, the four Institute researchers gave papers on the different aspects of the Armenian studies. After the presentations the lecturers discussed the paper and the related issues. In the second day of the activity, a workshop was held and all participants discussed the methodology, sources and recent developments. The papers presented in the meetings were published and it is available from the Institute.

It will be summarized below the four papers presented in these meetings:

Historical Dimension

The paper presentations started with one made by **Şenol Kantarcı**. It is obvious that the Armenian issue originates from the interpretation of a historical fact of 1915. However to understand the 1915, other historical issues need to be examined. Otherwise, focusing only on the year 1915 in isolation could lead incorrect conclusions. **Şenol Kantarcı**'s overview of the Turkish - Armenian relations started from the beginning, pre-1064 AD period but the main concentration was the 19th century when the Armenian issue became a matter of question even in international arena. He analyzed the relation between the colonialism, expansion of the great powers and the Armenian question. He mentioned the roles played by the great powers of the time, namely France, Russia, the United States and Britain in the inception of the Armenian question. He also paid special attention to the examination of the 1915 Relocation and explained why the relocation was a necessity. **Şenol Kantarcı**, though briefly, attempted to summarize the foreign states' and Armenian lobbies' involvement in the current Turkish - Armenian relations, by analyzing the so-called resolutions brought before the US Congress as an example.

The Legal Aspect

The legal aspect of the Armenian issue has always been

neglected. **Assist. Prof. Dr. İbrahim Kaya** attempted to fill that void. He aimed to give a legal perspective to the audience, who mainly come from the background of history in order to underline the importance of interdisciplinary approach to the Armenian studies. The presentation focused its attention on both international and national legal issues such as the status of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 'Genocide' as a legal term and the 1915 Relocation, international attempts for justice and the Malta deportees, Armenian issue under treaty law- the treaties of Sevres, Lausanne, Alexandropol, Moscow and Kars-, international minority rights and the Armenian community in Turkey and finally Armenian terror from a legal point of view. In such a short period, less than one and a half hours, he managed to core all the issues mentioned above, despite briefly. It is observed that the participants were very much interested in legal issues and many asked questions, which enabled **Assist Prof. Dr. İbrahim Kaya** to go deeper in some areas.

Terror, Violence and Politics

Assist. Prof. Dr. Sedat Laçiner gave the third paper. **Laçiner** in his paper focused on the thorny issues, like terror, political violence and ethnic conflicts. **Laçiner** first of all argued that the Armenian issue is not a history problem, but an issue of modern Turkey, Armenia and the diaspora Armenians. He further continued: "It is true there are real problems and obstacles before the reconciliation, but the most important problems are lack of dialogue and the strong biases in the both sides. In this regard, the most formidable problem can be considered as the Armenian diaspora's identity crisis. Confronting a cultural assimilation the Armenian institutions in the diaspora have tried to preserve the Armenian identity in the United States, Britain, Canada and elsewhere in the West. However it was a difficult job because the Armenians in the Western states were not homogenous: Some were from the Middle East, some from Caucasia, some from North Africa. That is to say, these institutions needed something to unite all the Armenians and the Jewish case provided a good example to create a new national identity. In the 1930s-1950speriod, the Armenian Church and the radical groups created the 1915 genocide legacy, and this became the most significant uniting factor among the diaspora Armenians."

Sedat Laçiner pointed out that another reason for the Armenian aggressive style in the diaspora is unsatisfied Armenian nationalism:

“Armenians lived under other nations’ rule for about 1000 years. The first independent Armenian Republic lived just a couple of years after the First World War. Now the Armenians have a fledgling state, Republic of Armenia. It gained its independence in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union. However we have seen that the Armenian nationalists have no idea how states survive and how states develop. In another word they do not have a state culture, because they have never experienced a state. That is why they are mostly romantic and less pragmatic. Until now, terrorism, armed attacks and lobbying in other states were the only method to ‘persuade’ the Turks or any other enemy in order to reach their aims. Yet now they have a state and they do not know how to keep it independence forever. Ironically the independent Armenia desperately need to co-operate with the Turks in the region to be fully independent.”

Having given the source of prejudices among the Armenians, **Laçiner** criticized the Turkish side. He argued that Turkey has not give the necessary importance to its neighbors (Armenians) and the Armenian issue:

“Turkey have left the area to the radicals, and did nothing to shift the hostility trend for many decades. However now we understand that Turkey needs the Armenians as the Armenians need Turkey. The neighbors cannot live in the same region just by ignoring the problems.”

Laçiner finally talked on the Armenian terror assaults in the 1970s and 1980s. He gave a brief summary of the reasons and results of the terrorist activities. He, as a final word, pointed out that the Turkish Armenians never participated or supported the terrorist activities, and their experience should be a good example for the both sides.

International Relations Dimension

Finally, **Assist. Prof. Dr. Kâmer Kasım** talked about international relations dimension of the Armenian problem. He mentioned Armenian diaspora’s role in the Armenian problem and diaspora’s impact on Armenian foreign policy, Turkey’s relations with Armenia, countries’ approach to the Armenian problem and finally Mr. **Kasım** gave brief information about the Armenian

community in Turkey. In his speech, **Kamer Kasım**'s main aim was to emphasize international relations dimension of the Armenian problem. He, particularly, dealt with Turkey's relations with Armenia and its implications on the Armenian problem. **Kamer Kasım** argued that Armenia's economic and political interest to normalize its relations with Turkey and other neighbors and to manage this Armenian administration should be free from the heavy influence of diaspora and other radical elements. **Kamer Kasım** also emphasized that the solution of the Karabakh problem was essential for regional cooperation in the Caucasus.

Closing Remarks

At the end of the presentations, **Ömer E. Lütem** made a closing speech. He stressed the milestones of the Armenian problem and dealt with his experiences as an ambassador. **Lütem** made comments about the future prospect of the Armenian problem.

The Armenian Issue from all Perspectives

Çankırı

20 November 2002

The governorship of Çankırı organized a panel named 'The Armenian Issue from all Perspectives' on 20 November 2002. The two members of the Armenian Research Institute, **Aydan İyigüngör** and **Şenol Kantarcı** participated at this panel.

The historian Şenol Kantarcı informed on the historical background of the Armenian issue. He focused on the direct and indirect influences of states like France, Russia, USA and Great Britain on the developments in the past. Kantarcı started with the Berlin conference in 1878, at which the Armenian issue became a political face for the first time. The Armenian issue became one of the most important things on the Ottoman agenda. The rebellions from 1878 to 1915 are explained in a detailed way by Kantarcı. A special attention has been given to the rebellions of Van in April 1915.

This background information makes it easier to understand the relocation decision of 1915. The reasons which lead to the relocation are laid open. The treaties of Sevres and Lausanne are explained after that.

A light on the international situation has been held by the second panelist **Aydan İyigüngör**. A detailed topic namely the Turkish İsraeli Armenian axis has been explained by her in this connection. It is, explained how Armenia tried to get Israel on her side in her genocide allegations towards Turkey and how Armenia finally failed with this policy. Apart from this, it is explained how the Armenian issue is being used against Turkey on the international platform. Hereby a special focus has been made on Germany, who committed genocide against Jews in the history.

At the end of the panel questions of the audience have been answered by the panelists.

BOOK REVIEW

'PURSUING THE JUST CAUSE OF THEIR PEOPLE' A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY ARMENIAN TERRORISM.

Author: Michael M. GUNTER.

(New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1986). 182 pp. Bibliography, Index. ISBN: 0-313-25247-5.

Web: www.eraren.org

Assist. Prof. Dr. Yücel ACER*

The ongoing discussion on an internationally agreed definition of terrorism embodies a special interest to Turkey, which is targeted by violent groups. This is not, however, a new phenomenon as a costly campaign of terrorism against the Turkish officials, citizens and institutions inside or outside Turkey was in operation by certain Armenian groups nearly since 18th century. During those troubled years, an argument was echoed by the Armenian side that these activities should not to be called "terrorism" but simply "a just war" further justified by the alleged "Armenian genocide by Turks" in 1915.

First published in 1986, even the title of Professor Gunther's this study indicates that although it was placated "just" by the Armenians, they were no doubt acts of terrorism. On the presumption that the title indicates, it rather gives a comprehensive account of acts and their reasoning and nature.

The Introduction is a special section which gives not only a general description of the characteristics of terrorism but also a background to the Armenian terrorism. It is noted that the acts were perpetrated not only against Turkish elements abroad but also inside Turkey. In this wide spectrum, those who were doing

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business or cooperating with Turkey were targeted. The acts were in a large scale and mostly justified by what happened in 1915. The study accordingly gives an account of history of the "Armenian issue" that still dwells on. The Turks and the Armenians are said to be widely divided on the reasons for the emergence of the Armenian issue and its persistence. The author seems to suffice with giving a smooth listing of the events that took place until and during the World War I. He notes strikingly that "Since they were the weaker party, the Hunchaks and the Dashnaks, in a manner similar to what the Armenian terrorist are attempting to do today, began deliberately using terror against the Turks to incite Turkish reprisals and massacres". It should be added that the author gives a fairly sufficient account of "deportation and massacres" in the World War I in the light of first accounts of ambassadors and historians. In any account, the author emphasizes that there was no "premeditated genocide" of Armenians by the Turks although many Armenians perished as a result of war conditions and negligence.

The study then takes on the beginnings of the current Armenian terrorism by starting with the name "Nemesis" which is described as a secret Dashnak network and said to be responsible for killing many former Ottoman officials in exile in 1920s. In those years, the reasons behind the terror campaign also started to emerge and were mostly linked to feelings of revenge leading to a widespread support especially among the Armenian community.

The very recent wave of Armenian terrorism was said to have started on 27 January 1973 with killing of the Turkish council general and vice council in New York. As soon as these events started to take place so did the names of ASALA and then JCAG-ARA. The author accordingly devotes separate sections to reviewing of these notorious terrorist organizations.

ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) was subjected to a comprehensive analysis of origins and nature and found clearly responsible for assassinating many Turkish diplomats or their immediate family. The statements was that ASALA was doing more than it was despite splits inside ASALA. JCAG-ARA (Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide-Armenian Revolutionary Army) is linked to Dashnaks and dated back to 1890. The review also emphasizes the divergences between ASALA and JCAG-ARA.

Having noted that a simple account of terrorist acts might be misleading, Professor Gunter analyses in detail the modus operandi of these organizations trying particularly to reflect the scale and the effects. The period between 1978-80 being the peak of Armenian terrorism, 30 Turkish diplomats or their immediate family members are said to have been killed in the years between 1973 to 1984. The Armenian terrorism is described as having a large scale taking place in four different continents.

More importantly, the study analyses the financial support behind the Armenian terrorism pointing particularly to the donations from the Armenian community in various countries and even to the drug-trafficking. The personal characteristics of those who have taken part in the acts are also reflected.

As to the transnational support for the Armenian terrorism, he points to the link between ASALA and the similar groups in the western European countries and the sympathy for Armenians among the western countries giving credit to the belief among the Turks that a campaign of terror to weaken Turkey was planned and supported by outsiders. The study goes one step further and examines the link between the Armenian terrorism and particular States such as Lebanon, Palestinian, the Soviets, the United States, France and Cyprus. On the other hand, Greece, Syria and Iran are termed as those indirectly supporting the Armenian terrorism against their "historic enemy".

In all these events, were there any "Turkish counterterror and harassment"? This is a highly controversial issue as indicated by the author with a question mark after the title "Turkish counterterror and harassment?". The allegations seem basically stem from the statements of the Turkish officials including the then President Kenan Evren to the effect that Turkey would seek to punish those who had taken part in terrorist acts against Turkey and the Turks. For the reasons that the author contemplates on, there was simply no Turkish counterterror against the Armenians or Armenian terrorists.

However, whether or not there was a Turkish harassment against the Armenians and especially those living in Turkey seems to be a more important issue. The allegation is raised by the Armenians that "The Turkish Government today harasses, persecutes and terrorizes its few (c. 60,000) remaining Armenian citizens". It is argued that Armenian monuments and other

remainings are destroyed in many forms or the Armenian names are forcefully changed in Turkey.

Professor Gunter emphasizes the statements of many Armenians living in Turkey that the outsiders distort the real situation of the Armenian origin citizens of Turkey. In his synthesis, he says that although the Turkish treatment of the minorities have not always been at an ideal level, there were reasons since the late Ottoman years for this and these reasons were mostly unrelated to an idea of premeditated government policy. It is rather that Turkey today restores and cleans up the important Armenian sites in eastern Anatolia especially to protect them and facilitate the visits.

The author concludes as to the Armenian terrorism with an impressive expression that "It is obvious that the Armenian terrorist are a deadly, secretive and important manifestation of contemporary international terrorism". (p. 147) But, more than that, it is possible to see in the Conclusion the factors on which the Armenian terrorism against Turkey was based. All come to a point that Armenians associate themselves with the eastern Anatolia. But the author concludes as to this point that at this late date the Armenians have absolutely no international legal or even moral claim to eastern Anatolia. However, as a stateless people who suffered a wrong that has never been rectified and since they are a party to contemporary terrorist movement against Turkey, it behooves us to search for a possible solution to the current impasse.

It certainly reflects on the current situation between Turkey and the Armenians although the current Armenian stance against Turkey does not comprise violence or terrorism but an intensive political and sometimes legal campaign to secure the approval of the so-called "Armenian genocide". In this context, a sentence of dissatisfaction to the remarks of Professor Gunter should be added. The comments in the Conclusion unnecessarily concentrate on the treatment of the Armenians by the Ottomans and on the alleged "Armenian genocide". This should not distort the fact that nothing can be a justification for resorting to terrorism as a way of pursuing a goal. Moreover, as author emphasizes, what happened during the World War I and in 1915 was not, in any account, premeditated but rather happened for some other reasons that should be perceived as mostly related to the natural components of a war situation.

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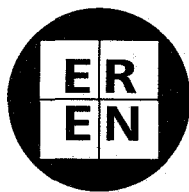
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