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ՍԵԴԱ ԳԱՍՊԱՐՅԱՆ

ՀԱՅՈՑ ՑԵՂԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ
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SEDA GASPARYAN

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE
A LINGUOCOGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Yerevan State University Academic Council
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The Armenian Genocide: A Linguocognitive Perspective / S.Gasparyan; YSU. Yerevan, YSU Press, 2014, 208 p.

The work presents an analytical review of different interpretations of the Armenian Genocide from a linguocognitive standpoint which gives us a chance to study the textual mechanisms of expressing various attitudes towards the issue and reveal the implicit intents of the authors often meant to veil the pre-planned genocidal nature of the horrendous events at the beginning of the 20th century in Western Armenia. Some authors' skillful manipulation of language elements helps them to falsify historical facts and relieve the Turkish government of the responsibility for the unprecedented events.

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the Armenian Genocide

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Հայոց ցեղասպանության վերաբերյալ բազմաթիվ հրատարակությունների մեջ այս գիրքն ակնհայտորեն աչքի է ընկնում իր յուրօրինակությամբ և կարևորությամբ: Շատ բան է ասվել և գրվել խնդրո առարկայի վերաբերյալ թե՛ գրականության մեջ, թե՛ մամուլում: Իրենց հնագույն հայրենիքում հատկապես 20-րդ դարի առաջին տասնամյակներում օսմանյան լծի տակ հայերին վիճակված անպատմելի սարսափների մասին բազմիցս գրել են քաղաքագետներ, պատմաբաններ, հասարակագետներ, լրագրողներ և հասարակագիտության զանազան բնագավառների շատ ու շատ գիտակներ: Թեման այնքան է արծարծվել, որ կարծես չի մնացել պատմական «հողի» մի ծվեն, որ տրորված չլինի:

Սույն գրքի հեղինակը՝ պրոֆեսոր Սեդա Գասպարյանը, անգլիագիտական հետազոտությունների ոլորտում ճանաչված մասնագետ, բարձրակարգ բանասեր, հայտնաբերել է մի հայեցակերպ, որը մինչ օրս երբևէ չի քննարկվել Հայոց ցեղասպանության ուսումնասիրության բնագավառում, այն է՝ պատմական փաստերի տարբեր բնորոշումների լեզվական արտահայտության քննությունը: Հեղինակը փորձում է դիտարկել այս հարցին առնչվող զգալի թվով խնդիրներ՝ հայեցակետ ընտրելով լեզուն՝ ամենահրաշալի, ամենահստակ և ամենահամոզիչ ապացույցը, որ մարդկությունը երբևէ ունեցել է, քանզի հենց լեզվում է արտացոլվում մեզ տրված աշխարհը, և

լեզվում են ծածկագրված մեր բոլոր խոհերն ու հակումները: Այս տեսնակյունից կարելի է նկատել, որ նորկտակարանային մեջբերումը (*«Ի սկզբանէ էր Բանը, և Բանն Աստծո մոտ էր, և Բանն Աստված էր»* / Ավետարան ըստ Հովհաննեսի), որով բացվում է եզրափակիչ գլուխը, կարող է բնաբան լինել ամբողջ գրքին:

Նման մոտեցումը, որի «մեխը» լեզվական փաստերն են, փաստեր, որոնք ներառում և ամրագրում են որոշակի բառ, բառակապակցություն, բառիմաստային կառույց ընտրելու հեղինակի մտադրությունը, անկասկած, ընդգծում է մենագրության յուրահատկությունն ու նորույթը: Այս նորահայտ ճանապարհին հեղինակը բամաթիվ կարևոր հայտնագործություններ է անում, որոնք, ինչպես կտեսնենք ստորև, հատկապես նշանակալի են լեզվաբանական հետազոտության արդի որոշ ուղղությունների համար: Սա մի նոր լույս է սփռում տակավին կարևոր խնդրի վրա՝ ընդունել և ճանաչել 1915-1923թթ. երիտթուրքական կառավարության իրականացրած հրեշավոր ոճիրը, որի ընթացքում մեկուկես միլիոն հայ բնաջնջվեց, այնպիսին, ինչպիսին այն եղել է իրականում, այն է՝ ցեղասպանություն բառիս լիարժեք իմաստով՝ մի ամբողջ ազգի կանխամտածված, ծրագրված և կազմակերպված ոչնչացում՝ ոչ միայն բուն ժողովրդի, այլև նրա մշակույթի ու կրոնի, նրա աշխարհայացքի, նրա նյութական ու բարոյական արժեքների: Սա լիովին համապատասխանում է ցեղասպանությանը՝ արդի ժամանակների ամենազազրելի երևույթին, մեր օրերում տրվող բնորոշմանը:

Այստեղ, սակայն, կարող են մի ամբողջ շարք հարցեր ծագել. ո՞րն է խնդիրը, ի՞նչ իմաստ ունի մեկ այլ մոտեցում փնտրել, այլ ապացույցներ պեղել, հավելյալ ինչ-որ բան հայտնաբերել՝ հավաստելու այն, ինչ արդեն իսկ ակնհայտ է:

Ինչպիսի՜ ողբերգական պարադոքս, եթե դեռ կարիք կա ապացուցելու 1915-ի սարսափների ցեղասպանական բնույթը: Հիրավի, պարադոքս է, եթե Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչումը տակավին մնում է ընթացիկ կարևորության խնդիր: Կարծես թե տարիներ շարունակ բավարար ապացույցներ, գլխավորապես՝ փաստագրական, չեն ժողովվել, կարծես թե վկայությունների վիթխարի ծավալը բավարար չափով համոզիչ չէր այդ իրադարձությունները ըստ արժանվույն անվանելու՝ առանց դույզն-ինչ հաշվի առնելու այն, ինչ ներկայումս մեղմասաբար կոչում են «քաղաքական կոռեկտություն»: Եթե միջազգային հանրությունը հարյուր տարի առաջ անվերապահորեն հենց տեղում ու այդ պահին ճանաչեր և դատապարտեր հայերի ցեղասպանությունը, տասնամյակների մոռացության մեջ թաղելու փոխարեն, ո՞վ գիտե, միգուցե չլինեին ո՛չ Հիտլերը, ո՛չ ֆաշիզմի ծնած հետագա արհավիրքները՝ իրենց նոր ցեղասպանություններով: Եվ մարդկությունն էլ երջանիկ կապրեր առհավետ...

Ներկայիս իրավիճակը, այդուհանդերձ, հեռու է միանշանակ լինելուց: Մի կողմից՝ շատ երկրներ, ինչպես և Եվրոպայի խորհուրդը, վերջապես ճանաչել են Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը: Մյուս կողմից՝ թուրք պաշտոնատարները ոչ միայն շարունակում են ժխտել 1915 թվականին հայերի դեմ գործած ոճիրը և արհամարհել միջազգային հանրության կարծիքը, այլև երբեմն նրբահյուս հովանավորություն են ստանում գիտական շրջանակներից: Ժամանակ առ ժամանակ ի հայտ են գալիս հրապարակումներ, որոնց հեղինակները (ինչպես, օրինակ, Գյունտեր Լյուին և Ռոնալդ Սյունին) առաջին հայացքից կարծես հավակնում են «անաչառության»՝ իբրև իրենց վերջնական նպատակի, մի բան, որ, ի դեպ, շատ խելացի քայլ է, քանզի ի՞նչը կարող է առավել գրավիչ լինել (հատկապես երիտա-

սարդ մտածողությանը), քան անաչառ ու անկողմնակալ թվացող մոտեցումը մեր անցյալին:

Ավելի սերտ զննությամբ, սակայն, նման հավակնությունները, ինչպես համոզիչ կերպով ցույց է տալիս պրոֆ. Գասպարյանը խնդրո առարկա գրքում, իրապես գրեթե «շեղում» են շեշտադրումը և հմտորեն «ձեռնածում» պատմական փաստերը՝ այս ու այն կողմ շրջելով ու ծռելով այնպես, որպեսզի հարմարեցվեն հեղինակի ծածուկ նպատակին: Նրանց նպատակն է կասկած ներշնչել ընթերցողին Հայոց ցեղասպանության իրողության հանդեպ՝ հավատացնելով, որ Ցեղասպանության շուրջ ամբողջ այս «աղմուկը» պարզապես «վայնասուն» է, չափազանցություն, որը հարկ է «չափավորել»: Արդյունքում ստացված «չափաձևումները», սակայն, ընթերցողին պարտադրում են խնդրի բոլորովին աղավաղված պատկեր, որում կեղեքիչները խուճապահար չքմեղության անօգ ու անվնաս կերպարանք են առնում՝ եվրոպացիների վերահաս ռազմուժի առաջ վախից խեղճանալով, հետևապես «չիմանալով», թե ինչ են անում, մինչ իրական զոհերը, ճշմարիտ նահատակները ներկայացվում են իբրև նենգ ու վտանգավոր դավադիրներ՝ իշխանությանը հարվածելու և այն տապալելու պատրաստ:

Հընթացս նշենք ևս մեկ բան: Ի թիվս այլ իրողությունների, մասնավորապես ակնբախ է թվում նաև այն փաստը, որ և՛ Գյունտեր Լյուին և՛ Ռոնալդ Սյունին պատկանում են միանգամայն հարգանքի արժանի ակադեմիական շրջանների, կարևոր դիրքեր են գրավում ամերիկյան համալսարաններում և նույնիսկ կրում են «Պատվավոր պրոֆեսորի» տիտղոս, որը թույլ չի տալիս կասկածի տակ առնել նրանց գիտական հենքը: Ավելին, Ռոնալդ Սյունու պապը հայ հայտնի երգահան Գրիգոր Սյունի Միրզայանն է՝ հայ արդի երաժշտական արվեստի հիմնադիրներից՝ լայնորեն ճանաչված և հարգված՝ շնորհիվ

հայ ժողովրդական ավանդության հանդեպ իր նվիրումի, որն այնքան խնամքով ու հավատարմորեն դրսևորում է իր ստեղծագործություններում: Հետևաբար բոլոր հիմքերը կան հավատալու, որ գոնե Ռոնալդ Սյունու պարագայում սեփական ժողովրդի եղերական պատմության հանդեպ շատ ավելի մեծ հարգանք պիտի ակնկալել նման ազնվաշուք ծագում ունեցողից:

Դառնալով դիտարկվող խնդրին՝ կարելի է ևս մի հարց բարձրացնել. կարող ենք արդյո՞ք փոքրիշատե վստահաբար ասել, որ, ընդհանուր առմամբ, հեղինակի իրական նպատակը, նրա ճշմարիտ մտադրությունը երբևէ մատչելի կլինի միջին ընթերցողին. որ ընթերցողը միշտ ի վիճակի կլինի թափանցել շարադրանքի մեջ, ընկալել բուն իմաստը և հասկանալ, թե հեղինակն ի վերջո ինչպես է ցանում իր տեսակետը պարտադրել ընթերցողին Հայոց պատմության այդ ողբերգական շրջանի մեկնաբանության մեջ: Այստեղ ակնհայտորեն բախվում ենք մեկ այլ խնդրի՝ ներկայիս մշակութային հարացույցում առկա գլոբալ փոփոխություններին, երբ նախկին «գրքային» մշակույթը դուրս է մղվում մեկ այլ՝ «էկրանային» մշակույթի զորեղ ճնշումով: Ցավոք, արդի միջին ընթերցողից (հատկապես 20-ից 35 տարիքային խմբի) հազիվ թե արժե գրողի նրբին միտքը բավարար կերպով «վերծանելու» հմտություն ակնկալել, քանի որ գրավոր տեքստի որևիցե «սերտ զննություն» ենթադրում է ընթերցելու որոշակի «ոճ»՝ անշտապ, խորազնին ու վերլուծական, մշտապես ի միտ առնելով բառիմաստային երանգները: Նման ընթերցմանը, սակայն, արդեն իսկ վոխարինել է «անկյունագծով» կարդալը՝ տեքստը համակարգչի էկրանին հնարավորինս արագ աչքի անցկացնելը՝ իմաստը որսալու համար: «Անկյունագծային» մոտեցումը, դժբախտաբար, ընթերցողին պահում է, այսպես ասած, «ջրի երեսին տարուբերվելով», գրածը «հալած յուղի տեղ ընդունելով»՝ առանց ջանք

գործադրելու, որպեսզի այն պարզ քննադատական վերլուծության ենթարկի: Գյունտեր Լյուիի և Ռոնալդ Սյունու գրքերի պարագայում «անկյունագծային» ընթերցումը հատկապես վտանգավոր է:

Ս. Գասպարյանի գրքում պարունակվող նյութը քննվում է տարբեր անկյուններից՝ արդի լեզվաբանության ներկայումս նշանակալի ուղղություններով, այդ թվում՝ խոսքի գլոբալ ուղղաձիգ համատեքստ, լեզվագործաբանություն, որի առանցքում հասցեատիրոջ վրա խոսքի ներազդման ռազմավարության ու մարտավարության մեխանիզմների քննությունն է: Պակաս կարևոր չէ նաև լեզվաճանաչողական վերլուծությունը, որը հնարավորություն է տալիս հասկացական երկատման սկզբունքի կիրառմամբ լուսաբանել պատմության հոլովույթում մարդկանց գիտակցության մեջ ձևավորված «հայ-թուրք» հարաբերությունների ընկալման իրական մեխանիզմները: Եվ վերջապես՝ նյութը քննության է առնվել նաև իմաստային համարժեքության դիտանկյունից՝ լեզվաբանության հույժ կարևոր մի ոլորտ, որը, ցավոք, վերջերս հաճախ է հայտնվում տարաբնույթ «մոդայիկ այլընտրությունների» ստվերում: Արդյունքը, որին հանգում է հեղինակը, պարզից էլ պարզ վկայում է, թե այս առումով որքան արգասաբեր կարող է լինել բառապաշարի քննությունը այս կամ այն բառը գործածելու թվացյալ անմեղ ընտրության տակ ծպտված քաղաքական շահը քողազերծելու հարցում:

Հատուկ անդրադարձի են արժանի գրքի հղումները: Ուշագրավն այստեղ ոչ միայն օգտագործված գրականության ցանկն է, թեև սա նույնպես խոսուն փաստ է, որը ցույց է տալիս, թե որքան շատ բան է գրվել Հայոց ցեղասպանության վերաբերյալ, միևնույն ժամանակ, թե ինչպես է համացանցը անընդհատ աճող հետևողականությամբ ներգրավվում հարցի

քննարկման ոլորտ: Ավելին, այն վկայում է հեղինակի գործադրած վիթխարի ջանքը՝ բոլոր այդ հրապարակումները ժողովելու և համակարգված ու խորազնին կերպով ուսումնասիրելու գործում՝ չհաշված հեղինակի բերած նպաստը ցեղասպանագիտության ասպարեզում: Հատուկ ուշադրության են արժանի տողատակի բազմաթիվ հղումները՝ մոտ 150, որոնց տեքստային նյութը խիստ հետաքրքրական է սոցիալ-մշակութային և պատմագիտական տեսանկյունից:

Մի քանի խոսք այն մասին, թե ինչ կարող է լինել գիրքը հրատարակելուց հետո: Իմ կարծիքով, գրքի յուրաքանչյուր գլխում առաջադրված հարց կարող է առանձին հետազոտության նյութ դառնալ լեզվաբանական քննության այս կամ այն ոլորտում: Մոտեցման առումով աննախադեպ նոր լինելով՝ ուսումնասիրությունը նաև գիտական թեզերի մակարդակով շարունակվելու լայն ասպարեզ է բացում: Այլ կերպ՝ սույն գրքի հրատարակումը պետք է դիտել իբրև մեկնակետ անչափ գրավիչ մի ուղևորության, որում ճանապարհորդի առջև ընտրության շատ ուղիներ են բացվում:

Ամփոփենք. խնդրո առարկա աշխատությունը ուրույն նվաճում է ոչ միայն բանասիրության բնագավառում, այլև սոցիալ-մշակութային և պատմագիտական ուսումնասիրություններին նպաստելու առումով, քանզի բավականին արդյունավետ և միանգամայն յուրօրինակ մոտեցում է առաջարկում պատմական փաստերի գնահատման մեջ գրողի կամ խոսողի ճշմարիտ դիրքորոշումը հասկանալու խնդրում: Նման փորձ երբևէ չի ձեռնարկվել նախկինում: Այն ցույց է տալիս լեզվի զորությունը՝ վեր հանելու ծածուկ շարժառիթներն ու գաղտնի նպատակները նրանց, ովքեր ջանում են մոլորեցնել հատկապես անտեղյակ հանրությանը և խեղաթյուրել պատմական ճշմարտությունը: Միևնույն ժամանակ այս գիրքը բացահայ-

տում է հնարավոր ամենասերտ կապը, որ գոյություն ունի գիտական ուսումնասիրության տարբեր ճյուղերի, տվյալ դեպքում՝ բանասիրության և պատմագիտության միջև, և թե որքա՛ն ավելին կարող են լինել ձեռքբերումները, երբ մեկտեղվում է դրանց հետազոտական մոտեցումները:

Բանասիրական գիտությունների դոկտոր,
Մոսկվայի Մ. Լոմոնոսովի անվ. պետական համալսարանի
պրոֆեսոր Ի. Մ. Մագիդովա

Of all the numerous publications on the Armenian Genocide the present book clearly stands out as intrinsically original and absolutely vital. Very much has been said and written on the subject both in literature and in mass-media. The unspeakable horrors the Armenians had to go through in their ancient homeland under Ottoman yoke, particularly in the early decades of the XX century, have been constantly discussed by politicians, historians, sociologists, journalists and many other experts in different spheres of social knowledge. The subject has been treated so thoroughly that there seems to be hardly any patch of historical ground to have been left uncovered.

However, the author of the book under discussion, Professor Seda Gasparyan, a well-known expert in anglistic research, a philologist of the highest qualification, has discovered an aspect which has so far never been touched upon in Armenian Genocide studies. It is the linguistic expression that distinguishes different approaches to historical facts. The author makes an attempt to study the enormous amount of problems that arise here from the point of view of language – the best, the clearest and the most convincing 'piece of evidence' that man could ever have, since it is in language that the world is given to us and it is in language that all our thoughts and intentions are encoded. Viewed from that point, the quotation from the New Testament (*"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was*

God" - the Gospel, St. John) that opens the final chapter might serve as an epigraph for the book as a whole.

There can be little doubt that this approach, where the main focus is on the linguistic facts which encompass and fix the writer's intention in the choice of a particular word, word sequences, syntactic constructions, etc., makes for the originality of the book and its novelty. On this new road the author makes quite a few important discoveries which, as we are going to see later, are of special significance for some of the current trends in linguistic research. It throws new light on the still currently important problem – that of accepting and recognizing the monstrous crimes the Armenian people had been suffering from under the Young Turk government in 1915 - 1923 (when one and a half million of Armenians were annihilated) for what these crimes really were, that is for genocide in the full sense of the word. What occurred at that time was deliberate murder of a whole nation, pre-planned and pre-arranged to destroy not only the people themselves, but also their culture, their religion, their worldview, their material and moral values. This is in full accordance with the definition of genocide given nowadays to the ugliest phenomenon of our modern life.

Here, however, a set of questions may well be asked: where is the problem? Why should another approach be searched for, another kind of evidence be sought, yet another aspect be discovered to prove what seems obvious enough? What a tragic paradox that there still is need to prove the genocidal nature of the horrors of 1915, that the recognition of the Armenian Genocide should still remain a problem of current importance! As if there were not enough evidence – mostly documentary – collected over the years. As if this enormous amount of evidence were not convincing enough to call those events by the name they deserve, without any scruples about what is now euphemistically described

as 'political correctness'. Had the international community openly recognized and condemned the Armenian Genocide one hundred years before, then and there, instead of trying to bury it in the oblivion for several decades, who knows, maybe there would have been no Hitler, no further horrors of fascism, with its new genocides? And mankind would live happily ever after?

As it is, however, the present-day situation is far from being simple. On the one hand, very many countries, as well as the European Parliament have finally recognized the Armenian Genocide. On the other hand, not only do the Turk officials continue to deny the crimes of 1915 committed against the Armenians and ignore the opinion of the international community, but they sometimes receive subtle support from the scholarly sphere. From time to time there come out publications whose authors (like, for example, Guenter Lewy and Ronald Suny) at first sight, seem to claim 'objectivity' as their final goal. This, incidentally, is a very clever move, since what can be more attractive, especially to the young mind, than a seemingly unbiased, unprejudiced approach to our past?

On closer inspection, however, these claims, as Prof. Gasparyan shows most convincingly in the book under discussion, turn out to be little short of 'shifting' the accents and skillfully 'manipulating' the historical facts, twisting and turning them this way and that so as to adjust them to the writer's hidden purpose. What they aim at is to tempt the reader to feel doubtful about the reality of the Armenian Genocide, to make him believe that all this 'talk' about the Genocide is largely 'alarmist,' rather like an exaggeration that needs 'cutting down to size.' The resultant 'sizable proportions,' however, confine the reader to a completely distorted view of the problem where the oppressors take upon the helpless and inoffensive look of panicking innocence, shrinking with fear before the advancing troops of Europeans and therefore 'hardly knowing' what they are doing,

whereas the real victims, the true martyrs are presented as sly and dangerous plotters, ready to attack and overthrow the regime.

One more thing to be noted in passing. Among other things here, too, what seems to be particularly striking is the fact that both Guenter Lewy and Ronald Suny belong to quite respectable academic circles, holding posts of some importance at American universities and even having titles of 'Emeritus Professor,' which makes it impossible to doubt their scholarly background. Furthermore, Ronald Suny's grandfather, Grigor Suny Mirzayan, was a well-known Armenian composer, one of the founders of modern Armenian music. He has always been and still is widely admired for his devotion to Armenian folk tradition, carefully preserved and followed in his own works. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that, at least where Ronald Suny is concerned, much greater respect for the tragic history of one's own people could be expected from someone of such noble descent.

Getting back to the case in point, another question has to be raised: can we say with any amount of certainty that, generally speaking, the writer's real purpose, his true intention will ever be accessible to the average reader? Will he always be able to have an insight into the text to see through it and get at what the writer is ultimately trying to impose on the reader's view of such a tragic period in Armenian history? Obviously, here we have to face another problem – that of global changes our cultural paradigm has to go through now that the former 'book-based' culture is most energetically ousted by another kind of culture based on the 'screen.' Unfortunately, our modern average reader (especially if his age-group is from 20 to 35) can hardly be expected to 'decipher' the writer's intricate design adequately enough, since any kind of 'close inspection' with respect to the written text presupposes a particular 'style' of reading – slow, thorough and analytical, with always a view

to different shades of meaning. This, however, has for quite some time been replaced by reading 'diagonally'– that is, looking the text through on the computer screen as quickly as possible in search of the informative point. The 'diagonal' approach, unfortunately, will leave the reader 'floating' on the surface, so to speak, – taking what is written for granted, without trying to subject it to critical analysis. In the case of Guenter Lewy's and Ronald Suny's books this kind of reading is particularly dangerous.

The material contained in the book by S. Gasparyan is studied from different angles within different currently important trends of modern linguistic research. It is the theory of global vertical context of the speech event. It is also linguistic pragmatics with its focus on the strategy and tactics of producing an impact on the 'addressee'. No less important are the results of the linguocognitive analysis to which the author subjects her material to highlight the conceptual dichotomic distinctions that have been formed in people's consciousness in the course of history through the painful experience of the Armenians -Turks relations. And, last but not least, the material has been studied through the prism of meaning equivalence, a highly important aspect of linguistic research which unfortunately has been 'shadowed' lately by some other more 'fashionable' trends. The results the author arrives at here show most clearly how fruitful the analysis of lexis along these lines can be to unveil the hidden political motives that lie behind the seemingly inoffensive preferences in the choice of this or that particular word.

Special comment is also required as far as the references are concerned. What presents interest here is not only the index of cited literature, although this too is important in informative terms as it shows how great the amount of what has been written on the subject of the Armenian Genocide actually is, and at the same time how increasingly is the Internet getting involved in the discussion of the

issue. Moreover, it demonstrates the amount of effort that has been spent by the author to collect and study all those numerous publications thoroughly and systematically, not to mention the author's own contribution to the genocide studies. Special attention should also be given to the numerous footnotes - 150 altogether. The textual material contained in them is highly interesting from the social-cultural and historical points of view.

A few words about what might be going to happen next, after the book has been published. As I see it, every chapter here raises a problem within this or that 'frame' of linguistic reference that needs further research. The approach to the material selected for each section being quite - one might say, unprecedentedly new and original, there is every prospect of continuing the study along these lines on the dissertation level. In other words, the publication of the present book should be viewed as the starting point in a highly exciting journey with many new roads facing the traveller waiting to make his choice.

To conclude: the book under discussion is a unique achievement not only in philology, but also in socio-cultural and historical studies, since it offers a highly effective and absolutely original approach to the problem of establishing the true position of the writer or speaker in evaluating historical facts. Nothing of the kind has ever been undertaken before. It shows the power of language in bringing out the hidden motives and secret purposes of those who strive to mislead the unsuspecting audience and distort the historical truth. At the same time the book demonstrates the closest possible connection there exists between different branches of scholarly research, such as philology and history, and how much can be achieved when they join their forces.

Doctor of philological sciences,
Professor of MSU after M. Lomonosov
I.M.Magidova

Առաջաբան

Ինչպես Հայոց ցեղասպանության հիմնահարցի ուսումնասիրության, այնպես էլ առհասարակ՝ ցեղասպանագիտության ոլորտում, կատարվել է ահռելի աշխատանք: Եվ դա պատահական չէ: Պետականորեն կազմակերպված և մեկ ազգության, կրոնական հանրության ամբողջական կամ մասնակի բնաջնջմանն ուղղված այդ հրեշավոր հանցագործությունն ընդհանուր առմամբ ուղղված է նաև համայն մարդկության դեմ: Հենց այդ հանգամանքով պիտի բացատրել նաև այն իրողությունը, որ տեղի ունեցած ցեղասպանությունների ճանաչման ու դատապարտման, դրանց նոր դրսևորումների կանխարգելման խնդիրն այսօր մասնագետների հետազոտական հետաքրքրության և համաշխարհային հանրության մշտական ուշադրության կենտրոնում է:

Ցեղասպանագիտության բնագավառում առկա գիտական լուրջ ձեռքբերումների պայմաններում՝ առաջին հայացքից կարող է թվալ, որ այլևս լուրջ անելիքներ չկան: Սակայն Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպության կողմից 1948թ. դեկտեմբերի 9-ին ընդունված և *գենոցիդ* եզրույթով բանաձևված այդ երևույթն այնքան մասշտաբային հետևանքներ է ունեցել, իր ավերիչ կնիքը դրել ցեղասպանության ենթարկված ազգերի կյանքի բո-

լոր բնագավառների, հոգեբանության, լեզվամտածողության, ազգային ինքնության վրա, բազմիցս դրսևորվել ինչպես միմյանց խիստ նման, այնպես էլ ինքնատիպ կողմերով, որ այդ բնագավառում համակողմանի հետազոտական աշխատանքի անհրաժեշտությունն այլևս որևէ կասկած չի հարուցում:

Բանն այն է, որ գիտական զանազան ուղղությունների՝ պատմագիտության, բանասիրության, փիլիսոփայության, իրավագիտության, քաղաքագիտության, հոգեբանության, արվեստի ու այլ բնագավառներում եղեռնի թեմայով ուսումնասիրությունները հիմնականում կատարվել են իրարից զատ՝ հաճախ խնդիրը համակողմանի վերլուծության ենթարկելու մոտեցումը մոռացության տալով: Համենայն դեպս, Հայոց ցեղասպանության հիմնահարցի ուսումնասիրության դաշտում այդ բացը հստակ երևում է: Դրանում համոզվում ես, երբ անդրադարձ ես կատարում բանասիրության դոկտոր, պրոֆեսոր Սեդա Գասպարյանի՝ վերջին տարիներին հրատարակած աշխատություններին, որոնցում Հայոց ցեղասպանության խնդրի քննությունը ճանաչողական լեզվաբանության դիրքերից փաստորեն եզակի է իր տեսակի մեջ: Պարզվում է, որ Հայոց ցեղասպանության հետ առնչվող բառապաշարի, դրա անգլերեն համարժեքի կիրառման, ճիշտ թարգմանության խնդրում ի հայտ են գալիս լուրջ դժվարություններ, նկատվում են աննկարելի սխալներ, որոնք, որպես կանոն, քաղաքական ենթատեքստ ունեն:

Ելնելով հայագիտության մեջ վերոհիշյալ բացը լրացնելու հրամայականից՝ Ս.Գասպարյանը վերջին տարիներին ձեռնամուխ է եղել հույժ կարևոր այդ բնագավառի ուսումնասիրությանը: Ստացված արդյունքները՝ տպագիր և անտիպ բազմաթիվ հոդվածներ, սույն մենագրությունն անգլերեն, ներկայացրել է հայ և, որ շատ կարևոր է, նաև մեծ լսարան ունեցող անգլալեզու ընթերցողին:

Սկզբից ևեթ նշենք, որ սույն աշխատության նյութերին ծանոթանալիս, հատկապես մասնագետ-պատմաբանը չի կարող անմիջապես չնկատել հեղինակի՝ թեմայի շուրջ ստեղծված պատմագիտական գրականության քաջ իմացությունը: Ս. Գասպարյանը հաճախ մեջբերումներ է կատարում մի շարք ուսումնասիրողների աշխատություններից և դրանցում առաջ քաշված հայեցակարգային մոտեցումները քննում լեզվաբանական տեսանկյունից: Զուգահեռներ են անցկացվում տարբեր լեզուներում, մասնավորապես՝ անգլերենում ցեղասպանության խնդրին առնչվող եզրույթների միջև, վեր հանվում դրանց միտումնավոր գործածության նպատակները՝ հաճախ քաղաքական դրդապատճառներով պայմանավորված:

Փորձենք անդրադառնալ առավել ուշագրավ մի շարք խնդիրների:

Անգլերենի փայլուն իմացությունը պրոֆ. Գասպարյանին հնարավորություն է տվել խորությամբ ուսումնասիրելու անգլերեն տպագրված ինչպես անաչառ, այնպես էլ կեղծ ու կեղծարար ցեղասպանագետների աշխատությունները: Դրանցից մի քանիսի քննությանը նա անդրադարձել է «Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի» հանդեսում տպագրած շահեկան հոդվածներում: Այսպես՝ հրապարակումներից մեկը վերաբերում է «ցեղասպանագետ» Գյունտեր Լյուիի մի աշխատությանը, որտեղ այդ հեղինակն իբր չեզոք դիրքերից վիճարկում է Հայոց ցեղասպանության նկատմամբ *գենոցիդ* բառի գործածության նպատակահարմարության հարցը: Գասպարյանն այդ «մասնագետի» փաստարկներն ի չիք է դարձնում նրա իսկ տեքստում տեղ գտած պնդումների շնորհիվ: Գյունտեր Լյուին, խոսելով Օսմանյան կայսրությունում հայերի գյավուր (անհավատ) համարվելու մասին՝ ակամայից խոստովանում է, որ նրանք զրկված են եղել մարդկային տարրական իրավունքներից և, հետևապես, հիմքեր ունեին պայքարելու հանուն

իրենց արժանապատվության ու իրավունքների, հանգամանք, որը չէր կարող զանգվածային կոտորածների պատճառ լինել: Սեդա Գասպարյանի համար անընդունելի է նաև Հայոց մեծ եղեռնի և հրեական Հոլոքոստի միջև ընդհանուր եզրեր չտեսնելու, միայն հրեա ժողովրդի հետ տեղի ունեցածը ցեղասպանություն որակելու Լյուիի մոտեցումը: Հեղինակը համոզված է, որ կարևորը ցեղասպանությունների նմանություններն ու տարբերությունները չեն, այլ այն, որ մարդկության դեմ ուղղված ցանկացած ցեղասպանություն պետք է դատապարտվի:

Լեզվական բառապաշարի միտումնավոր սխալ գործածման եղանակով Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը ժխտելու գործում, ինչպես երևում է սույն մենագրության գլուխներից մեկում, հետ չեն մնում նաև որոշ հայ հեղինակներ, որոնց մեջ իր կողմնակալ մոտեցումներով առանձնանում է ոչ անհայտ Ռոնալդ Սյունին: Այս հայտնի կեղծարար պատմաբանն Առաջին աշխարհամարտի տարիներին հայ ժողովրդի հետ տեղի ունեցած մեծագույն ողբերգության մեջ փաստորեն մեղադրում է հայերին՝ նրանց համարելով ջարդերի հրահրիչներ, իսկ դրանց իրականացման պատասխանատվությունը դնում միայն քրդերի ուսերին: Ակնհայտ է, որ նման պնդումների նպատակը օսմանյան իշխանություններին Հայոց մեծ եղեռնի կազմակերպման ու իրականացման մեղքից ազատելն է: Ցեղասպանության հարցում մշտապես բառախաղեր անելով, ինչպես ճիշտ նկատել է պրոֆեսոր Գասպարյանը, առաջին հայացքից *գենոցիդ* տերմինի գործածությանը «չառարկող» Սյունին իրականում հանդես է գալիս արմատական ժխտողական դիրքերից:

Մենագրության հեղինակն անդրադարձել է նաև թուրք հեղինակ, հանրության մեջ հիմնականում իր ճիշտ դիրքորոշումներով աչքի ընկնող, հետազոտող-հանրաբան Թաներ Աքչամի «Ամոթալի արարք ...» աշխատությանը: Ինչպես այլ դեպքե-

ռում, այստեղ էլ նկատելի է, որ աշխատության վերնագիրը բավարար հիմք է տալիս պարզելու տվյալ հեղինակի իրական նպատակները և նրա մոտեցումների անաչառությունը: Թուրք հեղինակը թուրքական հասարակությանը կոչ է անում դատապարտել իրենց գործած ամոթալի արարքը, ճանաչել Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը և մաքրել իրենց վրա եղած խարանը: Իհարկե, մենք ևս կիսում ենք Ս.Գասպարյանի այն կարծիքը, որ Աքչամի ոչ բոլոր տեսակետներն են մեզ համար ընդունելի: Սակայն հայ ժողովրդի հետ մոտ մեկ դար առաջ տեղի ունեցածը *գենոցիդ* դիտարկելու նրա համոզմունքը միանգամայն արժանի է հարգանքի ու գնահատանքի:

Հատկապես դրվատանքի է արժանի Ս.Գասպարյանի կատարած հետազոտական աշխատանքը *եղեռն* եզրույթի՝ անգլերենում կիրառվող տարբերակների բացահայտման հարցում: Պարզվում է, որ անգլալեզու գրականության մեջ այն թարգմանվել ու գործածվել է բազմաթիվ տարբերակներով և դրանցում հիմնականում չի արտացոլվել այսօրվա ընկալմամբ այդ բառի իրական բովանդակությունը: Այսպես՝ այն թարգմանվել է որպես *աղեկ, չար ընթացք, անարգանք, սպորություն, սպանդ, նախանիր, կոտորած* և այլն: Սակայն այսօր, երբ գոյություն ունի Ռաֆայել Լեմկինի մշակած և ՄԱԿ-ի կողմից ընդունված բանաձև *գենոցիդ* եզրույթի վերաբերյալ, Հայոց ցեղասպանության խնդրում մեր մարտավարության ու ռազմավարության տեսանկյունից խիստ կարևոր է այդ եզրաբառի ճիշտ գործածությունը: Հետազոտողը գալիս է այն համոզման, որ հայոց լեզվում վաղուց առկա *եղեռն* բառն ունի ճիշտ նույն իմաստը, ինչ *գենոցիդը*, այսինքն դրանք հոմանիշներ են: Այդուհանդերձ, ինչ-ինչ քաղաքական նկատառումներով ամենամյա ապրիլքսանչորսյան իր ուղերձում ԱՄՆ նախագահը նախընտրում է հայերեն *եղեռն* եզրույթի գործածությունը՝ խուսափելով միջազգայնորեն

ընդունված *գենոցիդ* բառից: Հասկանալի է, որ նա նպատակ ունի մի կողմից սիրաշահելու հայերին, մյուս կողմից՝ չնեղացնելու ռազմավարական դաշնակից Թուրքիային:

Պրոֆեսոր Գասպարյանը չի խուսափում մեկ այլ բարդ՝ «Իսրայել և Հայոց ցեղասպանություն» խնդրի քննությունից: Այստեղ էլ նա քաջատեղյակ է Հայոց մեծ եղեռնի հարցում ինչպես Իսրայելի պետական գործիչների խուսափողական, նաև հակահայկական, այնպես էլ ազնիվ հրեա գիտնականների (Իսրայել Չարնի, Յաիր Աուրոն և այլք) անաչառ մոտեցումներին: Միանգամայն իրավացի է հեղինակը, երբ պնդում է, որ ի հեճուկս իսրայելցի պաշտոնյաների, մասնավորապես՝ Շիմոն Պերեսի և այլոց, դեռ 20-րդ դարի առաջին տասնամյակներին հայ ժողովրդի ողբերգությունը դատապարտած ազգությամբ հրեա գործիչներ Հենրի Մորգենթաուն, Ֆրանս Վերֆելը և ուրիշներ, գործածելով *ահավոր աղետ, ամենամեծ հանցագործություն* բառակապակցությունները, նկատի են ունեցել Երկրորդ աշխարհամարտից հետո ստեղծվելիք *գենոցիդ* եզրույթի տակ առնվող երևույթը:

Ամփոփելով մեր խոսքը՝ կարող ենք հաստատապես պնդել, որ Սեդա Գասպարյանը ստեղծել է Հայոց ցեղասպանության վերաբերյալ լեզվաճանաչողական-քննական շահեկան մի աշխատություն, որը նոր լույս է սփռում խնդրի մի ողջ ոլորտի վրա: Համոզված ենք, որ գիրքը մեծ հետաքրքրություն կառաջացնի ինչպես մասնագետների, այնպես էլ ցեղասպանության հարցերով հետաքրքրվող անձանց շրջանում:

Աշոտ Մելքոնյան
ՀՀ Գիտությունների ազգային ակադեմիայի
պատմության ինստիտուտի տնօրեն
ՀՀ ԳԱԱ թղթակից անդամ

Preface

It is neither surprising, nor a mere chance that an immeasurably vast scope of work has been done both in the study of the issue of the Armenian Genocide and the study of genocide in general. Genocide, a monstrous crime schemed by government and aimed at total or partial annihilation of a nation, a religious community, is in fact a crime against humanity at large. This accounts for the fact that the recognition and condemnation of perpetrated genocides, and the problem of their prevention, has been under the constant scrutiny of scholars and the focal attention of the international community.

Given the considerable scholarly achievements in the study of genocide, at first glance it may seem that nothing more can ever be accomplished. However, the phenomenon of genocide, acknowledged by the United Nations on December 9, 1948, and defined by the term *genocide,* has had large-scale consequences and a devastating impact on all spheres of life, psychology, linguistic thinking, national identity and other areas. The question has been demonstrated copiously, both in very similar and unique aspects, so that the need for a comprehensive research in this field is beyond any doubt.

The point is that in various areas of research – history, literature, philosophy, law, political science, psychology, arts and other fields of study – the topic of massacres has been mainly carried out disjointedly, often neglecting the approach of comprehensive analysis of the problem. This gap is clearly visible in the study of the Armenian Genocide issue. One may be convinced in this when a reference is made to the recent works by Prof. Seda Gasparyan, Doctor of Philology, where the examination of the problem of the Armenian Genocide from the position of cognitive linguistics is in fact unique. S. Gasparyan reveals serious difficulties and unforgivable errors in the wording pertaining to the problem of the Armenian Genocide, in the usage of the vocabulary, its English equivalents and their proper translation, all of which, as a rule, imply some political subtext.

Hence, based upon the imperative to fill in the mentioned gap in Armenology, S. Gasparyan in recent years has undertaken the study of this crucially important field. The results thus obtained, namely numerous works, published and unpublished, including the present monograph in English, she has presented them to the Armenian and, more importantly, to the vast English-speaking audience.

It should be mentioned first of all that whoever reads the materials for this work (particularly a professional historian) testifies to the author's expertise in the topical historical literature. Prof. Gasparyan frequently cites studies by a number of scholars and discusses conceptual approaches put forth from a lingusitic perspective. Parallels are drawn between terms in various languages, namely English terms describing the issue of genocide. The author reveals their deliberate use for political reasons in

particular. The following is an attempt to address some of the most notable points.

The expert knowledge of English allowed S. Gasparyan to carry out an in-depth study of English publications by both impartial historians and biased falsifiers. To some of them she refers in her highly remarkable articles published in the Bulletin of Yerevan University. Thus one of these publications addresses an "opus" by Guenter Lewy – an "expert in genocide studies", where the mentioned author disputes the expediency of the usage of the word ***genocide*** in terms of the Armenian massacre from a supposedly "neutral position." Prof. Gasparyan undermines this "expert's" arguments by claims found in his own text. Noting Armenians in the Ottoman Empire as "**gavurs**" (infidels), Guenter Lewy unwittingly confesses that they were deprived of their basic human rights. Thus, it is quite sensible for the author of the present book to conclude that they had good reason to fight for their rights and dignity, though this was not a justification for mass killings. She neither can consider acceptable Lewy's inability to see common grounds between the pre-planned destruction of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and the Jewish Holocaust, nor his qualification of "genocide" as an exclusively Jewish phenomenon. She is quite justified to wonder if it is the similarities or differences that matter, for she is sure that any genocide committed against humanity should be condemned.

In the denial of the Armenian Genocide through deliberate mishandling of language vocabulary and wording, certain Armenian authors, as we may see in one of the chapters of the present book, maintain the official Turkish stance; Ronald Suny, just to mention one of them, is notoriously known for his biased

approach. This famous ersatz-historian in fact blames Armenians for the tragedy they incurred during World War I by handling them as the instigators of mass killings and shifts the charge for the crime solely onto Kurdish shoulders. Obviously, such claims are aimed at freeing the Ottoman authorities from the guilt of perpetration of the Great Armenian massacre. As truly observed by S. Gasparyan, Suny, a habitual player-on-words, does not challenge the use of the term "genocide" at first glance, whereas in reality he does stand for a radical revisionist position.

The author of the monograph has also referred to *"A Shameful Act ..."* by Taner Akçam, a Turkish researcher and sociologist, publicly known for his righteous position. As in other cases, here too the very title of the work lays sufficient grounds to reveal the author's real objectives and the impartiality of his attitudes. The Turkish intellectual calls on the Turkish authorities to condemn their own shameful act, admit the fact of the Armenian Genocide and clear off the shame from themselves. Truly, we also share S. Gasparyan's opinion that not all views of Akçam are valid and acceptable to us, but his conviction to treat the century old events as "genocide" deserves all respect and appreciation.

Especially praiseworthy is the present research in exposing the English equivalents of the term *"yeghern"*. Obviously enough, this word has been translated and used in English publications quite variously but these translations failed to express the real meaning of the word as it is perceived today. Thus, it has been interpreted as *disaster, a vicious course of action, rascality, offence, slaughter, carnage, massacre*, etc. However, today, with the

resolution on the definition of the term "genocide" developed by Raphael Lemkin and adopted by the UN, the proper use of the term gains special importance from the perspective of our tactics and strategies on the issue of the Armenian Genocide. The researcher comes to the conclusion that the existing Armenian word *"yeghern"* has exactly the same meaning in the Armenian language as the word *"genocide";* they are indeed synonyms. Nevertheless, for some political considerations, the President of the United States prefers the Armenian word *"yeghern"* and avoids using the internationally accepted term "genocide" in his annual April 24 address. The intention is clear: to please the Armenians, on the one hand, and not to offend Turkey – a strategic ally – on the other.

S. Gasparyan does not avoid the discussion of the "Israel and the Armenian Genocide" problem – another complex issue. Here too she is well aware of both the Israeli statesmen's elusive, also anti-Armenian, stance and the honest Jewish scholars' (Israel Charny, Yair Auron and others) unbiased approaches to the massacre of Armenians. The author is absolutely right when she argues that despite Israeli officials' refusal to recognize the Armenian Genocide, as early as the first decades of the 20th century ethnic Jewish intellectuals like Henry Morgenthau, Franz Werfel and others condemned the perpetrators of the Armenian tragedy and used phrases like "horrendous calamity" and "the greatest crime" in the very sense that the term "genocide" is used nowadays and meant the same phenomenon thereby.

To summarize, we can definitely say that Prof. Seda Gasparyan has carried out a highly beneficial linguocognitive

study on the Armenian Genocide which sheds light on a completely new aspect of the problem. We are convinced that the book will attract the attention of experts and every individual who takes an interest in the problem of the Armenian Genocide.

Ashot Melkonyan,
Director of RA NAS Institute of History
Associate Member of RA National Academy of Sciences

The language of truth is simple.
Euripides (BC 480-BC 406)

Introduction

The recognition of the Armenian Genocide is one of the key and intricate problems on the Armenian national agenda, often spoken and written about. A variety of political, historiographical, psychological and social analyses has been conducted, a profound mass of venerable literature has been created, thereby introducing the issue to the international community and drawing the consideration of both Armenian and foreign scholars[1].

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[1] Cf. **E. Gellner,** *Nations and Nationalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983; "*The Armenian Genocide in Perspective (important essays by scholars)*" / Ed. R.Hovhannisian. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1986; **V. Dadrian,** *A Review of the Main Features of the Genocide* // Journal of Political and Military Sociology, vol. 22, N°1, 1994; **V. Dadrian,** *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucausus.* Providence & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995; **V. Dadrian,** *The Key Elements in the Turkish Denial of the Armenian Genocide: A Case Study of Distortion and Falsification.* Canada: The Zoryan Institute, 1999; **Ս. Գ. Ներսիսյան,** *Պատմության կեղծարարները. հոլովածներ և հարցազրույցներ* [*Patmutyan keghtsaramery: hodvatsner yev haghordumner*], Եր., ՀՀ ԳԱԱ հրատ., 1998; **Ա. Այվազյան,** *Հիմնատարրեր Հայաստանի ազգային անվտանգության հայեցակարգի* [*Himnatarrer Hayastani azgayin anvtangutyan hayetsakargi*], մաս 1, Եր., Լուսակն հրատ., 2004; **H. Sassounian,** *The Armenian Genocide. The World Speaks Out 1915-2005.* Glendale, CA, 2005.

After the Lausanne conference, in 1923-1965, the international community skillfully evaded the issue of the Armenian Genocide which sank into oblivion. This wall of disregard was torn down in 1965, at the nationwide rallies in Soviet Armenia on the commemoration days of the 50th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, during the national liberation movement within the Diaspora in the 1970s, which was to rise again still more vigourously with the Karabakh movement in 1988. Along with the liberation movement, the world media and scholarly periodicals were flooded with information, interviews and eyewitness testimonies; a great number of books, films, collections of documents were published.

In the scientific elaboration of the problems connected with this all-important issue, the Armenian historical and journalistic thought has undoubtedly recorded great results. At the same time, a broad range of work has also been done in different languages. For example, from 1900 to the 1960s about 400 books were published in France solely dedicated to the Armenian liberation movements, Armenian massacres and especially the horrendous villainy of 1915[2].

Steps taken by different international organizations towards the worldwide recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide, although not persistent at times, in a wider sense do have some political and legal value from the perspective of the promotion of the international process of its condemnation; they try to have a positive impact on the Armenian-Turkish reconciliation. However, as we try to assess the situation rationally we may see that these

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[2] Cf. *«Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը (ուսումնասիրություններ)»* ["*Hayots tseghaspanutyuny (usumnasirutyunner)*"], խմբ. Պ. Հովհաննիսյան, Լ.Խուրշուդյան, Լ.Մկրտչյան և ուրիշ., Եր., Հրազդան հրատ., 2001, էջ 11-34.

developments sometimes take the wrong path and appear as occasionally pronounced untrue statements, comments and even detrimental stereotypes. It should be mentioned that such statements and comments, printed or broadcast, willingly or not, distort the historical truth and disorient the world community. For instance, on an occasion of the Genocide recognition act one may hear: "What shall we do with the six million Kurds there once the land is returned?" Or the repeatedly uttered "the recognition of the Genocide cannot be in a day or in a year..., first Turkey should change..., Turkey must admit the Genocide...". These and other erroneous comments[3] may form a wrong view among the public that once Turkey fails to admit the Genocide, the whole issue comes to an impasse, or that Turkey should change before the problem is solved.

It is no wonder that Turkey does everything to hinder the extension of the matter, in particular the recognition of it by a vast direct or indirect anti-Armenian propaganda having the denial of the Armenian Genocide as a top priority for the Turkish government[4]. It is interesting to note that Kamuran Gürürn – a Turkish political figure and historian, a vigorous proponent of the anti-Armenian propaganada – avoids the term *genocide* and titles his book *"The Armenian File"* on a reason that in the Turkish diplomacy the concept *Armenian cause* does not exist at all[5]. Another vivid

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[3] <www.oukhtararati.com/haytararutyunner/Datapartman-jamanaky.php> **Retrieved [04.03.2014 21:56]**

[4] The Turkish *Ermeni Araştırmaları Enstitüsü* [*Ermeni Arashtyrmalary Enstityusyu*] *agency*'s website suffices to prove this. Cf. <http://www.eraren.org/> **Retrieved [04.03.2014 21:56]**

[5] **K. Gürün.** *The Armenian File.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.

example is H. B. Danisman's interpretation of the issue.[6] With the use of a rhetorical question in the title of his book *(An Armenian Question ... ?)* immediately followed by a speech act of suggestion *(Let's Consider...!)* the author reveals his distinct communicative goal: to cast doubt on the fact of the Armenian Genocide which, according to him, is still apt to be challenged, as well as get the reader involved in the investigation of the facts intentionally distorted by himself.

Moreover, the Turkish government employs various means to assist foreign media, university departments, individual scholars, and even translators to express and defend the Turkish views because it is seriously concerned with the problem of the Armenian "wedge" against the creation of a Greater Turan[7].

It is no secret that with the ups and downs of the Turkish-American relations the world media alternately restrain or unleash anti-Armenian publications aimed at defending the Turkish denial of the Armenian question and tend to please the Turks. In this respect, particularly noteworthy are *Le Monde, Le Figaro, The Times* and other papers and media agencies[8] which by dint of various linguistic means and stylistic tricks of journalistic and research narrative, by applying various principles and methods present the historical events in their own preferable light and deny the undeniable truth.

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[6] **H. B. Danisman**, *An Armenian Question...? Let's Consider...!* Istanbul, 2005.

[7] **E. Uras**, *The Armenians in History and the Armenian Question.* Istanbul: Documentary Publication, 1988.

[8] Cf., for instance, D. **Scheffer**, *Defuse the Lexicon of Slaughter* // New York Times. February 24, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/24/opinion/defuse-the-lexicon-of slaughter.html?_r=0> **Retrieved [04.03.2014 22:10]**

With such an abundance of materials on the Armenian Genocide, nevertheless, some aspects of the issue need a thorough examination. Today special attention should be paid to the study of linguistic facts which are key elements of the textual mechanisms of perversion and distortion of the historical events. And although the legitimate cause of the Armenian Genocide issue is one of the most significant goals of the Armenian historical and diplomatic thought, and the historical, political and diplomatic outlooks of Armenian scholars have attracted no less attention, the study of the textual mechanisms (words, expressions, syntagmatic units and syntactic constructions, terms and toponyms, as well as all kinds of stylistic devices) is quite timely and ardent.

In the present study, the units of language are examined both from linguistic and pragmatic viewpoints with the aim of improving the process of the interlingual communication and promoting its efficiency which in a broader sense will hopefully pave the way to mutual understanding.

In the world media and different publications, as well as in diplomatic correspondence, the perception of the implied meaning obtained by an uncommon combination of linguistic signs is largely enhanced by the perspective research spheres of speech acts and implication theories of communication, so common in linguistics for the last few decades.[9] In the present study an attempt is made within an interpretive approach to view the text from the positions of the speaker's/author's (i.e. one who produces

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[9] **S. Levinson**, *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; **P. Griffiths**, *An Introduction to English Semantics and Pragmatics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006; **H. Widdowson**, *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, etc.

lingual signs) persuasive impact and the listener's/reader's (i.e. one who interprets lingual signs) perception. The textual analysis of perversed facts in various interpretations and commentaries needs a thorough, comprehensive and systematic approach which also implies a reference to the historical outlook of the problem as to a corresponding element of the vertical context of the given text.[10]

The textological analysis of diverse interpretations is quite a new and important statement in the research of the issue under consideration and is aimed at studying the linguistic expressions of various attitudes towards the issue of the Armenian Genocide. This will give an opportunity to bring the truthfulness of the assessments to light, as well as identify the linguistic means and textual methods of distorting the real facts.[11]

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[10] **О. Ахманова, И. Гюббенет,** *Вертикальный контекст как филологическая проблема* [*Vertikalniy contekst kak filologicheskaya problema*] // Вопросы языкознания, N° 3, М., 1977; **С. Гаспарян,** *Фигура сравнения в функциональном освещении* [*Figura sravneniya v funktsional'nom osveshchenii*]. Ереван, Лусакн, 2013.

[11] Attempts have already been made along these lines, though unfortunately not in a systematic way. Cf., for example, Ա. **Այվազյան,** *Հայաստանի պատմության լուսաբանումը ամերիկյան պատմագրության մեջ* [*Hayastani patmutyan lusabanumy amerikyan patmagrutyan mej (kmakan tesutyun)*], Եր., Արտագերս հրատ., 1998; *«Հայոց ցեղասպանության (ուսումնասիրությունների)»* [*"Hayots tseghaspanutyuny (usumnasirutyunner)"*], էջ 11-34.

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Hie Romanisten
vnd Sophisten

H. Morgenthau's Reflections on the Armenian Genocide

Henry Morgenthau's considerations of the question of the Armenian Genocide in his book *The Murder of a Nation* is based on the author's personal experience, as in 1913-1915 he served as US Ambassador to Turkey and witnessed the massacres.[12]

> *This conviction possessed the leaders of the Union and Progress Party and now began to have a determining effect upon Turkish national life and Turkish policy. Essentially the Turk is a* ***bully*** *and a* ***coward****;* ***he is brave as a lion when things are going his way, but cringing, abject, and nerveless when reverses are overwhelming him.***[13]
>
> *H. Morgenthau,*
> *The Murder of a Nation, p. 4*

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[12] H. Morgenthau, *The Murder of a Nation.* New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union of America, INC Publishers, 1974.

[13] In the present and further passages analysed in the monograph all the linguistic elements emphasized by the author are presented in bold.

The use of the noun ***bully*** (person who uses strength or power to coerce others by fear[14]) in the characterization of Turks notably confirms the validity of the lexicographic definitions found in different dictionaries.[15] Though it may produce an impression of bravery at its "face value," in a deeper sense it tends to the next unit – ***coward*** (a person having little or no bravery[16]). Notable enough is the use of the comparative utterance ***"he is brave as a lion when things are going his way"*** and words following it ***(cringing, abject, nerveless),*** which in the best way manifest the presence of the apparent characteristics of fawning, meanness and utter absence of courage[17] in the Turkish identity as perceived by the Ambassador. Evidently, these are qualities verified by the personal experience of the author and specified by his own perception.

Further in the narrative H. Morgenthau refers to the psychological premises of the racial policy by the Turkish government.

> *I was really witnessing a remarkable development in race psychology – an almost classical instance of reversion to type. The* ***ragged, unkempt*** *Turk of the twentieth century was vanishing and in his place was appearing the Turk of the fourteenth and the fifteenth, the Turk who had swept out of his Asiatic fastnesses, conquered all the powerful peoples in his way, and founded in Asia, Africa, and Europe one of the most extensive empires that history*

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[14] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 130.

[15] *Webster's Third New International Dictionary.* Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster Inc. Publishers, 1981; *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* vol.2. Oxford: Clarindon Press, 1978; etc.

[16] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 236.

[17] **M. Kouyoumdjian**, *A Comprehensive Dictionary: English-Armenian.* Beirut-Lebanon: G.Doniguian and Fils Publishers, 1981, p. 312, p. 4, p. 911.

has known. If we are properly to appreciate this new Talaat and Enver and the events which now took place, we must understand the Turk who, under Osman and his successors, exercised this mighty but ***devastating influence*** *in the world. We must realize that the basic fact underlying the Turkish mentality is* ***its utter contempt for all other races****. A fairly* ***insane pride*** *is the element that largely explains* ***this strange human species****. The common term applied by the Turk to the Christian is* ***"dog,"*** *and in his estimation this is no mere rhetorical figure; he actually looks upon his European neighbours as far less worthy of consideration than his own domestic animals. "My son," an old Turk once said, "do you see that herd of swine? Some are white. Some are black, some are large, some are small – they differ from each other in some respects, but* ***they are all swine. So it is with Christians.***

H. Morgenthau,
The Murder of a Nation, p. 5-6

In the given passage the author, with the confidence of an eyewitness, refers to the backward processes in the psychology of the Turks at the beginning of the 20th century when inside the ***ragged*** [18] and ***unkempt*** [19] ethnic Turk of the crisis-stricken Empire the 14-15th centuries type of the Turk arises who trampled on the centuries-old civilizations and invaded and settled in Europe, part of Asia, Africa, and had a ***devastating influence*** *in the world.* Hardly is it possible to evaluate the images of Talaat and Enver if one is ignorant of the

[18] M. Kouyoumjian, *Ibid.*, p.1064.
[19] M. Kouyoumjian, *Ibid.*, p.1327.

destructive ability of the Turk of the times of Osman and his successors. The author notes the *basic fact underlying the Turkish* psychology *and mentality of utter contempt for all other races.* Can this utterly unjustified self-inspiration and self-exaltation ever be a reliable basis for pride? This is a non-motivated fact rendered by H. Morgenthau as being beyond the reasonable range of equitable judgements and qualified by him through ***insane pride*** and ***strange human species.*** This is the background against which Turkish qualifications describing Christian nations as ***dogs*** and ***swines*** come of no surprise. By quoting the elderly Turk's opinion of the Christians *(Do you see that herd of swine? Some are white. Some are black, some are large, some are small – they differ from each other in some respects, but* ***they are all swine. So it is with Christians****)*, the author tries to picture the precise ambience of contempt and humiliation forced by Turks in this period on Christian nationals and, to some extent, neighbouring Europeans who also were debased lower than the Turks themselves and even their livestock *(the Turk actually looks upon his European neighbours* ***as far less worthy of consideration than his own domestic animals****)*.

The concept "Turk" in Ambassador Morgenthau's interpretation takes on other negative flavour due to the devastating and destructive role Turks played in turning the Middle East into a desert, as well as due to the deplorable misery the population of the big cities in the Middle East had appeared in, and also the fact that Turks having usurped the civilization of their subjects now hated them from the bottom of their heart.

Over all this part of the world the Turk now swept as ***a huge, destructive force****. Mesopotamia in a few*

*years became a **desert**; the great cities of the Near East were reduced to **misery**, and the subject peoples became **slaves**. Such **graces of civilization** as the Turk has acquired in five centuries have practically all been taken from the subject peoples whom he so greatly despises. <...>*

*The Turks have learned little of European art or science, they have established very few educational institutions, and **illiteracy is the prevailing rule.** The result is that poverty has attained a degree of sordidness and misery in the Ottoman Empire which is almost unparalleled elsewhere. **The Turkish peasant lives in a mud hut; he sleeps on a dirt floor; he has no chairs, no tables, no eating utensils,** no clothes except the few scant garments which cover his back and which he usually wears for many years. <...>*

***They could not understand that conquered people were anything except slaves**. When they took possession of a land, they found it occupied by a certain number of camels, horses, buffaloes, dogs, swine, and human beings. <...>*

*The sultans similarly erected the several peoples, such as the Greeks and the Armenians, into separate "millets", or nations, not because they desired to promote their independence and welfare, but because they regarded them as **vermin**, and therefore disqualified for membership in the Ottoman state.*

H. Morgenthau,

The Murder of a Nation, p.7-9

In the passage, units with negative connotational colouring – ***destructive force**, Mesopotamia in a few years became a **desert**, the great cities were reduced to **misery**, the subject peoples became **slaves**, **illiteracy is the prevailing rule*** – strike the reader's attention. Their usage, anyway, is aimed at complementing the outstanding traits of the portrait of the Turk, the executor of a genocide. Meanwhile, if, for example, the ***destructive force*** directly characterizes the Turk as a devastating power, other statements point to it indirectly by presenting the conditions of sheer ***misery***, ***illiteracy***, uncivilized living ***(the Turkish peasant lives in a mud hut; he sleeps on a dirt floor)*** and lifestyle ***(he has no chairs, no tables, no eating utensils, etc.)*** as a result of not only a deepening economic crisis in the country, as the diplomat notes, but, I believe, also of abiding by the traditions of a nomadic life. And although during the five centuries of dominance the Turks had appropriated the civilization of their subject Christian nations, very little had they learned of European culture and civilization.

In the passage above the combination of ***graces of civilization*** with the rest of the expression tends to clarify for the reader that the author's evaluative attitude towards the Christian nations of the land conquered and subjected by Turks is positive in contrast to his attitude towards the Turks who treated their subjects as slaves ***(they could not understand that conquered people were anything except slaves)***. Moreover, acts of "deportation and isolation" undertaken by Turks were never caused by "democratic" Turkey's "noble endeavours" to endorse the independence and welfare of the Christian peoples but merely because they were ***infidel Christians*** and even ***vermin*** as the Turks rendered them.

Quite a different picture is H. Morgenthau's description of an Armenian.

> *In the north-eastern part of Asia Minor, bordering on Russia, there were six provinces in which* ***the Armenians formed the largest element in the population. From the time of Herodotus this portion of Asia has borne the name of Armenia. The Armenians of the present day are the direct descendants of the people who inhabited the country three thousand years ago****. Their origin is so ancient that it is lost in fable and mystery. There are still undeciphered cuneiform inscriptions on the rocky hills of Van, the largest Armenian city, that have led certain scholars – though not many, I must admit – to identify the Armenian race with the Hittites of the Bible. What is definitely known about the Armenians, however, is that* ***for ages they have constituted the most civilized and most industrious race*** *in the eastern section of the Ottoman Empire. <...>*
>
> *Everywhere they are known for their* ***industry****, their* ***intelligence****, and their* ***decent and orderly lives****.* ***They are so superior to the Turks intellectually and morally*** *that much of the business and industry had passed into their hands. With the Greeks, the Armenians constitute the economic strength of the empire.*
>
> *<...> Through this period the Armenians have regarded themselves not as Asiatics, but as Europeans.*

They speak an Indo-European language, their racial origin is believed by scholars to be Aryan, and the fact that their religion is the religion of Europe has always made them turn their eyes westward. And out of that western country, they have always hoped, would some day come the deliverance that would rescue them from their ***murderous masters.***

H. Morgenthau,
The Murder of a Nation, p.16-17

The passage clearly shows that the Ambassador is not only well acquainted with historical and geographical facts concerning the Armenians but feels a deep sympathy towards this ***most civilized and most industrious race in the eastern section of the Ottoman Empire*** who regard themselves more European than Asiatic. And while he perceives Turks as nomads,[20] he alludes to the connection between Armenians and the Hittites of the Bible. Since the times of Herodotus this part of Asia has been called Armenia and Armenians of the present descend from the people ***who inhabited the country three thousand years ago,*** as testified by the *cuneiform inscriptions on the rocky hills of Van.* As for Armenians holding key positions in the trade and manufacturing of the land, this can be explained exclusively by their ***intelligence*** and ***industry***, their moral and psychological stature and level of civilization, traits in which they undoubtedly surpassed the Turks ***(they are so superior to the Turks intellectually and morally).***

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[20] **H. Morgenthau**, *The Murder of a Nation.* New York: Armenian Benevolent Union of America, INC Publishers, 1974, p. 6-7.

The presence of the positive expressive-emotional overtones in this passage ***(intelligence, decent, orderly, civilized, industrious,*** etc.*)* immediately reveals the author's stance on the evaluation of the image of an Armenian. Meanwhile, the diplomat does not consider it incidental that for deposing the yoke of their ***murderous masters*** Armenians have always pinned their hopes and expectations on the West as far as they, according to scholarly studies, like most Europeans, are Aryans, their language is of the same Indo-European origin, and they are Christians as well.

In the named book by H. Morgenthau some manifestations of the author's linguistic and psychological perceptions can also be found in dialogues where in the light of the author's perception of Talaat's image the conceptual scope of the unit "Turk" is filled with more and more negative charges:

> *Technically, of course, I had no right to interfere. According to the cold-blooded legalities of the situation, the treatment of Turkish subjects by the Turkish Government was purely a domestic affair; unless it directly affected American lives and American interests, it was outside the concern of the American Government. When I first approached Talaat on the subject, he called my attention to this fact in no uncertain terms.* ***This interview was one of the most exciting*** *which I had had up to that time.*
>
> *So I began to talk about the Armenians at Konia. I had hardly started when* ***Talaat's attitude became even more belligerent. His eyes lighted up, he brought his jaws together, leaned over toward me, and snapped out:***

"Are they Americans?"

The implications of this question were hardly diplomatic; it was merely a way of telling me that the matter was none of my business. In a moment Talaat said this in so many words.

"The Armenians are not to be trusted," he said, "besides, what we do with them does not concern the United States."

H. Morgenthau,
The Murder of a Nation, pp.58- 59

This is H. Morgenthau's conversation with Talaat concerning the events in the Empire at the beginning of the century. The author himself testifies that the interview was very agitating. As a diplomat the author was well aware that his intercession had no lawful grounds because problems concerning the Turkish subjects were the internal affairs of the Turkish government, unless they somehow touched American interests. Nevertheless he could not avoid this talk as a human incapable of viewing human fates cold-heartedly, particularly that he sensed himself a friend of the Armenians.[21] In other words, the Ambassador's conversation with Talaat was beyond the scope of his diplomatic mission, nevertheless, he hoped to intervene, earn Talaat's good will, keep him from committing the crime and save the Christian minorities, especially Armenians from annihilation. However, during the conversation the Ambassador unveiled Talaat as an embodiment of malice and hatred. Talaat's question – **Are *they* Americans?** –

[21] H. Morgenthau, *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

with its hidden implicit meaning could hardly be considered either friendly or diplomatically acceptable as the implications of the question were hardly diplomatic.

It is well known that the illocutionary goal of an interrogative statement is generally the question itself but in this particular conversational situation the question ***"Are they Americans?"*** is interrogative only in form inasmuch as it is not aimed at obtaining relevant information. In other words, although in this dialogue it is apparently a question concerning the problem raised by the Ambassador, as such it has no concrete addressee, and in this particular context it lacks the illocutionary force typical of an interrogative sentence. The listener wants to guess the speaker's communicative intention and applies a certain strategy of coming to a conclusion developed through the following steps.

First, it may be assumed that according to the rules for regulating interrogative sentences the listener is expected to answer "yes" or "no" (Step 1). However, the verbal situation here does not actually demonstrate the speaker's interest in a possible reply by the listener. The assumption that the speaker asks with an expectation of an answer seems irrelevant (Step 2). One has to summarize only that what the speaker says is not a real question claiming an answer; it has a certain hidden, underlying pragmatic purpose. What is the purpose? (Step 3). Proceeding from the speech situation, hence from the content of the context we can conclude that offering this rhetorical question the speaker simply expresses his discontent and urges the listener not to interfere (Step 4). In case of no other possible implicit purpose the illocutionary force of the plea is ascribed to the utterance. What the speaker really intends to convey is the following: **"I don't**

appreciate your deep concern about or sympathetic attitude towards Armenians. Don't interfere, it's none of your business". Of course, in a real communication these steps are made subconsciously, based on the general principles of communication as well as on general background knowledge, and, more important, on the context of the utterance.

In other words it is well beyond any doubt that the given piece of speech in this conversational situation claims an additional communicative sense and serves both purposes of the speaker:

a) make it clear that he is altogether displeased with his interlocutor's concern over the fate of Armenians,

b) urge him keep away and never intervene in the Armenian-Turkish relationship.

Thus, the rhetorical question functions in two ways simultaneously: both as non-literal and indirect.[22] The probability of the realization of these functions already occurs in the change of Talaat's mood before the question is formulated, and this is borne out by the following statement in the passage: ***Talaat's attitude became even more belligerent.***

As far as Talaat's determination and persistence in the execution of the Genocide is concerned, one may note that in the passage they are disclosed by various paralinguistic means: ***brought his jaws together; snapped out.***

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[22] On non-literal and indirect utterances cf. **R. Giora**, *On Our Mind: Salience, Context, and Figurative Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 63-153; **H. Colston, A. Katz**, *Figurative Language Comprehension*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2005; **P. Griffiths**, *An Introduction to English Semantics and Pragmatics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.

Fanaticism characteristic of Talaat's image is revealed in his further judgements, too. Thus, for example,

> ***"It is no use for you to argue,"*** *Talaat answered, "we have already disposed of three quarters of the Armenians;* ***there are none at all left in Bitlis*** *(Arm.* ***Baghesh*** *– S.G.),* ***Van, and Erzerum*** *(Arm.* ***Karin*** *– S.G.). The hatred between the Turks and the Armenians is now so intense, that we have got to finish with them. If we don't, they will plan their revenge."*
>
> ***"If you are not influenced by humane considerations,"*** *I replied, "think of the material loss.* ***These people are your business men. They control many of your industries. They are very large tax-payers****. What would become of you commercially without them?"*
>
> *"We care nothing about the commercial loss," replied Talaat. "We have figured all that out and we know that it will not exceed five million pounds. We don't worry about that. I have asked you to come here so as to let you know that* ***our Armenian policy is absolutely fixed*** *and that* ***nothing can change it****. We will not have the Armenians anywhere in Anatolia. They can live in the desert but nowhere else."*
>
> *I still attempted to persuade Talaat that* ***the treatment of the Armenians was destroying Turkey in the eyes of the world****, and that his country would never be able to recover from this infamy.*
>
> *"You are making a terrible mistake," I said, and I repeated the statement three times.*

"Yes, we may make mistakes," he replied, "but" – and he firmly closed his lips and shook his head – ***"we never regret."***

H. Morgenthau,
The Murder of a Nation, pp.66-67

Talaat's confession that there are no Armenians at all left in Bitlis, Van, and Erzerum is as apparent and impudent as the total absence of remorse ***(we never regret)***, which he expresses with resolute certainty. The Ambassador's arguments prove useless ***(it is no use for you to argue).*** Even the aggravating financial and economic crisis caused by the deportation of Armenians, as the author believes, cannot bear regret in Talaat; as for mere human and humane considerations, they are completely alien to him ***(If you are not influenced by humane considerations ... think of the material loss)***. He readily ignores the fact that Armenians are the prominent manufacturers, tradesmen and tax-payers ***(These people are your business men. They control many of your industries. They are very large tax-payers).*** He does not care that actions against Armenians irrevocably defame his country's reputation in the world ***(was destroying Turkey in the eyes of the world),*** and his country would never be able to recover from this infamy. Thus the Ambassador's strategy to lead the dialogue through the right path and persuade Talaat is completely in vain: no remorse; Talaat remains dogged even if he admits all the awfulness of their mistake *(Yes, we may make mistakes ...but* ***we never regret)***. An important linguocognitive marker is the statement "... *our Armenian policy is* ***absolutely fixed*** [23] **and ... *nothing can change it"*** which

[23] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 396.

exposes the pre-planned and absolutely unchangeable policy in the Armenian issue adopted by the Young Turks' government, as well as the irreversibility of its execution ***(nothing can change it).*** The use of the Past Participle of the verb to fix (fixed) which conveys the idea of a completed action, as well as the fact that these words are pronounced by Talaat – the Minister of the Interior of Turkey and one of the leaders of "Union and Progress" – the ruling party at that time, leave no doubt that the Genocide they executed (one and a half million victims) could not be caused by a spontaneous action.

Talaat's frenzy against Armenians is summarized in one of his later talks with the Ambassador.

> *Talaat's attitude towards the Armenians was summed up in the proud boast which he made to his friends: "**I have accomplished more** toward solving the Armenian problem in three months than Abdul Hamid accomplished in thirty years!"*
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> *H. Morgenthau,*
> *The Murder of a Nation, p.71*

The excerpt presents Talaat's boastful statement: the thirty-year-long efforts of Abdul Hamid to solve the Armenian problem could not get the result he did achieve in three months only ***(I have accomplished more)***.

The following passage shows that in a last effort the Ambassador decides to go back to the Armenian problem again, albeit absolutely aware of Talaat's nature and of the official Turkish policy on this point and with almost no hope of a positive outcome ***(another appeal would be useless)***. However, he was so

depressed and dispirited by the atrocious attitude of the Turkish government towards Armenians and even more atrocious methods of realizing their plan that he could not step aside.

> *And now for the last time I spoke on* ***the subject that had rested so heavily on my mind for many months****. I feared that* ***another appeal would be useless****, but I decided to make it.*
>
> *"How about the Armenians?"*
>
> ***Talaat's geniality disappeared in an instant. His face hardened*** *and* ***the fire of the beast lighted up his eyes once more****.*
>
> *"What's the use of speaking about them?" he said, waving his hand. "****We are through with them. That's all over****."*
>
> *Such was my farewell with Talaat. "****That's all over"*** *were his last words to me.*
>
> *H. Morgenthau,*
> *The Murder of a Nation, p.120-121*

On hearing the Ambassador's inquiry about Armenians Talaat's positive mood vanished at once ***(Talaat's geniality disappeared in an instant), his face hardened, the fire of the beast lighted up his eyes once more*** and he replied that it was pointless to raise the issue, everything was finished, and their problem was solved ***(We are through with them. That's all over)***.

The metaphorical expression ***the fire of the beast lighted up his eyes*** is, as it were, the last touch of the diplomat's brush to complete Talaat's portrait, a picture painted in thick colours of

ferocity, fanaticism and frenzy. The parallelism underlying this metaphor – Talaat's fiery eyes full of thirst for Armenian blood and the beast grinning to devour its prey – accomplishes the reader's understanding of not only Talaat as a person but also the vicious ideology whose ardent bearer and preacher he was.

Further in the narrative H. Morgenthau passes from characterizing the private image of Talaat to portaying the general image of 'Turk'. Thus:

> *"Why can't you let us do with these Christians as we please?"*
>
> *I had frequently remarked that the Turks look upon practically every question as a personal matter, yet this point of view rather stunned me. However, it was a complete revelation of Turkish mentality; the fact that, above all considerations of race and religion, there are such things as* ***humanity and civilization,*** *never for a moment enters their mind. They can understand a Christian fighting for a Christian and a Jew fighting for a Jew, but such abstractions as* ***justice and decency*** *form no part of their conception of things.*
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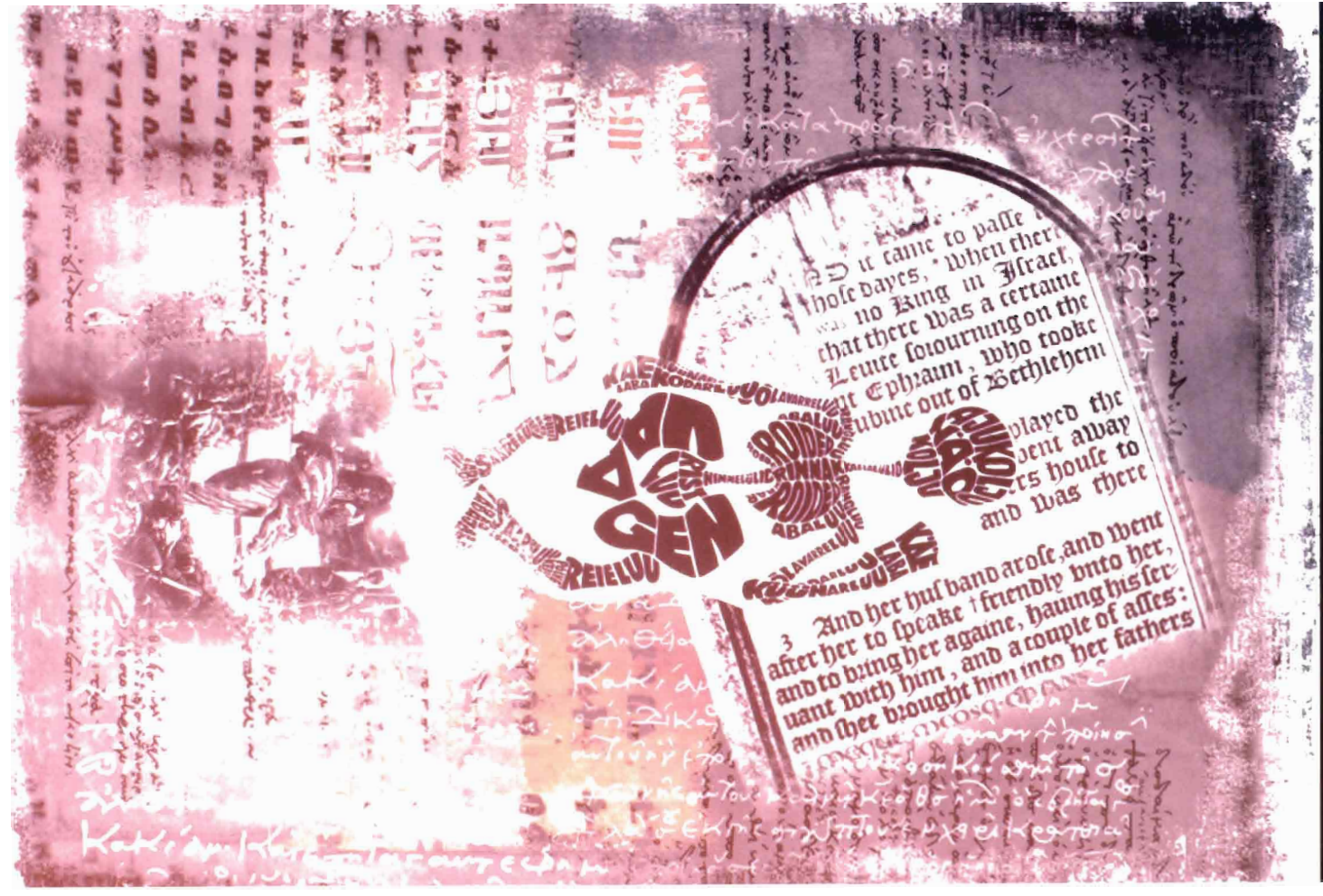
> *H. Morgenthau,*
> *The Murder of a Nation, pp. 63*

The context of the passage reveals some rigid stereotypes peculiar to the Turkish nation *(the Turks look upon practically every question as a personal matter),* and as Morgenthau mentions, Turks cannot comprehend abstract and noble ideas like ***humanity and civilization, justice and decency,*** values that can

never be subordinated to any form of racism and religious fanaticism.

In contrast to H. Morgenthau's honest and truthful presentation of the horrendous picture of the genocidal events of 1915 and the following years, in all the multilingual abundance of literature on this matter there are, unfortunately, quite a few publications which treat the fact of the Genocide skeptically, deny or even justify the perpetrated felony on some baseless reason and actually proclaim the authors' negating disposition by disputing the genocidal nature of the crime against Armenians in 1915.



it came to passe
those dayes, when there
was no King in Israel,
that there was a certaine
Leuite sojourning on the
Ephraim, who tooke
ubine out of Bethlehem
played the
went away
rs house to
and was there
3 And her husband arose, and went
after her to speake † friendly vnto her,
and to bring her againe, hauing his ser-
uant with him, and a couple of asses:
and shee brought him into her fathers

Guenter Lewy and His "Truth"

Guenter Lewy's "opus" – *"The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide" (2004)*, is particularly notable in the sense that it has the denial of the Genocide at its core. Although Lewy claims his position as being completely unbiased and his aim as disclosing the *truth, his truth* is obviously far from being true.

As is the case with various books on the same issue, this work by G. Lewy catches the reader's attention with its very title.[24] Apparently, any written work in its entirety is rendered as a unified text, and the title itself, as the heading of that text, reflects the main quest of the book and the author's own stand towards the problem in

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[24] In our studies we have had the opportunity to highlight the significance of a heading of any text. Cf. **S. Gasparyan, G. Harutyunyan, L. Gasparyan,** *Interpretations of the Armenian Genocide: A Linguocognitive Study* // "Language, Literature & Art in Cross-Cultural Contexts," AASE-3 International Conference. Programme and Abstracts. Yerevan, 2011; **Ս. Գասպարյան, Լ. Գասպարյան,** *Խորենացու «Պատմութիւն Հայոց» երկի վերնագիրը և դրա անգլերեն թարգմանությունը* [*Khorenatsu «Patmutyun Hayots» yerki vernagiry yev dra angleren targmanutyuny*] // Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի. բանասիրություն, Եր., 2010, էջ 40-47; also **Г. Гаспарян,** *Интегрирующая функция заголовка в рассказе В. Сарояна "Antranik of Armenia"* [*Integriruyushchaya funktsiya zagolovka v rasskaze W.Saroyana "Antranik of Armenia"*] // Գլաձոր-20, Եր., Նոյան տապան հրատ., 2011.

dispute. And as any title suggests the conceptual contents of the text, as well as the author's intention and is also meant to bring together and unite its various parts, the appropriate perception and rendering of the title can rightly be considered the first step along the process of the adequate perception and understanding of the conceptual and cognitive entirety of the work. If in some cases the issue in question and the author's evaluative approach may by various linguistic means be encoded, hence implicitly expressed in the title, in G. Lewy's work mentioned above they are almost explicitly manifest. Though it might seem, at first sight, that by using the expression of "a disputed Genocide" the author merely records the confronting approaches to the fact of the Genocide available in the scope of the discussion of the issue. But viewing the title from the "whole" – "part" correlation one can reveal the author's negative point and its intrinsic tendency to plant seeds of mistrust against the historical reality.

G. Lewy makes absolutely groundless efforts to support his observations with a statement that *no authentic documentary evidence exists to prove the culpability of the central government of Turkey for the massacre of 1915–16 (p. 250):* Whereas there are numerous documents pertaining to the issue.[25] They are mostly

[25] Not long ago the Museum-Institute of the Armenian Genocide published a great number of documents from the historical-diplomatic archives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the Armenian issue in the period from 1913 to 1923. Italy turned out to be one of the superpowers of the time in whose archives a notable amount of documents related to the Armenian Genocide and the Armenian issue at large have been preserved, though, unfortunately, so far unknown, with just a few exceptions, to the Armenian readers and professional circles. Investigations showed that these documents are gathered and presented there under the general title of Armenia – an interesting fact speaking for itself, especially from the view that Western Armenia, though having lost its statehood even before the Ottoman period, is however perceived as Armenia. <http://www.genocide-museum.am/arm/italy-document.php> **Retrieved [04.03.2014, 22:35]**

being kept in the archives of the former embassies of the European countries to Turkey and in other files. Among the immense collection of diplomatic correspondence relating to the fact of the Genocide, the three volumes entitled *"The Armenian Genocide: Turkey's Responsibility and the Liability of the World. Documents and Comments,"* edited by Yuri Barseghov – a professor of International Law, Doctor of Jurisprudence, are especially prominent.[26] They include documentary evidence which sheds light on both the facts of planning-preparing and executing the Armenian Genocide. These documents, from the embassies of the world powers, provide proof, irrefutable from political and diplomatic viewpoints, about the Turkish government being undoubtedly responsible for the policy of extermination of Armenians from Western Armenia in 1915-1923 and for the consequent events thereof.

Document No. 634 (vol. 2), for example, represents the report (dated 20 December, 1915) of Germany's Consul to Aleppo to the Reichskanzler von Bethmann Hollweg. It includes the overt statement of the Commissar of Home Affairs in charge of the deportations: "We need Armenia without Armenians". According to the Consul, the Turkish Government has consistently pursued that very principle.

According to another document (No. 655), A. Mikoyan, a member of the Caucasian Regional Committee, reports to V. Lenin that the Turkish Government follows a policy of extermination of Armenians as a result of which "Turkish Armenia is devoid of Armenians" (Moscow, December, 1919). In yet another document

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[26] *"Геноцид армян: ответственность Турции и обязательства мирового сообщества. Документы и комментарии"* [*"Genotsid arm'an: otvetstvennost' Turtsii i ob'azatel'stva mirovogo soobshchestva. Dokumenty i kommentarii"*] / под ред. Ю. Г. Барсегова, т. 1, 2, 3. М., изд-во Гардарики, 2002, 2003, 2005.

(No. 642; Tiflis, 26 July, 1918) General Kress von Kressenstein, the Head of the German military mission in the Caucasus, reports to the Foreign Ministry about Germany's complicity in the massacres of Armenians and states that Germany must take measures to prevent the extermination of one and a half million of Christians by the Turkish authorities, otherwise the public opinion, as well as history will hold Germany partly responsible for sharing the guilt in the atrocities perpetrated against Armenians in 1915.

Was, then, G. Lewy entitled to *"open up new perspectives,"* as he claims, and convey *"reliable"* information to the reader about the Armenian problem if he was unaware of or even inadequately familiar with, willingly or not, the preceding and many other available sources and documents (both Turkish and Western)? The answer is an unequivocal "No," and the best proof for this "No" is the survey "endeavoured" by G. Lewy himself and the falsehood of his statements.

Interestingly, portraying the conditions the Armenians in Western Armenia were in until the beginning of the 19th century, Lewy records details of their economic, legal, moral and pshychological state. Although in the mentioned period Armenians had not suffered any systematic oppression, they were second-class citizens who had to pay special taxes and wear a distinctive hat, they were not allowed to carry or possess arms, their testimony was often repudiated in the courts, and they were not allowed to fill the highest administrative or military posts. The following is a passage from his book:

> *Until the beginning of the nineteenth century Armenians had not suffered from any systematic oppression. They were second-class citizens who had*

to pay special taxes and wear a distinctive hat, they were not allowed to bear or possess arms, their testimony was often rejected in the courts, and they were barred from the highest administrative or military posts. The term ***gavur or kafir (meaning unbeliever or infidel) used for Christians had definite pejorative overtones and summed up the Muslim outlook****. Still, as Ronald Suny has noted, despite all discriminations and abuses, for several centuries the Armenians had derived considerable benefit from the limited autonomy made possible by the millet system.*

G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey..., p. 4

As can easily be seen from the passage, the social state of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire towards the beginning of the 19th century was in fact unbearable. So was the attitude Turks showed to the "unbelievers." Introducing the word ***gavur*** *(kafir*[27]*)* and it synonymous units ***unbeliever*** and ***infidel*** into the text, thus stressing the negative value of the word,[28] the author reaffirms that it really was a humiliating and vilifying atmosphere the

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[27] The Arabic ***kāfir*** is interpreted as "unbeliever, infidel." Cf. Encarta World English Dictionary (North American Edition), Microsoft Corporation, 2007.

[28] This Arabic borrowing ***(kafir)*** entered into the Turkish language and spread as ***gavur*** still back in the second half of the 16th century. It is used in contemporary Turkish in the same meaning as ***infidel*** (an offensive way of referring to smb. who does not believe in what the speaker considers to be the true religion) (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 665) and has several orthographic variances ***(giaour, gawur*** or ***ghiaour)***.

Armenians in the Ottoman Empire lived in. The word ***gavur*** having obvious pejorative overtones sums up the Muslim outlook on Christians as it also referred to other minorities of the Ottoman Empire like ethnic Greeks, Syrians, Bulgarians, Serbs, etc.[29]

However, Lewy does not seem to worry about these facts. He chooses to rely on Ronald Suny's words according to which despite all discriminations and abuses, for several centuries the Armenians had derived considerable benefit from the limited autonomy availed by the *millet* system (p. 4). He ignores the fact that Armenians, who had been living in the land of their ancestors for thousands of years, who had created a rich civilization and, being endowed with creative talents, were the preeminent regional power, were disqualified as second-class citizens whose rights could be violated at every step, and who were not even a nation but an "ethnic minority" from a Turkish perspective. Does Lewy really fail to understand that as a result of the seeds of hostility planted by the authorities, a sense of "aliens deprived of any rights" was sure to be rooted in the public perception with regard to minorities;[30] that the government's pre-planned activities would reach their goal, and Armenians would change from their status of ethnic minority to a common public enemy, as the Turks qualified

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[29] <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Infidel> **Retrieved [04.03.2014, 22:48]** <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giaour> **Retrieved [04.03.2014, 22:48]**

[30] The use of expressions like "Armenian bastard," "Armenian sham" in the colloquial Turkish speech testify to that. Cf. Հ. Դիմր, *Երկու մոտ ժողովուրդ, երկու հեռու հարևան* [*Yerku mot zhoghovurd, yerku heru harevan*], թարգմ. Ս. Սոմոնցյան, Եր., Լուսակն հրատ., 2009, էջ 58. The unveiled contempt and animosity towards the "gavurs" have even penetrated into Turkish sayings, proverbs and songs. Cf. **В. Гордлевский,** *Из истории османской пословицы и поговорки* [*Iz istorii osmanskoy poslovitsy i pogovorki*] // Живая старина, вып. II-III. М., 1909, с. 116.

them; and finally alongside with other ethnic minorities would be viewed as a threat to the security of the Empire? Moreover, the Empire suffering from the syndrome of land-losing had already adopted the conviction that ethnic minorities like Armenians who were a constant threat to the state should not, to put it mildly, exist and grow in number. Such a policy was sure to bear in Armenian souls a longing for independence from the Empire. It is no wonder H. Dink wrote that "Armenians were the last of the peoples of the region to wake up and the one to suffer the grossest loss... Armenians seem to have paid by their national tragedy for all nations broken from the Ottoman Empire."[31]

Lewy, apparently, could not evade the negative side of the matter; nevertheless, by quoting R. Suny's point, he tries to persuade the unsophisticated reader that the millet system had been rather beneficial for Armenians and that black clouds darkened the clear sky of the Empire by Russia's intrusion and with the liberation movement in Bulgaria.

> *Matters came to a head in the wake of the Bulgarian revolt against Ottoman rule in 1876. Reports reaching the West about the ferocious manner in which the rebellion had been suppressed helped solidify* ***the image of the "terrible Turk"****. Russian public opinion clamored for help to the Southern Slavs, and in April 1877 Russia declared war upon Turkey. The commander of the Russian army invading eastern Anatolia was a Russian Armenian, Mikayel Loris-*

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[31] Հ. Դինք, *Ցույց տեղում* [*Ibid.*], p. 59.

Melikov (his original name was Melikian). The Russian troops included many Russian Armenians; Armenians from Ottoman Anatolia were said to have acted as guides. The spread of pro-Russian sentiments among the Armenians of Anatolia, who hoped that Russia would liberate them from the Turkish yoke, was well known. All this ***alarmed*** *the Ottoman government and* ***raised doubts about the reliability of the Armenians****. The transition from "the most loyal millet" to a people* ***suspected to be in league with foreign enemies*** *was complete.*

G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey..., p. 7

As the context of the passage shows, it is by the Bulgarian rise in rebellion itself, the Armenian-Russian relations and the Armenians' desire for liberation that Lewy tends to explain the gradual disappearance of the image of the "tolerant Turk" and the birth of the notion of the "terrible Turk." From his pro-Turkish position he reckons this situation intolerable for Turkey. He is convinced that it was the foreign intrusion that made the Turkish government mistrust Armenians. This idea is particularly emphasized in the author's utterances of doubt and concern ***(alarmed, raised doubts about the reliability of the Armenians, suspected to be in league with foreign enemies)***. In fact, the author indirectly cajoles the crime of the Ottoman Empire; he does not take into account that crimes against humanity never have (and in no case can have) extenuating circumstances.

There is an emphasis on the Armenian desire to cast aside the Turkish yoke in Lewy's further judgements as well. Thus:

> *The **new friendly relations** between the Dashnaks and the CUP survived even a new massacre of Armenians in Adana and other parts of Cilicia that took place in the wake of a conservative countercoup in April 1909. For some time, it appears, the leader of the Armenian community of Adana, **Archbishop Musheg, had urged his people to acquire arms, had voiced chauvinistic ideas, and had engaged in what was perceived as contemptuous behavior toward the Muslim.***
>
> *G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey..., p.33*

G. Lewy tries to present the matter as if the good relationship of the Dashnak Armenians and the Young Turks remained stable even after the massacres of Adana and elsewhere in Cilicia in May 1909. Albeit he is sure that Armenians led by the Bishop of Adana were seeding animosity towards the Muslims and called for actions against them. Lewy's "conviction" that from 1909 Armenians had launched military actions against the Young Turk government is revealed by the quote ***Archbishop Musheg, had urged his people to acquire arms, had voiced chauvinistic ideas, and had engaged in what was perceived as contemptuous behavior toward the Muslim).*** However, this idea of Lewy can be argued for the true history of Armenia, documented in various sources and proved by testimonies of witnesses, manifesting that landslide atrocities in Cilicia had already unveiled the actual

nature of the Young Turk Constitutional government: they had already proved to be the devoted followers of the former Sultan-ruled Turkey. Consequently, after the massacres of April 1909 there could be no way for good relationship.[32]

At the same time, he overlooks the other side of the issue – Armenians were growing more and more distrustful for future as they sensed the effects of the mistreatment on their own back. They found themselves in a situation where they deeply sensed they could face a real threat at any moment of time. The discouraging official policy towards Armenians, the unhealthy psychological condition of being deprived of their rights in their own land, humiliation and the authorities' bias to see an Armenian trail behind any threat could, certainly, reinforce the desire for freedom and dignity in Armenians and push them to self-defense.[33]

Reflecting on the correlation of the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust, G. Lewy denies that Hitler undertook the extermination of the Jews following the example of the Ottoman strategy. The key argument for this denial by Lewy is that there exist no facts or proofs of Hitler ever saying: *"Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?"* Thus:

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[32] Cf. Հ. **Սիմոնյան,** *Հայերի զանգվածային կոտորածները Կիլիկիայում (1909թ. ապրիլ)* [*Hayeri zanguatsayin kotoratsnery Kilikiayum (April, 1909)*], Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2009; H. **Simonyan,** *The Destruction of Armenians in Cilicia, April 1909.* London: Gomidas Institute, 2012.

[33] Thus, General Andranik's characterization of Turks comes of no surprise: "I cannot trust any Turk ever; even if they descend from heaven you have to make them understand, with the sword in your hand, that they have no right to ravage your property, trample the fair rights of individuals and of an entire people." Cf. **Ա. Քալայջյան,** *Թուրք թուրանական ծավալապաշտությունը և 70 նահատակ ազգերը. պատմություն և հեռանկարներ* [*Turk Turanakan tsavalapashtutyuny yev 70 nahatak azgery: patmutyun yev herankarner*], Եր., Տիգրան Մեծ հրատ., 2008.

In the context of outlining Germany's need for Lebensraum (vital space) and the destruction of people standing in the way of this expansion Hitler is supposed to have said: "Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?" ***This statement is frequently quoted to suggest*** *that Hitler felt encouraged to pursue his plan to exterminate the Jews of Europe because the world did not punish the Ottoman Turks for their annihilation of the Armenians.*

G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey..., pp.264-265

Lewy, who denies any relation between the first Genocide of the 20th century and the Jewish Holocaust, is certainly not unaware of Hitler's statement where the latter confesses his longing to secure a vital *Lebensraum* for Germany by way of exterminating the Polish-speaking Jews and hopes it will eventually fall into oblivion tomorrow just like the Armenian Genocide which was hardly recalled in that period. Lewy does not seem to consider George Olivia Forbes' (a British official in Berlin) telegram to the Foreign Office of Britain where he quotes Hitler's words.[34] Nor does he consider the fact that the same message from a General of

[34] On August 22, 1939, introducing his plan of neutralization of the Polish Jews Hitler said he had instructed his mortal combatant squadrons to kill Jewish men, women and children of Poland implacably and unhesitatingly because it was the only way to secure the "vital space" – the *Lebensraum* they needed. And in this very context has he uttered the following words: "Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?" Cf. **Louis P. Lochner,** *What about Germany?* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1942.

the German Staff had also been received by M. Lawner, the American representative of the "Associated Press." Lewy does not even care for the publication of it in "The New York Times" on November 24, 1945,[35] or for the fact that in 1945 the Nuremberg Trial admitted the protocol as L-3 Exhibit USA-28 and the German original of the document is kept in Baden-Baden[36].

This denial by Lewy undoubtedly has its reasons: he either tries to win pro-Turkish compliments[37] or, "by the call of the blood,"[38]

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[35] **Joseph Godman**, an American historian, has referred to this utterance by Hitler after WW II in his book *The Armenian Genocide in World War I* emphasizing and drawing parallels between the Nazi and Turanian crimes. Cf. **Ս. Քալայջյան**, *Ցույց տեղում* [*ibid.*], էջ 274.

[36] *"Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtigen Politik 1918-1945,"* Serie D, Band VII, (Baden-Baden 1956), ss. 171-172.
< http://www.armenian-genocide.org/hitler.html>
Retrieved [07. 03. 2014, 14:15]
Cf. also **Ս. Քալայջյան**, *Ցույց տեղում* [*ibid.*], էջ 273.

[37] In this respect words of praise for Lewy's book by F. Balci and A. Akgul are notably interesting. For them Lewy's book is unbiased, falsehood-free, based on historical facts, embodiment of truth. **F. Balci, A. Akgul**, *Book Review: The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* // The Journal of Turkish Weekly.
<http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/186/book-review-the-armenian-massacres-in-ottoman-turkey-a-disputed-genocide.html>
Retrieved [07.03. 2014, 14:30]
However, as A. Kechichian informs, Lewy has been lavishly rewarded by Turkish authorities and, which is more paradoxical, received an award for "Fighting crimes against humanity".
<http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/186/book-review-the-armenian-massacres- in- ottoman-turkey-a-disputed-genocide.html>
Retrieved [07.03. 2014, 14:32]

[38] "The call of the blood" is an attempt at a literal translation from the Armenian set expression «արյան կանչ» [aryan kanch], analogous with the idiomatic title of Jack London's story "The Call of the Wild."

adheres to the exceptionalist view adopted by the Israeli officials[39]. He is "convinced" of the "truthfulness" of his conclusions and for that very reason he states further in his writing:

> *Other scholars have lined up on one side or the other of this controversy which* ***must be regarded as irresolvable****. The Armenian* ***attempt*** *to see in this purported remark by Hitler a link between the Armenian massacres and the Jewish Holocaust therefore* ***stands on a shaky factual foundation.***
>
> *G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey..., p. 265*

Here too Lewy tries to impose his opinion on the reader. By emphasizing that the idea of finding any relations between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust is baseless, he introduces his own negating attitude into the context with the help of the modal verb ***must*** and adds negative flavour to his words by concluding that any attempt by Armenians to link the two phenomena stands on a ***shaky factual foundation.*** As the larger verbal context of the passage shows Lewy thus tries to make his readers believe that

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[39] On April 10, 2001, *The Turkish Daily News* published a statement by Shimon Peres, Israel's Foreign Secretary (now President) confirming that he sees no relation between the presented evidences for the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide: "Nothing similar to the Holocaust occurred. It is a tragedy what the Armenians went through but not a genocide."
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/israeli-foreign-minister-shimon-peres-statement-on-so-called-armenian-genocide.en.mfa>
Retrieved 07.03.2014, 14:45

his highlight of the facts put forward by Armenian historians has revealed their inconsistent and unreliable nature.

A question is naturally bound to arise here: is the acceptance or the denial of the correlation itself that matters most? Isn't it more important for an "honest" and "truthful" scholar like Lewy to condemn **any genocidal crime** committed against humanity?

> ***I start with the assumption*** *that the various decrees issued by the government in Constantinople dealing with the deportation and its implementation are* ***genuine*** *and were issued in* ***good faith****. The Ottoman Government,* ***I am inclined to believe, wanted to arrange*** *an orderly process but did not have the means to do so.*
>
> *G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey.... p. 252*

The author is consistent in implementing his strategy of persuasion. He tries in every possible way to seem to be standing on neutral ground, but the biased presupposition has already formed a firm conviction in him which, he believes, rests on the information in official documents, in particular, *the decrees issued by the government in Constantinople.*

Lewy employs his strategy of persuasion by using the personal pronoun "*I*" which is a key element of pragmalinguistic value in his utterance. Although the use of the first person singular personal pronoun "*I*" in utterances like ***I start with the assumption*** **and** ***I am inclined to believe*** is meant to express the author's subjective attitude, nevertheless, its combination with the noun ***assumption*** in the first case and the verbal form ***to be inclined*** in the second considerably

smoothens the sharp corners of the author's subjectivity and makes an attempt to persuade the reader of Lewy's ersatz neutrality. It is the official documents that "convince" him that the government of Constantinople, the Turkish authorities at large, were aptly inclined to improve the unstable conditions Armenians were in but, alas, turned out to be unable to carry out his project of reforms because of lack of means. In Lewy's opinion, it was a pity that the Turkish Government was not farsighted enough to see and understand the impossibility of realizing its "good will."

What a euphemistic manner of interpreting the unpardonable behaviour of the Ottoman authorities! It even sounds absurd in the global historical-social-political-religious-psychological and, after all, attitudinal context of the period in the Ottoman Empire. But Lewy ignores all these circumstances and enhances his strategy of persuasion further by using the word ***want*** in its direct, nominative meaning in the free word-combination ***wanted to arrange,*** by adding positive connotational gloss into the text with the help of the units ***genuine*** and ***good faith,*** thus trying to make the reader believe that the goal of the Ottoman government was to help the Armenians.

In another passage of the book, the author tries to balance the horrendous sufferings of the massacred Armenian population and the Turkish civilians who suffered from epidemics and hunger, the loss of the Turkish servicemen due to inadequate medical care. He is "convinced" that the Turkish government could by no means deliberately horrify its own civilians. Thus, Lewy writes:

> ***Large numbers of Turkish civilians*** *died as a result of severe shortages of food and epidemics;* ***large numbers of Turkish soldiers****, especially the wounded*

in battle, perished for lack of adequate medical care and as a result of neglect and incompetence on the part of their own officers; and ***large numbers of British prisoners*** *of war lost their lives as a consequence of inattention and the kind of gross mismanagement rampant in the Ottoman regime. Yet these results surely do not prove that the Ottoman government – ultimately responsible for all of these conditions –* ***sought and intentionally caused the death of its own civilian population, of its own soldiers and of its prisoners of war.***

G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey..., p.54

The passage suggests that the Ottoman government could not be held responsible for carrying out the Armenian massacres because Turkish nationals – soldiers and civilians – as well as war prisoners were also *among the suffering.* This is where the persuasive nature of the wording reveals itself by the double use of the unit ***own*** (i.e. very much theirs[40]) in the word sequences ***own*** *civilian population,* ***own*** *soldiers.* Note also the repetitions *(****large numbers of Turkish civilians, large numbers of Turkish soldiers, large numbers of British prisoners)****,* which aside from being a stylistic device are also meant to highlight the situation the crisis-stricken Empire was in.

In another passage of the book G. Lewy states:

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[40] Cf. *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture.* England: Pearson Education Ltd, 1998, p. 966.

> ***While the Armenians were victims, not all of them were innocent victims****; and the disaster that overtook them therefore was not entirely unprovoked. Most importantly, while the Ottoman government bears responsibility for the deportations that got badly out of hand, the blame for the massacres that took place must be primarily on those who did the actual killing.*
>
> *G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey..., p. 257*

Thus, Lewy's vicious position to look for the guilt in Armenians themselves is summarized in the passage by the statement, ***while the Armenians were victims, not all of them were innocent victims.*** As the larger verbal context of the passage discloses, the guilt of the Armenians was their pursuit of ways to save their lives looking both to the West and to Russia. And the Young Turk regime, according to Lewy, had merely overestimated their foresight and disclosed their inaptness of timely and mature decisions. The author's endeavours to cover up the brutal objectives of the Turkish regime are again euphemistic. Unsophisticated readers can hardly help a sense of compassion in their hearts towards the Turks who, "unfortunately," just failed to carry out their "merciful" plan of displacing Armenians to a "safer habitat." Even the fact that some of the Young Turk fanatic leaders had welcomed and encouraged the extermination of so many Armenians does not tell anything to Lewy of their prior intention to annihilate Armenians.

Persistently following his strategy of obfuscating the reader, Lewy does not shy away from drawing parallels between millions

of victims of a pre-planned slaughter on the one hand, and injured servicemen, refugees and war prisoners whom the authorities were unable to render adequate care to *(badly mishandled its wounded soldiers, refugees and prisoners of war – p.256)* on the other, thus emphasizing that while *it is impossible to ignore the horrors to which the Armenians were subjected (p.256),* he in fact insists on the importance of seeing and evaluating *these terrible events in their proper historical context (p.256).* Lewy tries to persuade his reader that he is *the* scholar who is after the historical truth (p.X) and that *the order for the deportation of the Armenian community was issued at a time of great insecurity, not to say panic (p.256)*, when the safer displacement of Armenians could prove impossible because it was hard to reckon the precise consequences. He is certainly sure that the Ottoman government bears some responsibility for deportations as they failed to monitor the process, albeit not the government but the actual murderers should be held culpable.

Thus, it is no mere chance that the author categorically refuses to use the term "genocide."

> *Finding a man with a smoking gun standing next to a corpse tells us nothing about the motive for the killing – it may have been murder or a case of self-defense. Indeed, we cannot even be sure that this man is the killer. Similarly, the fact that large numbers of Armenians died or were killed during the course of the deportations can give us no reliable knowledge of who is to be held responsible for these losses of life.* ***The high death toll*** *certainly does not prove in and of itself the guilt of the Young Turk regime; nor can we*

infer from it that the deaths were part of a genocidal plan to destroy the Turkish Armenian community.

G. Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey..., p. 54

In this passage the author contends that the presence of someone with a smoking gun standing by a dead body cannot prove the person is a murderer. Then he emphasizes all over again that the Ottoman government did not and could not have any connection with the Armenian massacres in so far as Armenians had died as a result of mass deportations. Moreover, avoiding the term genocide, the author uses the expression ***the high death toll.***[41] Our comparative analysis of the semantic structures of the units ***death toll*** and ***genocide*** reveals Lewy's intention of presenting the well-known events of the 1915-1916s as a "tragic accident" which had nothing to do with the political and religious endeavours of the Ottoman government. The attributive word-combination ***death toll*** refers to an occasion caused by war or other disaster and, what is even more important, it rules out the factor of deliberateness.[42] However, amongst a multitude of testimonies, Dr. A. T. Wegner's[43] open letter (dated 23 February, 1919) to the President of the USA Woodrow Wilson is noteworthy. In this letter, Dr.

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[41] ***Toll*** - the amount of damage or the number of deaths and injuries that are caused in a particular war, disaster, etc. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p.1368.

[42] Cf. *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Article II,* 1948, December 9, UN; also Ս. Գասպարյան, *Եղեռն բառի համարժեքությամբ դաշտը անգլերենում* [*Yeghern bari hamarzhekutyan dashty anglerenum*] // Վէմ, Համահայկական հանդես, N՝ 1(29), Եր., Վէմ հանդես ՍՊԸ, 2010.

[43] Dr. A. T. Wegner is a German writer and publicist.

Wegner tries to convey to the President the desperate cry of the Armenians' sufferings.[44] The genocidal nature of the crime is confirmed by many other archived documents.[45] As far as Lewy's evaluations of the events are concerned, they cannot be rendered valid because the story invented by him is full of historical distortions.

Our examination of linguistic facts against the background of historical events manifests the author's main intention and clear pro-Turkish goal in this book, aimed at affecting the perception of readers unaware of the essence of Armenian-Turkish relations, as well as expanding the Turkish viewpoints which he tries to do by implementing his strategy of persuasion. Thus, true are the words by Taner Akçam (an ethnic Turk, a historian and a sociologist) who rightly states that Lewy's professional qualification, in terms of the survey undertaken, raises doubts.[46]

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[44] <http://www.vhec.org/images/pdfs/armenian%20teachers%20guide.pdf> **Retrieved** [**07.03. 2014, 21:19**]

[45] Cf., for example, *АВПР Политархив* [*AVPR, Politarkhiv*], д. 3508, l. 16, АН Арм. ССР; "Документы французских архивов о геноциде армян" [*"Documenty frantsuzskikh arkhivov o genotside arm'an"*]. Ереван, 1985; *Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Historische Abdeilung P*, Akten N° 2/3340, Bl. 192, etc. // ըստ՝ **Ս. Կ. Պողոսյան,** *Հայոց ցեղասպանության պատմություն* [*Hayots tseghaspanutyan patmutyun*], III, Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2011; also **А. Вегнер,** *Судебный процесс Талаата Паши (стенографический отчет о судебном процессе Талаата Паши с предисловием А. Вегнера и приложением)* [*Sudebniy protsess Talaata Pashi (stenographicheskiy otchet o sudebnom protsesse Talaata Pashi s predicloviem A. Wegnera i prilozheniem)*]. Берлин, изд-во Политика и история, 1921 – М., изд-во Феникс, 1992.

[46] **T. Akçam**, *Review Essay: Guenter Lewy's The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey* // Genocide Studies and Prevention, N° 3.1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, pp.111-145.

Ronald Suny's Strategy of Misleading the Reader

G. Lewy is unfortunately not the only author who does his best to delude his readers with false interpretations of the historical reality, particularly that the Turkish authorities employ all possible and impossible means of circumventing the most basic norms of human morality. Over the years they have put into action their anti-Armenian propaganda machine always aimed at the same goal: to mislead the international community away from the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. To ensure success along the path of the falsification of history, Turkey, of course, does not confine itself to its own efforts only, but frequently turns for help to foreign historians who for various lucrative motives and under the guise of "true" historicity and scholarliness are trying to deny the undeniable.

Bernard Lewis, an orientalist and expert in studies of British and American History, viewed the Armenian liberation movement as a deadly threat to Turkey and the basic reason for the Genocide.[47]

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[47] Cf. **B. Lewis**, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Talaat himself feared that the Armenians would start an insurrection against the central government. Cf. **H. Morgenthau**, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. Garden City New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918, p. 132; **Thomas de W.** *The Caucasus: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 55.

The falsifiers often grow so bold as to try to convince the public opinion that the Big Massacre is just the "fancy of the morbid imagination" of Armenians who are in fact no less than "cold-blooded," "fanatical" terrorists. Some of them are "convinced" that about 200000 Armenians died not only of displacement but also of starvation, diseases and hostilities which also happened to about 2 million Muslims at the same time....[48]

Both among Turkish and Western ersatz-historians, attempts have been made to use the context of World War I, and some circumstances surrounding it, to deny the Armenian Genocide, to label it as a mere deportation on the grounds that the Ottoman Empire's desperate condition forced the regime to displace Western Armenians because of poverty, hunger and military actions.[49] However, Turkish authors themselves show that the mass deportation and destruction of Armenians in many settlements of Western Armenia and Asia Minor had nothing to do

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[48] This view is advocated by American historians Mr. and Mrs. Shaw. Cf. **S. Shaw**, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976; **S. Shaw, E. K. Shaw,** *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

[49] As has already been mentioned above, one of the active proponents of this viewpoint is G. Lewy who believes the Ottoman Empire could not be the perpetrator of the killings of Armenians because the Empire could not jeopardize the safety of its subjects (**G. Lewy**, *The Armenian Massacre in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004); Cf. also **Ս. Գասպարյան**, *Գյունթեր Լյուիի «ճշմարտությունը» Հայոց ցեղասպանության մասին* [*Guenter Lyuii "chshmartutyuny" Hayots tseghaspanutyan masin*] // Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի. հայագիտություն, N° 139.1, Եր., էջ 3-17.

with the military actions.[50] Taking over the Armenian plateau the Turks have led an anti-Armenian policy from the very start, and the decision of extermination of Armenians, which was actually the continuation of the policy of destruction,[51] had been made long before by the "Union and Progress" Party leaders.

As for the causes of such behaviour on the part of the Turks, it has been proved consistently that it was the insatiable itch of Turkism and Pan-Turkism that bothered them. The striking proof of this are the clear statements made on different occasions: equality between Muslims and Christians is merely out of the question; the demographic character of the Empire should be exclusively Muslim, etc.[52] According to Ziya Gökalp, a Pan-Turkish ideologist, Turkism

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[50] Quite on the contrary, as they state, Armenians were being driven from relatively safer regions (Bolu [Arm. **Odzasar** – S.G.], Kastamonu, Ankara, Izmir [Arm. **Smyrna** – S.G.], Kyutahia [Arm. **Kyotahia** – S.G.], etc.) to more hostile places (Syrian and Iraqi deserts). Cf. *«Թուրքերը թուրքերի մասին»* [*"Turkery Turkeri masin"*], կազմ. և խմբ. Ռ. Մելքոնյան, հ. III, Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2011, էջ 16; *«Հայերի ցեղասպանությունը ըստ երիտթուրքերի դատավարության փաստաթղթերի»* [*"Hayeri tseghaspanutyuny yst yeritturkeri datavarutyan pastatghteri"*], առաջաբ., բարգմ. և մեկնաբան. Ա.Հ.Փափազյանի, Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱԱ հրատ., 1988 .

[51] It is a well known fact that Kamil pasha, as the head of the government, expressed the idea that the way of solving the Armenian problem was the physical extermination of the people, more so as the regime had all necessary means for it: the Kurds, governers, judges, tax-collectors, police – everything to wage a religious campaign against a nation which lacked high positions, arms and army, whereas they, the Turks, had both arms and a regular army, and Britain, one of the world's greatest and richest powers as their ally and the master of the Asian world. Cf. Լ. **Խուրշուդյան,** *Հայկական հարցը* [*Haykakan hartsy*], Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 1995, էջ 33.

[52] For example, it is well known that as back as in 1910 and 1911, in Young Turks Party conferences in Salonika the question how to attain Muslim predominance had been discussed and found language to be the best solution for it. Cf. Լ. **Խուրշուդյան,** *Հայոց ցեղասպանության պատճառները և պատմական դասերը* [*Hayots tseghaspanutyan patchamery yev patmakan dasery* //«Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը (ուսումնասիրություններ)» ["Hayots tseghaspanutyuny (usumnasirutyunner)"], Եր., Հրազդան հրատ., 2001.

and Pan-Turkism, the doctrines of Turkish and Turkic peoples, should be carried out in three stages. The first step was the establishment of Turkism, when Turkey would be made the homeland of all Turks by turning all other nations to Turks or just destroying them. In the second phase it was planned to create an Oguz state which would include Turkey, Azerbaijan and Persian Azerbaijan, and in the third stage, the phase of the establishment of Pan-Turanism (or Pan-Turkism). It was projected to create a united and independent Turan spreading from the Mediterranean Sea to the Pacific, from China to the Arctic Ocean.[53] The Turks were waiting for the right time to carry out these plans, and the outbreak of World War I came to be a good opportunity to give fresh impetus to the Turkish mass crimes.

Many Turkish poets (Ziya Gökalp, Enis Avni, Mehmet Emin and others) inspired the Turkish people with their "national", "moral" ideas, urging them to unite, even at the cost of blood, and carry out the plan to implement a single Pan-Turkish homeland. Gökalp openly stated, for example, that they should punish those who betray "Turkism," which, according to him, required a "common conscience," religion, homeland and especially language.[54] Mehmet

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[53] Cf. . **Լ. Խուրշուդյան,** *Հայկական հարցը* [*Haykakan hartsy*], էջ 34-35.

[54] Ziya Gökalp emphasized the importance of language for the realization of Greater Turan: "Turan has one people, / And has one language, / Whoever says *here is another one,* / Has other purposes." Cf. **Ա. Սաֆարյան,** *Զիյա Գյոքալփը և «Թյուրքականության հիմունքները»* [*Ziya Gökalpy yev "Tyurkakanutyan himunknery"*], Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2012, էջ 82-84. Enis Avni described the methods of exterminating nations on the way to Greater Turan. The very verses of his poem breathe deadly threat to Armenians: "From every spot of my footsteps blood will squirt.../Springs under my step should turn to autumns and autumns would turn to dungeon.../ If I fail to raze to the ground may my home collapse behind.../ I will turn rosaries into graveyards with my sword..." **Լ. Խուրշուդյան,** *նույն տեղում* [*ibid.*], էջ 36; **В. А. Гордлевский,** *Избранные сочинения* [*Izbrannye sochineniya*], т. III. М., 1962, с. 169.

Emin, a proponent of the idea of Greater Turan, warned that "no flower grew without blood." He was convinced that *"all the bees had one hive, all the Turks should have one Turan."* [55]

Unfortunately, in the web of the anti-Armenian propaganda sometimes appear scholars of Armenian descent who, willingly or unwillingly, yielding to Turkish-born ideas, contribute to their promotion. In this respect, particularly relevant are R. Suny's book *"Looking Toward Ararat" (1993)* and the collection of essays *"A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire" (2011)* published under his editorship. The examination of the linguistic aspect of some of the questions raised in them with regard to the historical and political events of the time makes it possible to reveal the implicit intentions of the author and his historical-political orientations, which lead to the unfolding of his true purpose.

First let's have a look at his *"Looking Toward Ararat"*; here in a subchapter entitled *Rethinking the Unthinkable: Toward an Understanding of the Armenian Genocide* R. Suny presents the Armenian-Turkish relations in three stages, and this is reflected in the structural features of the text. By subdividing his understanding of the Armenian Genocide into three micro-texts the author comes to the following structural model:[56] A (a - Ideology or Social Ecology? b - From Symbiosis to Massacre, c - From Massacre to Genocide), where A- is the chapter of the book, and a,

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[55] Cf. **Լ. Խուրշուդյան,** *Ցույց տեղում* [*ibid.*], էջ 36.

[56] While noting the structural features of the text the model suggested by academician G. Jahukyan ought to be mentioned as well: (a) A (b), where A stands fot the text, a – the prologue, and b – the epilogue. Cf. **Г. Б. Джаукян,** *Универсальная теория языка: Пролегомены к субстанциональной лингвистике* [*Universalnaya teori'a yazika: Prolegomeny k substantsional'noy lingvistike*]. М., Институт языкознания РАН, 1999.

b, c stand for micro-texts in the chapter and represent the stages of the historical and political development of Armenian-Turkish relations according to the author's interpretation.

The first micro-text starts with a rhetorical question: *Ideology or Social Ecology?* Thus leaving the answer to the reader's discretion, Suny is promoting his proposed factors of World War I and the instigation and provocation on the part of external forces as determining factors in the Armenian-Turkish relations. Moreover, these ideas are of pivotal significance to the author.

The division into micro-texts presents, as it were, Suny's inherent intention to give the reader an idea of the gradual deterioration of the Armenian-Turkish relations, as well as to make it more vivid. Each micro-text tends to emphasize the features of the *millet* system, indicating that Armenians were relatively better off before World War I. One of Suny's essential questions is how it came about that Armenians, being for centuries in the setup of the *millet* system, rather favourable for them, were subjected to genocidal violence *(How did the relatively benign symbiosis of several centuries, during which the ruling Ottomans referred to the Armenians as the loyal millet, break down into the genocidal violence of 1915? - p.95)*. He is trying to find the answer to this question based on the opinion of S. R. Sonyel, representing the fake statements of the Turkish ideology that foreign instigators' (*"outside agitators"* - p. 96) actions underlie the deterioration of the Armenian-Turkish peaceful relations.[57] However, in an effort to maintain a balance on the superficial level of the perception of his narrative, Suny

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[57] Cf. **S. R. Sonyel**, *Yeni Belgelerin Isığı Altında Ermeni Tehcirleri* [Yeni *Belgelerin Yshyghy Altynda Ermeni Tehjirleri*] // T.T.K. Belleten c. XXXVI, N°. 141, January 1972, pp. 31-69.

repeatedly describes the pre-war social and political crisis situation of Armenians *("the Armenians were also underclass" - p.97).* Yet indeed, as far back as the end of the 19th century, it had been stated that the Armenian -Turkish relations in the Ottoman Empire were in fact a relationship of slaves and slave-owners by and large instigated by the Empire's laws and regulations (we could read about it in the above-mentioned book by G. Lewy as well). For example, according to the established order, every Christian, as a subject of the sultan, was obliged to host a Muslim traveller or an official, without any possible compensation, who would choose the best of the city or village houses for accomodation and live there and treat the landlord and his family as his own slaves. Numerous taxes fixed by law and imposed on the Armenians evidence their harsh social conditions and humiliating moral and psychological state. Christians were obliged to wear clothing marked with a special logo. They were forbidden to tie a wider belt and have red footwear. In Amid, blue linen cloth was the Christians' distinctive mark. Their heads should have been covered with headband so that a Muslim could not see a gavur's hair because hair shown was the gavur's pride and a sign of insult to the Muslim.[58] Non-Muslims were not authorized to ride a horse either, carry arms, build new religious facilities and perform public rites. Their testimony was not accepted at a Muslim court and so on.[59]

Moreover, the mere use of the term *Armenia* was banned, curricula were changed in Armenian schools, all kinds of learning

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[58] Cf. **Ս. Կ. Պողոսյան,** *նույն տեղում* [*Ibid.*], էջ 124 – 137; **Վ. Քառամ,** *Թուրքիան և նրա քրիստոնյա փոքրամասնությունները* [*Turkian yev nra kristonya pokramasnutyunnery*], թարգմ. գերմաներենից Դ. Սաքայան և Է. Մակարյան, Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2010.

[59] Cf. **А. Массе,** *Ислам: очерк истории* [*Islam: ocherk istorii*]. М., изд-во Восточная литература, 1962, с. 30; also pp. 60-61 of the present book.

aids (textbooks, maps, etc.) with a mention of the province of Armenia were confiscated (as testified on February 19, 1890 by Lloyd George, the English Consul to Turkey)[60]

In his narrative Suny uses the expression "*the most brutal treatment of Armenians was at the hands of Kurdish tribesmen*" (p. 98) and seems to be focusing on the vicious policy of the Ottoman state to escalate the Armenian-Kurdish hostilities aimed at unleashing Kurdish religious fanaticism against Armenians.[61] But his implicit intention is, in fact, to attenuate the guilt of the Ottoman authorities and rid them of responsibility.

Studies show that the Turkish authorities have long been aware of the necessity to ensure their supremacy in the occupied territories at any rate, and that is why they not only consistently pursued to bring Armenians and other Christian nations to their knees, bent under the heavy tax load, but also to change the ethnic picture of Western Armenia through mass killings and turning the indigenous peoples into Turks. In the meantime, for the final solution of the Armenian question the Ottoman Empire adopted also the policy of distorting or turkifying the Armenian toponyms. The government of Sultan Abdul Hamid II displaced the name "Armenia" for the invented terms of "Kurdistan" or "Anatolia", trying to make it clear that there exists no Armenian question

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[60] Cf. also *"Положение армян в Турции до вмешательства держав в 1895 году"* [*"Polozhenie arm'an v Turtsii do vmeshatel'stva derzhav v 1895 godu"*], предисловие проф. Л. Камаровского. М., Рассвет, 1896, с. 139-140, 176.

[61] The Sultan managed to inject the Kurds the thought that Armenia was their own homeland, Armenians were strangers who intended to turn Kurdistan into Armenia; rayah Armenians wanted to own the land and make Kurds a rayah... Cf. **Ս. Կ. Պողոսյան,** *Գոյատևման պայքարի քառուղիներում* [*Goyatevman paykari karughinerum*], Եր., Հայաստան հրատ., 1988, էջ 167.

whatsoever, for there was no Armenia at all.[62] Therefore, quite right are the scholars who would not confine their search of the "ideological roots" of the Armenian Genocide with the last quarter of the 19th century only but also take into account the developments in the demographic trends of Western Armenia in general from the end of the 15th century on.[63] Thus any attempt to search the causes of the Armenian Genocide in the situation born out from the World War is an escape from reality, to say the least.

Here is a quote from Suny's narrative:

> ***The Turkish actions against the Armenians were taken in desperation and panic.*** *Not only were the Russians advancing in the east and the British and French navies threatening the capital, but the Armenians in Van had risen in revolt. The response of the government was brutal: on April 24, 1915, 235 prominent Armenian intellectuals and politicians were arrested and exiled. In the next few months thousands*

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[62] L. S. **Sahakyan**, *Turkification of the Toponyms in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey.* Montreal: Arod Publishers, 2011, pp. 31, 46. The author goes into details to explain the fake and fabricated nature of the term "Eastern Anatolia" which is nothing else but a forgery of two monosemantic words both meaning "east." Cf. also **Ա. Այվազյան**, *Հայաստանի պատմության լուսաբանումը ամերիկյան պատմագրության մեջ (քննական տեսություն)* [*Hayastani patmutyan lusabanumy amerikyan patmagrutyan mej (knnakan tesutyun)*], Եր., Արտագերս հրատ., 1998, էջ 13.

[63] Cf. **Ա. Ա. Մելքոնյան**, *Եղեռնի քաղաքականության ձևավորման ակունքները. XV դարի վերջ 1915 թվական (պատմաժողովրդագրական ակնարկ Էրզրումի նահանգի օրինակով)* [*Yegherni kaghakakanutyan dzevavorman akunknery: XV dari verj 1915 tvakan (patmazhoghovrdagrakan aknark Erzrumi nahangi orinakov)*] // «Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը (ուսումնասիրություններ)» ["Hayots tseghaspanutyuny (usumnasirutyunner)"], էջ 35-54.

of their countrymen were thrown out of their homes and either immediately executed or sent on deportation marches into the Syrian desert. By this ***inhuman policy*** *the Turks tried to eliminate* ***a people who had lived in eastern Anatolia for nearly a thousand years before the Turks arrived****. This was their "final solution" to the Armenian Question, their last effort to secure Turkey for the Turks and save their empire.*

R. Suny,
Looking toward Ararat, pp. 29-30

Here again Suny is meeting his wishes to ease the guilt of the Ottoman authorities, and relying upon Melson's opinion,[64] accepts the insinuation based on the assertion that Armenians themselves provoked the Turks to commit that crime. This allegation is especially highlighted in the following statement: ***the Turkish actions against the Armenians were taken in desperation and panic.*** This statement, to put it mildly, is not quite honest on Suny's part because it would have been appropriate to speak of desperation and panic with reference only to the Armenian and other Christian population. The very wording of the passage clearly shows that the ***inhuman policy*** of the Turks, of course, was not aimed at an execution of displacement with good intentions. It was a methodically pre-planned scheme of extermination of Armenians according to which the first and effective step to wipe out Armenians was to behead the nation by murdering its intellectuals. Suny's arguments are pursuing one goal: to convince his readers

[64] **R. Melson,** *A Theoretical Inquiry into the Armenian Massacres of 1894-1896 //* Comparative Studies in Society and History, XXIV, 3 July, 1892, pp. 481-509.

that the Russian army, on the one hand, the French and British fleet, and the revolt in Van, on the other, pushed the Ottoman Empire into a desperately critical corner. The government "had no other choice," and launched massacres of innocent people, ethnic Armenians, brutally murdering the elderly and children, men and women.[65]

With the use of the negative "seasoning" *(the government was brutal, were arrested and exiled, were immediately executed, deportation marches, inhuman policy, to eliminate a people)* Suny is trying to make the impression that he is unbiased and condemns the inhuman policies of the Turkish government. But this is a seeming impression only. The inherent tendency of the passage is that he justifies the actions of the Turkish government by "conditioning" them with desperate and panic psychosis ***(were taken in desperation and panic)***. Curiously enough, next to this "fair assessment" Suny does not forget his crucial mission of distorting the Armenian history and playing into the hands of the Turkish ideology by stating that Armenians had lived in the area for about a thousand years before Turks appeared *(a people who had lived in eastern Anatolia for nearly a thousand years before the Turks arrived)*. For Suny it is certainly disadvantageous to accept that Armenians had lived there

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[65] Whereas S. Vratsyan noted that the plot of extermination of Armenians had been devised in the den of the *Ittihat* long ago. Cf. **Ս. Վրացյան,** *Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն* [*Hayastani Hanrapetutyun*], Եր., Հայաստան հրատ., 1993, էջ 12.
Cf. also **Г. К. Орджоникидзе,** *Статьи и речи* [*Stat'i i rechi*], т. 1. М., 1956, с.412. In his report on 29 November, 1925, G. Ordjonikidze calls Armenians a suffered nation, one of the very few in the modern history of the world, with so many victims and so much blood shed. Quite obviously, Ordjonikidze's true purpose was not to deal with the Armenian Genocide but to plead for the cause of the newly established Soviet regime. We, however, point to the proof of the scope of the genocidal actions.

for not just a thousand years, but for millennia, long before the 9th-6th centuries BC, even well before the existence of the kingdom of Urartu, otherwise how would he be able to defend the viewpoint of Armenians as newcomers in the region directly stemming from the official Turkish-supported idea of genocide, a statement which has revealed its true nature as disingenuous and unjustified in a number of historical and linguistic studies.[66]

The next important issue which Suny focuses on is that Turks and Armenians had friendly relations and lived in peace, but the Western powers and especially Russia ruined the peaceful relationship.[67] As he states, the combination of the Russian attack

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[66] For studies directly or indirectly refuting the theory of Armenians as newcomers in the region cf. **R. D. Wilkinson**, *Introduction to the History of Pre-Christian Armenia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Society for Armenian Studies, 1983; **Մ. Ջուլալյան**, *Հայոց պատմության խեղաթյուրումը արդի թուրք պատմագրության մեջ (հին և միջին դարեր)* [*Hayots patmutyan kheghatyurumy ardi turk patmagrutyan mej (hin ev mijin darer)*], Եր., ՀՀ ԳԱԱ հրատ.,1995; **Ա. Այվազյան**, *Հայաստանի պատմության լուսաբանումը ամերիկյան պատմագրության մեջ (քննական տեսություն)* [*Hayastani patmutyan lusabanumy amerikyan patmagrutyan mej (knnakan tesutyun)*], Եր., Արտագերս հրատ., 1998; **Գ. Ա. Կապանցյան**, *Хаяса – колыбель армян. Этногенез армян и их начальная история* [*Khayasa – kolybel' arm'an. Etnogenez arm'an i ikh nachal'naya istoriya*]. Ереван, 1947; **Т. В. Гамкрелидзе, В. В. Иванов**, *Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы. Реконструкция и историко-типологический анализ праязыка и протокультуры* [*Indoevropeyskiy yazik i indoevropeytsi. Reconstructsiya i istoriko-tipologicheskiy analiz prayazika i protokultury*], т. 1-2. Тбилиси, изд-во Тбилисского унверситета, 1984; **Գ. Բ. Ջահուկյան**, *Հայոց պատմության նախագրային շրջան* [*Hayots patmutyan nakhagrayin shrjan*], Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱԱ հրատ., 1987; **Գ. Բ. Ջահուկյան**, *Հայկական շերտը ուրարտական դիցարանում* [*Haykakan sherty urartakan ditsaranum*] // Պատմաբանասիրական հանդես, N° 1, Եր., 1986; **Յու. Գաբրիելյան**, *Հայերենը և նախահնդեվրոպական լեզուն* [*Hayereny yev nakhahndyevropakan lezun*], Եր., Մակմիլան-Արմենիա հրատ., 2001; etc.

[67] For more details on this issue cf. **Գ. Եազըճեան**, *Աբդուլ Համիդ II Կարմիր Սուլթան* [*Abdul Hamid II Karmir Sultan*], Բեյրութ, 1980, էջ 180.

in the east and the threat of the British and French marines played their role in taking the Turkish authorities into a panic. But he tends to ignore the important fact that in order to assess the situation adequately one has to, first and foremost, consider the pre-planned plot of the Ottoman Empire, and only after that the conflict of the contradictory interests of the major powers in the Middle East (despite their common goal against Russia) and, of course, the British government's ambiguous stance, which certainly contributed to the further escalation of actions.[68]

The climax of this anti-Armenian campaign is the denial of the fact of the Genocide. Although Suny does not do it directly, his justifications of the Turkish government's actions consistently lead to denial. And it is beyond any doubt that the Genocide executed by the Turkish government in Western Armenia had no direct connection with the hostilities of the World War. The documents of the trial of the Young Turks reveal that the scheme of extermination of Armenians was determined in advance by the "Union and Progress" Party.[69] There is evidence of that in the arguments by Rifat Mevlanzade according to which the "Union and Progress" Party decision was made to destroy Armenians and not to leave anyone alive, and the execution of the plan was assigned to the so-called "executive committee of the

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[68] Cf. *"Братская помощь пострадавшим в Турции армянам"* [*"Bratskaya pomoshch postradavshim v Turtsii arm'anam"*]. M., Кышнерев и ко., 1897, с. 9; **Մ. Գ. Ներսիսյան,** *Հայ ժողովրդի ազատագրական պայքարը թուրքական բռնակալության դեմ 1850-1870* [*Hay zhoghovrdi azatagrakan paykary turkakan brnakalutyan dem 1850-1870*], Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1955, էջ 313; **D. Lloyd-George**, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, in 2 volumes, 1938 (transl. into Russian), vol. 2. Moscow, 1957, p. 390.

[69] *«Հայերի ցեղասպանությունը ըստ երիտթուրքերի դատավարության փաստաթղթերի»* [*"Hayeri Tseghaspanutyuny yst yeritturkeri datavarutyan pastatghteri"*], էջ 5.

three" (Behaeddin Shakir, Dr. Nazim bey and Shukri bey) who wrote the bloody pages of the Turkish history with the help of gangs of criminals released from prison.[70]

Further in his narrative Suny brings the religious classifications within the Ottoman Empire and their psychological background which formed the soil for constant discrimination. While presenting the specifics of the Muslim religion he mentions that Islam does not accept social and racial inequalities, yet by recalling the three basic inequalities which the ideology of Islam is based on, namely, the master and the slave, men and women, believers and infidels, Suny apparently refutes himself, unknowingly proving that the roots of the Armenian-Turkish hostile relations go much deeper and perhaps shape in the very differences of religion, while the outbreak of the World War was just a contributing factor and, in fact, a good opportunity for the Young Turks to conceal the true essence of their policies and goals.

Here is another passage from R. Suny's text:

> *Active persecution of non-Muslim was relatively rare in the earlier centuries of the Ottoman Empire, but, scholars of the millet system tell us,* ***"discrimination was permanent and indeed necessary, inherent in the system and maintained by both Holy Law and common practice."*** *Islam did not recognize social or racial inequalities, such as those between rich and poor or black and white, but* ***it did believe in three basic***

[70] Cf. **Rifat Mevlanzade**, *Türkiye İnkilabının iç Yüzü* [*Tyurkie Inkilabynyn ich Yuzyu*], 1-ci fasil. Halep, 1929, p.119.

inequalities: master and slave, man and woman, believer and unbeliever. *Whereas the slave could not become free except by will of the master, and a woman could not become a man, the unbeliever was able to join the faithful but chose not to take up the true faith. Thus, the inferiority of the* gavur *was voluntary.*

R. Suny,
Looking toward Ararat, p. 97

In the above passage, Suny gives proof of the *master and slave, woman and man, believer and unbeliever* disparities by the statutes of the Muslim sacred book;[71] nevertheless, he believes that whereas a slave's status depends directly on the slave-owner's will, and a woman's status is not subject to any change ever, the unbeliever (in this case the Christian) still has a chance to come to "true" faith by adopting Islam. In other words, a *gavur* can change his or her "low" status by conversion; it's just a matter of personal choice. Suny himself actually believes that some nationalistic-religious attitudes as well might have triggered the Armenian Genocide, a statement which he attempts to refute in his other work, where he writes:

The story as told here, while not differing radically from many of the elements brought out in earlier historical writing, moves beyond certain widely held arguments. ***This account argues that the Armenian Genocide was***

[71] Connected with this context interesting comments may be found in: **Bat Ye'or**, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians Under Islam* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985), where the author explains the Muslims' attitude towards non-Muslim subjects through the dogmatic ideology of Islam.

not planned long in advance but was a contingent reaction to a moment of crisis that grew more radical over time. *Yet the choice of genocide was predicted on long-standing* ***affective dispositions and attitudes*** *that* ***had demonized the Armenians as a threat that needed to be dealt with****. The genocide should be distinguished from the earlier episodes of conservative restoration of order by repression (1894-1896) or urban ethnic violence (1909). Though there were similarities with brutal policies of massacre and deportation that earlier regimes used to keep order, the very scale of the Armenian Genocide and its intended effects – to rid eastern Anatolia of a whole people – make it a far more radical, indeed revolutionary, transformation of the imperial setup.* ***The story here is that the genocide was neither religiously motivated, nor a struggle between two contending nationalisms, one of which destroyed the other, but rather the pathological response of desperate leaders who sought security against a people they had both constructed as enemies and driven into radical opposition to the regime under which they lived for centuries.***

A Question of Genocide, p.41

In this passage Suny tries to solve several questions at once. First he openly and directly refutes the pre-planned nature of the Genocide ascribing it to an accidental reaction of the Turkish government resulting from the difficult times they had in the Empire *(... **the Armenian Genocide was not planned long in advance but was a contingent reaction to a moment of crisis** ...)*.

Then he introduces the idea of possible predictability into the context proceeding from what he describes as *long-standing dispositions and attitudes* that had turned Armenians into a serious threat against the Empire. His attempt to bring out the notion of scale to enhance the idea that the former repressions or ethnic violences of the earlier regimes could by no means be equalled to the genocidal events of 1915 may at first sight make the false impression that he honestly condemns those events. But our insight into the text reveals his intention of maintaining the official Turkish opinion on all those events. The word sequences *episodes of conservative restoration of order* for the events initiated by the former regimes and *revolutionary transformation of the imperial setup* for the horrendous events instigated by the Young Turks barely conceal his great wish to interpret the well-known events as an accidental result of the failure of the reformation programmes of Turkey.

There are certain elements in the passage which bear negative connotational colouring ***(demonize, threat, enemies, radical opposition)*** and mainly represent the attitude of the Turkish government towards Armenians who were qualified as extremists, armed terrorists, anarchists. From a pragmalinguistic point of view, we deal here with the informative function, on the one hand, and the function of impact, on the other. The mere consideration of the unity of form and content of the linguistic elements in this context reveals the verbal manifestations of their explicit and implicit shades of meaning. Clearly enough, Suny, in an effort to push forward the problem of the Ottoman government's motivation for the crime, qualifies the fact of the "mere deportation" (so much speculated upon in a number of anti-Armenian writings) as "more than a deportation," reminiscent of the carnages executed by the previous regimes. However, Suny does not

comment on the actual motivations of the genocide[72]; he "believes" the Genocide had no religious motives, nor was it a mortal struggle of two peoples seized with a nationalistic frenzy *(the genocide was neither religiously motivated nor a struggle between two contending nationalisms, one of which destroyed the other).* According to him, these events happened spontaneously; they were not pre-planned. They were "desperate" actions of the Turkish leaders who had lost their heads in the turmoil of the War, against Armenians – *"traitors, enemies, a radical opposition, a threat that needed to be dealt with,"* as they qualify. Not difficult to notice that the author's approach inherently suggests denying any pre-planned scheme of a genocide.

However, the premeditated and deliberate nature of those actions are first of all confirmed by Turkish authors (Taner Akçam, Halil Berktay and others) on the basis of the internal correspondence of the empire, the orders and instructions sent from the Ministry of the Interior to the governors, as well as on the testimonies of foreign nationals serving on diplomatic mission in the Ottoman Empire at that time.[73]

The following statement in the passage above, *"a people they had both constructed as enemies and driven into radical opposition to the regime under which they lived for centuries,"* obviously contradicts the author's intention of emphasizing his baseless views of Armenians being faithful and loyal to Turks (cf. the second micro-text entitled *From Symbiosis to Massacre* in Suny's book). It is hard to believe that Armenians, bearers of a millenial long civilization and culture, and now tormented under the Turkish yoke, could have lived in peace and

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[72] Cf. Ս. Գասպարյան, *Հայոց ցեղասպանության պատճառները՝ ըստ Ռ. Սյունիի* [*Hayots tseghaspanutyan patchamcry yst R. Syunii*] // Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի. հայագիտություն, N° 140.1, Եր., էջ 57-73.

[73] Cf. *«Թուրքերը թուրքերի մասին»* [*"Turkery turkeri masin"*], h. III, էջ 18, 41, 42.

harmony side by side with the Turks who had brutally invaded and captured the land of their ancestors and enslaved them, all the more with the barbaric forms of feudalism in the Ottoman Empire where any attempt to pave the way to civilization was doomed.[74]

Suny's sermon on Armenian-Turkish harmonious coexistence dissipates right away when we get to learn the miniature diagrams in ink in the handwritten copies of "The Book of Histories" by the 17th century prominent historian Arakel Davrizhetsi. They picture a coiled serpent[75] representing the progress of the Ottoman Empire by the 1660s with its eighteen reigning sultans who all had an unchanging venomous attitude towards Armenians. The image of a fanged and horny snake that can be clearly seen in the centre of at least two of the diagrams (Cf. pictures 1 & 2 on pages 96, 97), in H. Mirzoyan's words symbolizes Turkish "paternal" care for its subject nations and particularly for Armenians. The miniature diagrams created back in the 17th century and gone through a long and stressful history[76] are still relevant today.

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[74] Moreover, as rightfully noted by K. Marx and F. Engels, when Turks were still nomadic tribes and their skills in commerce were limited with mere plunder of trade caravans, all trade transactions in Turkey were held by the Greek, Armenians and Slavs. Thus, as confirmed by the authors, driving Turks out of Europe could not have any negative impact on commerce. **К. Маркс, Ф. Энгельс,** *Сочинения* [*Sochineni'a*], т. 9. М., Политлитература, 1957, с. 25.

[75] Negative associations of the image of a serpent are well known from the Bible. Cf. Num 21:6, Jer 8:17, 1 Cor 10:9, Rev 9:19, etc. In the Armenian tradition, especially in the Christian period they are borne out by: **Գ. Սրվանձտյանց,** *Գրոց ու բրոց և Սասունցի Դավիթ կամ Մհերի դուռ* [*Grots u brots yev Sasuntsi Davit kam Mheri dur*] // Երկեր, հ. Եր., ՀՀ ԳԱԱ հրատ., 1978; also **Լ. Սիմոնյան,** *Հավքն իր թեվով, օձն իր պորտով* [Havkn ir tevov, odzn ir portov], Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2011, էջ 58-60, 74-75.

[76] For the backstory of the diagrams cf. **Հ. Միրզոյան,** *Ինքնալրացում կամ մեկ նկարի պատմություն* [*Inknalratsum kam mek nkari patmutyun*] // Էջմիածին, N° 6, 1998, էջ 81-89.

Ղէ. Տառամանցոց թուոցն. թէ ո՛յք են մի ըստ կնի միոյ:

Սյուբիլեն թարգմանք տառամանցոց զոր
գիրք անուանեն ՃԺ կոչեցին զնա. որք
յոլով ժամանակաւ յառաջ աճե-
ցին աշխարհի. Նաև [illegible] զատոյն մեծ[illegible] մին
չև ցայժմ ժամանակիս. [illegible] տառամանցոցս [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The diagrams testify quite distinctly that not only Suny but also other erzats-historians tend to distort the historical reality, by presenting the relations of Armenians and Turks before the infamous events of 1915 in rosy colours, and moreover to blame the Armenians themselves for the perpetrated villainy though it was the latter who had fallen victims to the ferocious barbarity of the Turks.

The next passage presents another piece of perverted reality.

> *Instead of pursuing the programs of reform demanded by the European powers, the Porte committed itself to maintaining a cruel status quo in which its Armenian subjects had the choice of remaining* ***the silent victims of Kurds and state injustice*** *or of organizing their own self-defense. They did both. Many observers have noted that the urban Armenian elites, particularly the clergy and the wealthy business class, opposed* ***the revolutionary parties****, and only with great difficulty did the radicals, always a tiny minority among Armenians, convince some of the more self-reliant of their countrymen, like those of Sassun and Zeitun, to resist Kurdish taxation and impositions. The Ottoman government reacted to instances of Armenian resistance as if they were insurrections against the state, and in putting down these "rebellions" the Turkish army and Kurdish irregulars did not merely fight the armed rebels but massacred women and children and burnt villagers.*
>
> *R. Suny,*
>
> *Looking toward Ararat, p. 105*

In the given passage the author first tries to explain the situation in Turkey with the programmes of "reforms" forced by the European powers and with the tense atmosphere created "as a result." He makes a feeble attempt to criticize the cruel status quo maintained by the Porte, then as if trying to show understanding and compassion for the Armenian people for organizing their self-defence, he, however emphasizes the Kurdish factor which the Armenian revolutionary parties had to resist. However, by presenting Armenians as merely rebellious trouble-makers who, he believes, were never numerous and were in deep dissension with the Armenian intellectual elite, the clergy and the wealthy business class, Suny once again tries to present the issue in a way that the Armenians were the cause of the events.[77] On the other hand, he sees the reasons for what happened in the conservative position of the authorities and although he does not assert an obvious policy of denial, he inherently and incessantly attempts to alleviate the heinous crime of the Ottoman government.

In the last micro-text – *From Massacre to Genocide* – Suny writes with more circumspection:

> *An act of* ***panic*** *and* ***vengeance metamorphosed monstrously*** *into an opportunity to rid Anatolia once and for all of the one people that stood in the way of the Young Turks' plans for a Pan-Turanian empire.*

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[77] Prof. Halil Berktay, a historian from Sabanci University in Istanbul, believes there was no hint of any Armenian revolt, moreover, of any national uprising in 1914-1915 (by April, 1915), and certain moves by individual members of Armenian organizations were not the actions that could cause the well- known policies of the Turkish government. Cf. *«Թուրքերը՝ թուրքերի մասին»* [*"Turkery turkeri masin"*], h. III, էջ 39-40.

*One of the **key questions** about the Armenian genocide is **the degree of official state involvement** in the carrying out of the massacres that accompanied the **forced deportations** of Armenians. Turkish and Turkophilic historians, like Stanford and Ezel Kural Shaw, have conceded that deportations took place in 1915-1916 but **have argued** that they were carried out for **strictly military reasons** and all precautions were taken to safeguard the Armenians. Moreover, blame for the necessity for deportation is laid on the Armenians, who rose in April 1915 in the city of Van.*

R. Suny,
Looking toward Ararat, pp.109-110

The mere presence of various emotional-expressive units in the context ***(panic, vengeance, metamorphosed monstrously, forced deportations)*** makes the reader spontaneously[78] pass from the external (superficial) semantic field to the internal (underlying) meta-semiotic one and comprehend the "compassion" for the Armenian people expressed by the author. Alongside with them, units like ***the key questions, the degree of official state involvement, have argued, strictly military reasons*** intensify the author's efforts to dissuade the reader once again from the idea that the Ottoman government's actions were intentional and purposeful. It is in this sense that Suny puts forward the question of the scale of the Turkish government's involvement in the

[78] However, this is a seeming spontaneity, for the perception and understanding of the hidden sense of the author's words, in reality, go through a complex process of deduction.

massacres. He does not miss a chance to emphasize once again that Russia's intentions were, in fact, flagrant, and the main reason for the deportations were due to circumstances arisen by the armed hostilities. However, Rene Pinon,[79] a French journalist, has no doubt that the Young Turks had pre-planned the deportation of Armenians and used the fact of Turkey's grave wartime conditions to misinform and mislead the international community and cover up their fraud.[80]

The pro-Armenian nature of Suny's works is superficial. By making a team of scholars called WATS (Workshop on Armenian and Turkish Scholarship) in 2000, he tries to review the issue of the Armenian Genocide in the light of joint discussions by a number of Armenian, Turkish and Western researchers. Thus, summarizing the outcome of these discussions, Suny and a co-author of his, Fatma Müge Göçek, write in the introduction of the

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[79] R. Pinon brings some testimonies of historians on the Turkish ordered "deportations". Thus, only 150 Erzerumi (Arm. **Karin** – S.G.) Armenians out of 18 000 reached their destination point; thousands of Armenians had been displaced from Harpoot (Arm. **Kharberd** – S.G.) and shot dead outside the town. Cf. **Rene Pinon**, *La suppression des Armeniens. Methode allemande – travail turc.* Paris, 1916, p. 20-27. <http://www.imprescriptible.fr/documents/pinon/> **Rerieved [08.03.2014, 23:37]** Cf. also *"Геноцид армян в османской империи (сборник документов и материалов)"* [*"Genotsid arm'an v osmanskoy imperii (sbornik dokumentov i materialov)"*] / под ред. М. Г.Нерсисяна. Ереван, изд-во Айастан, 1983; **J. Bryce**, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916.* London: Joseph Causton and Son Ltd, 1916.

[80] Relevant enough to quote S. Vratsian: "A whole civilized nation was crucified and martyred brutally in the plain sight of the world; yet nobody resisted and intervened. And who could, who had heart and will enough to intervene as the globe drowned in blood. The mankind's heart had hardened to rock..." Cf. **Ս.Վրացյան**, *նույն տեղում* [*ibid.*], էջ 12.

book *"A Question of Genocide. Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire,"* edited by them:

> *Historians from Armenia met with those from Turkey and their respective diasporas.* ***There was no dispute*** *that deportations and massacres had occurred.* ***The evidence mounted*** *that the forced movement of the Armenians had been ordered by the Young Turk government and party action, and that the mass killing was both the result of government and party action, and that while there were several moments of Armenian resistance (most notably at Van in 1915),* ***there was no civil war****. The two opposing Turkish and Armenian nationalist narratives were replaced by a single shared account based on documented record.* ***Yet many blank spots remained; archival access in Turkey remained restricted; and disagreements about timing of events, the motivation of the Young Turk leaders, and, most importantly, the question of whether to call the mass killings genocide had yet to be resolved.***
>
> *A Question of Genocide, pp. 5-6*

In the above passage, specific verbal and grammatical elements like ***there was no dispute, the evidence mounted that, there was no civil war,*** attract attention at first sight. They are meant to express the authors' awareness of certain facts and realities, and can be considered as cognitive markers. But such an awareness and cognizance of the issue of the Armenian Genocide

in the broad sense does not overcome the fake statements of the pro-Turkish propaganda which have nothing to do with the reality. In the broader context of the passage, by presenting the prerequisites of and reasons for the formation of the WATS team, the authors first of all attempt to highlight the importance and usefulness of trusting the discussion of the question of the Armenian Genocide to the historians of both sides.[81] This, however, has an adverse effect, for many progressive Turkish intellectuals believe that the Turkish government's move to leave the discussion of this issue to historians is nothing but "boring nonsense" and the easiest way to lead the solution to an impasse. The point is that Turkish authorities have their own team of historians (Selim Deringil, a Turkish historian, calls them the "A team") who already have their predetermined and unshaky position: precisely coinciding with the government's order. By and large, the issue is a political one and it is quite senseless to transfer it to the realm of historiography.

Although Suny and Göcek note the fact of deportations and massacres, nonetheless, there still remain unsolved "blank spots" for them as to whether it is appropriate to speak of any

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[81] Cf. *«Թուրքերը թուրքերի մասին»* [*"Turkery turkeri masin"*], h. III, էջ 24, 32-33.
The utter absurdity and danger of this proposal is best proved by the thorough critical analysis of the book entitled *The Armenian Question in 120 Documents from the Russian State Archives*, by **Mehmet Perinçek**, published in Moscow in 2011. Cf. **Г. Мирзоян, Н. Гончар**, *Почему суд по факту Геноцида армян Турция призывает доверить историкам* [*Pochemu sud po fàctu Genotsida arm'an Turtsiya prizyvaet doverit' istorikam*]. Ереван, изд-во ЕГУ, 2012. The authors of the essay disclose the tricks and methods (such as forgery and distortion of sources, denegation and refutation of historical facts, etc.) employed by Perinçek, unrelated whatsoever to a scientific approach and aimed at denying the Armenian Genocide.

organization and implementation of the Armenian Genocide and even to use the term *genocide* at all. At the end of the passage they use the unit ***yet*** in combination with the expression ***most importantly***, thus putting the fact and veracity of the Armenian Genocide in still greater doubt.

In conclusion, it can be noted that the World War and "external provoking" factors have consistently been asserted in the mentioned study for the sole purpose of shaking any genocidal responsibility off the shoulders of the Turkish authorities and turn away the attention of the international scientific community from the comprehension and interpretation of the true motives of those horrible events. Suny's recognition of the Armenian Genocide in his *Looking toward Ararat* is sheer formality because the author's tendency of denial is inherently displayed here. It is borne out by both extra-linguistic (historical and political) and linguistic facts in his narrative. In the book *A Question of Genocide*, he no longer attempts to maneuver, he just undermines, as it were, the reality of the Armenian Genocide. His "researches" do nothing but pave a way for numerous ambiguities and speculations. Another good evidence of it is one of the subtitles he chose to use in his book *Looking toward Ararat*. By *Rethinking the Unthinkable: Toward an Understanding of the Armenian Genocide* the author seemingly does not deny the crime of the Young Turk government, condemning the *unthinkable* reality on the one hand, yet on the other, he ploughs a fertile ground for an alternative interpretation ***(rethinking)***, inherently highlighting the vicious and unacceptable notion that the fact of the Armenian Genocide is still a matter of dispute.

Israel: Realpolitik or Exclusivity Syndrome?

At present more than twenty countries of the world qualify the events of 1915 as irrefutable reality – deliberate actions aimed at the annihilation of a nation – that is to say, genocide. The historical fact of the Armenian Genocide has been accepted upon the decisions drawn at various times by the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and other international agencies.[82]

The most important of the reasons why there still are individual politicians, parties, and even powerful and influential states who evade this undeniable fact is that for them political interest and moral position are concepts far away in two opposite poles. In the issue of the Armenian Genocide "policy vs. morality" dilemma is faced also by such a country as Israel whose nation

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[82] Albeit influential states like the USA have not yet officially accepted the fact, the media in those countries including *The New York Times, The Associated Press, The Los Angeles Times, The Times, The Independent* refer to the events of 1915 time and again and qualify them as genocide. Even the Turkish site <*ntvmsnbc*> recalls this.
<http://lurer.do.am/news/ 011/2010-03-18-34>
Retrieved [07.03. 2014, 21:52]).

was subjected to genocide in the previous century and who struggles against the deniers of it. However, as surprising as it may be, Israel has quite a reserved attitude towards the genocide against other nations, whereas by ethical standards it should have undoubtedly been the first to accept it.[83]

Some twenty years ago, Ben Neria Baruch, Israel's Ambassador to Armenia and Georgia, argued that the recognition of the Armenian Genocide was a very complex issue, since it involved other nations as well. He believed that in issues like the Armenian Genocide political interests were always important: it is impossible to live only in history, there are always interests.[84] Certainly there are, and they are numerous. The strategic alliance between Turkey and Israel is one of them, and this could, perhaps, be taken as the primary reason for Israel not to accept the reality of the Armenian Genocide. In fact, Turkey was the first Muslim state to recognize the statehood of Israel in 1949, and the latter has so far been almost always ready to resort to compromise in order to

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[83] Discussing the correlation of morality and politics Y. Auron notes that ancient Greek philosophers never separated these notions. The separation is common to the philosophical thought of more recent times (B. Spinoza, T. Hobbes and N. Machiavelli), whereas liberal philosophers have tried to unite somehow politics and morality. In modern days politics and political cynical considerations have utterly no relation with morality. <http://www.noravank.am/arm/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT ID=4714> **Retrieved [07.03. 2014, 21:59]**

[84] <http://yerkirmedia.am/%D4%B1%D4%BA%20%D5%B6%D5%A1%D5%AD%D5%A1%D5%A3%D5%A1%D5%B0%20%D5%AF%D5%A4%D5%A1%D5%BC%D5%B6%D5%A1%20%D5%86%D5%AB%D5%AF%D5%B8%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%A8,%20%D6%83%D5%B8%D5%AD%D5%B6%D5%A1%D5%AD%D5%A1%D5%A3%D5%A1%D5%B0%D5%9D%20%D5%87%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%B4%D5%A1%D5%A6%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%B8%D5%BE%D5%A8?act=news&lan=hy&id=10968> **Retrieved [09.03.2014, 12:31]**

continue its neighbourly relations with Turkey.[85] Therefore, in recent years the issue of the Armenian Genocide – more precisely, its performance – took on greater importance in the official policy of Israel, becoming a barometer for measuring the Israeli-Turkish relations.

Israel's refusal to recognize the Armenian Genocide might well be accounted for by another factor – a subtle psychological one to which even more importance is attatched, although it has nothing to do with the relationship between states and geopolitical developments. It is the idea firmly fixed in the mindset of the Jews that the Jewish Holocaust is a completely unique phenomenon.[86]

A wide variety of contradictory ideas expressed by various statesmen, taken as a whole, suggests a dissociation of perceptions by different groups of the Jewish people and the Jewish state. For some two or three decades running, Israel has been manifesting a mainly inactive position on this issue, although tacitly it has been leading a policy of preventing the attempts towards the recognition

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[85] According to Harut Sassounian, the Editor-in-Chief of *The California Courier*, "... the leaders of Israel were willing to sacrifice the truth about the Armenian Genocide as well as their personal dignity and integrity for the sake of defending their misperceived strategic ties to Turkey". <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:IYBPUV8BJjgJ: www.azg.am/EN/unicode/2002021401+&cd=1&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=am> **Retrieved [11.03.2014, 15:47]**

[86] The Deputy Director of the Museum-Institute of the Armenian Genocide S. Manukyan believes that a state created by the people who survived a genocide should not have any alternative or hesitation to recognize and condemn the first genocide of the 20th century. Whereas Israel not only fails to recognize the Armenian Genocide but also somewhat prevents the recognition process and expresses a position of denial. <http://www.noravank.am/arm/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=728> **Retrieved [18.04. 2014, 21:15]**

of the Armenian Genocide both inside the country and in the United States. Up to this day, Israel has not ceased to amaze the world in the aspiration for the exclusivity of the tragedy experienced by its people.

In connection with the issue of the Armenian Genocide Shimon Peres' name has been mentioned more than once. In April, 2001, during his visit to Turkey as the Israeli Foreign Minister at that time, in an interview to the Turkish news agency "Anatolia," Mr. Peres made a statement which was a manifestation of active denial and thus he marked the beginning of the Israeli policy of outright abnegation.[87]

> *We reject attempts to create a similarity between the Holocaust and the* ***Armenian allegations.*** *Nothing similar to the Holocaust occurred. It is a* ***tragedy*** *what the Armenians went through but not a genocide. <...>*
>
> ***Israel should not determine a historical or philosophical position on the Armenian issue.*** *If we have to determine a position, it should be done with great care not to distort the historical realities.*
>
> *Shimon Peres, April, 2001*

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[87] Surveys on this issue show that Israel's position towards the Armenian Genocide has passed several stages evolving from passive to active denial. Cf. **Y. Auron,** *Israel's Attitude Toward the Armenian Genocide: Denial and Recognition* // Noravank Foundation. <http://www.noravank.am/eng/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=4813> **Retrieved [07.03. 2014, 23:55]**

Clouds of doubt in Sh. Peres' speech cover the Armenian claims of genocide, and this is, first and foremost, notable in the application of the attributive word combination *"the Armenian allegations"* which in its turn excludes the possibility of comparing the events of 1915 with the Jewish Holocaust *(nothing similar to the Holocaust occurred)*. Sh. Peres openly supports Israel's aspiration of exclusivity. Obvious enough that using the semantically broader and undifferentiated word ***tragedy***, the speaker probably does not suspect that although he has managed to avoid using the term *genocide*, nevertheless both ***tragedy*** and ***genocide***, even without being identical, eventually are in the same semantic field, and any genocidal event, including both the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust, is in fact a tragedy, a tragedy of a whole nation never forgotten by the generations of the transgressed, even a century later.[88]

First of all, why ***Armenian allegations?*** They are not allegations but factual information: the testimonies of both the survivors and the eyewitnesses,[89] real facts established by

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[88] The linguocognitive observations show that in the mind of the speaker / listener the word ***genocide*** infers the completion of the following general associations: crime, massacre, tragedy, dark pages of history, bleeding wound, lost homeland, blood-shed, etc. For details cf. **Ս. Գասպարյան, Գ. Հարությունյան,** *Թաներ Աքչամի "Ամոթալի արարք ..." աշխատությունը* [*Taner Akchami "Amotali arark..." ashkhatutyuny*] // Վէմ, Համահայկական հանդես, Եր., Վէմ հանդես ՍՊԸ, 2012, էջ 125-134; also p. 141 of the present book.

[89] Cf. **D. Sakayan**, *An Armenian Doctor in Turkey (Garabed Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922)*, Montreal: Arod Books, 1997; **V. Svazlian**, *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors*. Yerevan, RA NAS Gitutyun Press, 2011; *«Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը օսմանյան Թուրքիայում. վերապրածների վկայություններ: Փաստաթղթերի ժողովածու»* [*"Hayots tseghaspanutyuny osmanyan Turkiayum: verapratsneri vkayutyunner. Pastatghteri zhoghovatsu"*], h. 1, 2, 3, Եր., Զանգակ ՍՊԸ, 2012 .

historical, political and legal documents.[90] As for similarity, then, of course, we have to agree that there can surely be no question of sameness because the Armenian people have been exterminated in their ancient homeland, together with their cultural heritage. This, in fact, was also a cultural genocide, unlike the Holocaust of the Jews who were far from their homeland, in Europe. So the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide are even to some extent incomparable, especially and more so as Armenians do not push forward a claim of such a comparison. It was Rivka Cohen, the Israeli Ambassador to Georgia and Armenia, that speaking at a press conference in Yerevan on February 8, 2002 announced the Holocaust – the genocide of the Jews – to be an unprecedented event, no tragedy, including that of Armenians, could be compared with. In this connection, the note of protest of the Armenian Foreign Ministry ran as follows: "Armenia considers unacceptable any attempt to negate or diminish the fact of the Armenian Genocide no matter what motivates the reasoning. Moreover, Armenia has never had a goal to draw parallels between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust considering that any crime against human kind is unprecedented by its political, legal, historical and moral consequences."[91]

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[90] *"Геноцид армян: ответственность Турции и обязательства мирового сообщества. Документы и комментарии"* [*"Genotsid arm'an: otvetstvennost' Turtsii i ob'azatel'stva mirovogo soobshchestva. Dokumenty i kommentarii"*] / под ред. Ю. Г. Барсегова, т. 3. М., изд-во Гардарики, 2005.

[91] <http://www.armenianow.com/features/8458/history_lesson_genocide_issue_deli?cd=6&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=am> **Retrieved [15. 04.2014, 15:47]**

The Israeli officials following the official viewpoint worked out by Turkish authorities have consistently declared that only historians should deal with historical issues. But what can a historian do against facts which have deep roots in the reality, and against the pain that is always present in the memories of the survivors and on the ancient walls of the monuments doomed to destruction in Western Armenia![92]

According to the passage adduced above, the Israeli officials do not consider it correct for Israel to ***determine a historical or philosophical position on the Armenian issue*** or if they have to it should not misinterpret the historical reality. But they do make a historical decision by giving a false account of history when they claim that ***nothing similar to the Jewish Holocaust*** (i.e. genocide) ***ever occurred***. In order to avoid ambiguity and enhance the idea they have even found a clear-cut definition: *it was a **tragedy** what the Armenians went through but **not a genocide**.* Maybe Mr. Peres' firm belief that Israel should not express a historical or philosophical position can be explained by his inclination to give preference to political orientations. Especially interesting is that this statesman is trying to hide his country's flagrant, coarse denial with the "objectivistic" veil of not corrupting historical facts *(If we have to determine a position, it should be done with great care not to distort the historical realities).*

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[92] US Congressman Michael Ross believes that the Armenian Genocide is even more horrible than what happened to the Jews. *Journal de Geneve,* in its turn, wrote in March 1985 that the caravans of people driven to the Syrian deserts were no less ferocious and barbaric than the death camps and gas chambers of the Nazi regime. Cf. **Ս. Կ. Պողոսյան,** *Գոյատևման պայքարի քառուղիներում* [*Goyatevman paykari karughinerum*], Եր., Հայաստան հրատ., 1988, էջ 455.

This interview of Sh. Peres was so scandalous that the Israeli Foreign Ministry had to spread a special message through its diplomatic missions. It stated that the Minister's words were wrongly interpreted in the Turkish media, and that in reality (allegedly according to the information received from Ankara) it had been said that the issue should be dealt with by historians, not by politicians, that they did not support comparisons between the Holocaust and the tragedy of Armenians, and that Israel did not intend to take any political or historical position on this issue.

In other words, as Israel's Foreign Ministry asserted, the Turkish news agency had misinterpreted the Ministers words: "It is a tragedy what the Armenians went through but not a genocide". But even this way, the Israeli official's denialist position was obvious, and the Israeli Foreign Ministry's note simply rejected the fact of the official's active position of denial. Such comments sound utterly unambiguous even for a hypocritical policy, especially that Mr. Peres did not make any practical step to refute his words as they had appeared in the Turkish media.[93] Thus, when Rivka Cohen evaluates the Armenian Genocide as tragic events, but not a genocide, she actually repeats Sh. Peres *per se,* and views the Jewish Holocaust as an **incompatibly unique** (emphasis – S.G.) phenomenon of deliberate destruction of an entire nation.

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[93] **Y. Auron,** *Israel's Attitude Toward the Armenian Genocide: Denial and Recognition* // Noravank Foundation. <http://www.noravank.am/eng/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=4813> **Retrieved [07.03. 2014, 23:55]**
Cf. also **Y. Auron,** *The Banality of Denial. Israel and the Armenian Genocide.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2003.

*Holocaust was a **unique phenomenon** – since it had always been planned and aimed to destroy the whole nation. At this stage **nothing should be compared with Holocaust**.*

<http://asbarez.com/46347/israeli-ambassador-says-no-parallels-between-holocaust-and-1915-genocide/ >

Retrieved [08.03.2014, 00:11]

The Israeli Foreign Ministry's official response on the issue of the Armenian Genocide was as follows:

*As Jews and Israelis we are sorry for the **killings and tragedies** that took place particularly in 1915-16. We understand the outbursts of the feelings of both sides, know that there were **many victims** and realize **the suffering of the Armenian nation**. The examination of this theme requires discussions with participation of large communities of society and dialogue of historians, which will be based on facts and proofs.*

<http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/232/israel-s-approach-to-the-armenian-allegations.html >

Retrieved [08.03.2014, 00:18]

In the official response, expressions like ***killings and tragedies***, ***many victims, the suffering of the Armenian nation*** at first sight make a faulty impression that the speaker is just about to use the term *genocide* too, thus giving credit to the already uncontestable historical truth confirmed long ago by numerous and various official documents, written and oral testimonies, feature and documentary

reproductions.[94] The above-mentioned estimations in the passage are an attempt to prove the necessity of a scholarly dialogue based on facts and evidences. However as the larger context shows, the main aim of the official response is to stress out again the uniqueness of the Holocaust in the history of mankind. Then, "graciously" or "justly," it is said that Israel accepts the tragedy of Armenians but those events cannot parallel with the Holocaust, although this, by no means, diminishes the scope of the tragedy.

The most impressive response to Sh. Peres' scandalous declaration was given by Prof. Israel Charny[95] in his open letter of April 12, 2001:

> *It seems to me, according to yesterday's report in the Ankara newspaper, that* ***you have gone beyond a moral boundary that no Jew should allow himself to trespass****. <...>*
>
> *Even as I disagree with you, it may be that in your broad perspective of the needs of the State of Israel, it is your obligation to circumvent and desist from bringing up the subject with Turkey, but* ***as a Jew and***

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[94] *"Геноцид армян: ответственность Турции и обязательства мирового сообщества. Документы и комментарии"* [*Genotsid arm'an: otvetstvennost' Turtsii i ob'azatel'stva mirovogo soobshchestva. Dokumenty i kommentarii"*] / под ред. Ю. Г. Барсегова, т.1. М., изд-во Гардарики, 2002, с.789; **Յա. Սուրոն,** *Իսրայելի դիրքորոշումը Հայոց ցեղասպանության հարցում. մերժում և ճանաչում* [*Israyeli dirkoroshumy Hayots tseghaspanutyan hartsum: merzhum yev chanachum)*] // Նորավանք հիմնադրամ. <http://www.noravank.am/arm/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=4714&...29.04.2010> **Retrieved [08.03.2014, 00:46]**

[95] Israel Charny is the Executive director of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide in Jerusalem and Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia of Genocide.*

an Israeli I am ashamed *of the extent to which you have now entered into* ***the range of actual denial of the Armenian Genocide, comparable to denials of the Holocaust****.*

<http://www.azg.am/EN/2001042804>

Retrieved [08.03.2014, 20:11]

Prof. Charny's statement, though an open disagreement to Peres, diplomatically attempts to view the problem from the political perspective as well by using linguistic units which infer:

- some logical compromise *(even as I..., it may be that...)*
- avoiding certainty on one side and admitting probability on the other *(it may be that...)*
- an emphasis on statesmanship from the viewpoint of *Realpolitik (in your broad perspective of the needs of the State of Israel)*
- sparing the person of the addressee at the expense of national and political necessity *(it is your obligation to circumvent... and desist from...)*.

The very existence of such a context, however, does not veil Charny's real, honest and condemning approach to his addressee's immoral position. His criticism sounds like accusation. Primarily from the position of his national, then from that of his state and civil identity ***(as a Jew and an Israeli)***, he speaks most negatively ***(I am ashamed)*** of Peres' explicit denial ***(comparable to denials of the Holocaust),*** thus qualifying it as ***going beyond a moral boundary that no Jew should allow himself to trespass.*** At the International Conference "The Crime of Genocide: Prevention, Condemnation and the Elimination of Consequences" in

December, 2010, in Armenia, which different scholars on genocide from about 20 countries attended, in an interview to <Panorama.am> Israel Charny, evaluating Israel's official position on the issue as evil, expressed his attitude of anger and disappointment towards Israel's shameful failure to recognize the Armenian Genocide. Nevertheless, he was pleased to mention that they had culturally won the battle in Israel, since the people of Israel absolutely know the Armenian Genocide, they do not deny it.[96]

It can be clearly seen that although the official circles have a negative attitude, nevertheless, the Jewish sound academic minds in Israel unequivocally condemn the Armenian Genocide and unanimously accept the fact of the crime against Armenians as an obvious example of a predetermined, meticulously organized and officially directed genocide. In this connection Charny writes that the Armenian Genocide is notable in many ways, particularly as the earliest example of a mass homicide of the 20th century which many consider a rehearsal for the Holocaust.

Yehuda Bauer, an American scholar of Jewish descent, also mentions that the massacre of Armenians is similar to the Holocaust. He perceives the mass destruction of Armenians during the period in question as the forerunner of the Holocaust of which the case of Armenians is the closest analogue. He is more than certain: "If we compare the number of Armenians killed by the Ottoman regime with the Armenian population in Turkey the

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[96] However he believed, they still had to defeat the manipulative approach to life even when great moral principles are involved. <http://www.friends-of-armenia.org/magazine/relations-with-israel/17-recognition-process-of-armenian-genocide-in-israel> **Retrieved [08.03.2014, 21:05].**

number of victims excels or at least levels the ratio of Jews martyred during World War II." [97]

Israeli Ambassador's infamous press conference and the above-mentioned response of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel echo in the comments of the Israeli genocide expert Yair Auron. He has no doubts that the historical significance of the official statement cannot be diminished for where did the victims, the broken fates and tragedy occur from if there was no Genocide, no Holocaust. It seems absurd to him that no murderer is notified as if a natural calamity had happened <...> and of course the uniqueness of the Holocaust noted. Y. Auron expresses his firm belief that there is much cynicism, arrogance, intrinsic conflict and irresponsibility in that dangerous official statement. Declarations like that defile the memory of the Holocaust victims.[98] As an Israeli Jew, Y. Auron, apart from being a true scholar, is a responsible citizen of his country and is willing to apologize to each Armenian. He is convinced that the Jewish people cannot feel satisfied as long as Israel does not abandon its anti-historical

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[97] <http://noravank.am/arm/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=728> **Retrieved [08.03.2014, 21: 13].**
Making his comments on the issue Mordechai Nisan, Professor of the Jewish University of Jerusalem, mentions that Armenians survived genocide, displacement and scattered all over the world, the most part of their homeland is devoid of Armenians and fallen under Turkish rule (cf. the website mentioned).

[98] **Յա. Աուրոն,** *Իսրայելի դիրքորոշումը Հայոց ցեղասպանության հարցում. մերժում և ճանաչում* [*Israyeli dirkoroshumy Hayots tseghaspanutyan hartsum: merzhum yev chanachum*] // Նորավանք հիմնադրամ. <http://www.noravank.am/arm/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=4714&... 29.04.2010 > **Retrieved [08.03.2014, 00:46]**

recitation of the Armenian Genocide and does not change its immoral position.[99]

Both Israel Charny and Yair Auron strongly condemn speculations on the Armenian Genocide and the policy of denial adopted by the state of Israel, and qualify it as a "terrible shame," "malfeasance," "failure" (I. Charny), "cynicism," "arrogance," "inner contradiction," "irresponsibility" (Y. Auron). According to Auron, such an attitude towards the genocide against some other nation causes immense moral damage to the Jewish people and desecrates the memory of the Holocaust victims and the significance of a fair position.

Although, as we know, scholarly and official circles hold incompatible positions in the question of the Armenian Genocide, it should be noted however, that a small number of officials of the State of Israel have endeavoured on their own initiative to eliminate the existing discrepancy between pragmatic policy and moral justice. On April 27, 1994, Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin, speaking to the Knesset (the legislature of Israel), expressed the idea that what had happened to the Armenians was certainly not merely a consequence of the war but undoubtedly a massacre and a genocide which cannot be forgotten for whatever political consideration.

> *It was no war.* ***It was most certainly massacre and genocide****, something the world must remember... We*

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[99] <http://www.noravank.am/arm/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT ID=4714&... 29.04.2010 >
Retrieved [15.04.2014, 17:58]

will always reject any attempt to erase its record, even for some political advantage.

<http://www.inhomage.com/index.php?page=historical_quotations>

Retrieved [08.03.2014, 21:34]

On April 24, 2000, Yossi Beilin, as the Minister of Justice, once again confirmed his opinion that the fait accompli was an irrefutable fact of genocide, and that the Turks must be made clear the Israelis cannot accept the Turkish political claim to neglect the historical truth. The disappearance of one and a half million people was not a consequence of indifference or carelessness but a premediated felony.

Something happened that cannot be defined except as ***genocide.*** *One-and-a-half million people disappeared.* ***It wasn't negligence, it was deliberate.*** *I do not think that the government has to take an official decision on the issue, but we must clarify to the Turks that we cannot accept their political demands to ignore a historical event.*

<http://www.armenian-genocide.org/beilin.html>

Retrieved [08.03.2014, 21:38]

On the same day of commemoration of Armenian martyrs Israel's Education Minister Yossi Sarid on his own initiative visited the Armenian quarter and made the following statement:

I join you, members of the Armenian community, on ***your Memorial Day,*** *as you mark the 85th*

anniversary of ***your genocide****. I am here, with you,* ***as a human being, as a Jew, as an Israeli, and as Education Minister of the State of Israel.***

Every year Armenians gather in Israel and all over the world to remember and to remind the world of ***the terrible disaster****, that befell your people at the beginning of the last century.*

For many years, too many years, you were alone on ***your Memorial Day. I am aware of the special significance of my presence here today along with other Israelis.*** *Today perhaps for the first time you are less alone.*

The Armenian Memorial Day should be a day of reflection and introspection for all of us. A day of soul-searching. On this day, ***we as Jews, victims of the Shoah should examine our relationship to the pain of others.***

The massacre *which was carried out by the Turks against the Armenians in 1915 and 1916, was* ***one of the most horrible acts to occur in modern times****.*

The Jewish ambassador of America to Turkey in those days, Henry Morgenthau, described the massacre as ***"The greatest crime in modern history."*** *Morgenthau did not predict what was in store later in the 20th century for the Jews, the Shoah,* ***the most terrible of all*** *(emphasis – S.G.) is still in front of our eyes.*

The person who was most shocked and shocked many people was the Prague-born Jewish author,

Franz Werfel with his masterpiece "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh." <...> He wrote: "The pitiful scene of the starved and mutilated children of the Armenian refugees gave me the last push to redeem ***the cruel fate of the Armenian people*** *from the abyss of oblivion."*

<...> Today in Israel very few youngsters have heard about Musa Dagh, very few know about ***the Armenian Genocide.*** *I know how important the position of the Jews, and especially the attitude of the State of Israel to* ***your genocide*** *are for Armenians in the world. As Minister of Education of the State of Israel, I will do whatever is in my capacity in order that this monumental work "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh" is once more well known to our children. I will do everything in order that Israeli children learn and know about* ***the Armenian Genocide.*** *Genocide is a crime against humanity and there is nothing more horrible and odious than Genocide. <...> We, Jews, as* ***principal*** *victims (emphasis - S.G.) of murderous hatred are doubly obligated to be sensitive, to identify with other victims.*

We have to evoke among the young generation natural and deep indignation against manifestations of genocide in the past, in the present and in future. Genocide is the root of all evil and we have to make supreme political and educational efforts to uproot and extirpate it.

Whoever stands indifferent in front of it, or ignores it, whoever makes calculation, whoever is

silent always helps the perpetrator of the crime and not the murdered.

In 1918, Shmuel Talkowsky, the secretary of Chaim Weizmann wrote with the approval of Weizmann, an important article entitled "The Armenian Question from a Zionist Standpoint."

Among other things, he said. "We, Zionists, have deep and candid sympathy for ***the fate of the Armenian people****. We do this as human beings, as Jews and as Zionists. As human beings our motto is: I am a human being. Whatever affects another human being affects me."*

"As Jews, as an ancient exiled people we suffered in all parts of the world. I dare say they made us experts of martyrdom. <...>Among the nations who suffer in our neighborhood there is no nation, whose ***martyrdom*** *is more similar than the Armenian people. As Zionists we have several reasons to sympathize with* ***the Armenian Question****." <...>*

I would like to see a central chapter on genocide, on this huge and inhuman atrocity. ***The Armenian Genocide*** *should occupy a prominent place in this program which does justice to the national and personal memory of every one of you, to the memory of all the members of your nation. This is our obligation to you, this is our obligation to ourselves.*

< http://www.armeniangenocide.org/sarid.html>

Retrieved [11.03.2014, 17:05]

In every passage of the Israeli Education Minister's address to the Armenian community one can obviously sense the full understanding and assessment by him of the fact of the Armenian Genocide, the willingness to share the irreparable loss and grief of the Armenian people. He himself as a Jew, as a citizen of a country where two nations of common fate live side-by-side, as the son of a people that has survived a genocide, cannot lack sensitivity towards the fair claim of Armenians ignored for years. With this very sense does the Education Minister, along with his fellow Jews, stand by Armenians on this sacred day of commemoration, for it is his country's duty, his fellow countrymen's and his own moral duty to support them.

The annual commemoration rallies of the representatives of the Armenian community, in his opinion, are extremely important because they draw the attention of the world to the Armenian Genocide – this shameful and horrendous event in the beginning of the 20th century, they force everyone to look inside their souls, and understand their attitudes towards ***the pain of others***.

In the broader context of Sarid's speech, the ten salient appearances of the term *genocide* both in relation to the Armenian Genocide in particular and as a detestable and condemnable fact for humanity in general emphasize the whole structural and semantic scope, the capacity of the word meaning and the speaker's comprehension of the problem. Thus, between the lines one can sense the Minister's honest confession that it is very difficult at least to live side by side with the representatives of a people whose just cause is being ignored. He believes that first and foremost it is the Jewish state and its people, as a nation who have survived a Holocaust themselves, that can share the thoughts and

reflections of the Armenian people, their experiences and expectations. This idea is especially crystallized in expressions like ***the Armenian Genocide, your Genocide,*** and in the use of the possessive pronoun *your* in various parts of his speech (***your Memorial Day, your genocide***) which allows one to conclude that in this context the implicit meaning is: *the pain is yours, and no one can feel it better than you do*. However, the speaker does not imagine himself as a detached onlooker who sees the problem in perspective. On the contrary, having inherited from his elder generations the painful experience of the Holocaust, he cannot but feel with the same bitterness the pain caused by the horrible disaster of the Armenian Genocide, and sense the importance of standing by the Armenians ***(I am aware of the special significance of my presence here today; ... we as Jews, victims of the Shoah, should examine our relationship to the pain of others)***. And although in this case the pain is not directly his own nation's, he is well aware of its incredible weight.

In the first part of the speech the rhetorical device of the four-step repetition ***(I ... as a human being, as a Jew, as an Israeli, and as Education Minister of the State of Israel)*** plays an important role in terms of meaning and style by which the speaker fulfills a certain verbal tactics moving from a more common, universal measurement towards the national one, which in this case involves more than a mere statement of nationality and implies that he is also a representative of a nation which shares a common fate. Then he transcends to the level of political and public identity and ultimately to the official state level which is a narrower but more sensitive perspective in this particular situational context.

In the broad horizontal (verbal) context of the speech the frequently used term ***genocide*** is paralleled with expressions like ***terrible disaster, massacre, one of the most horrible acts to occur in modern times***. However, both these words and word combinations and quotes from other people's speeches, such as: ***the greatest crime in modern history*** (Henry Morgenthau), ***the cruel fate of the Armenian people*** (Franz Werfel), ***the Armenian Question, the fate of the Armenian people, martyrdom*** (Shmuel Talkowsky[100]) and their recontextualizations in Yossi Sarid's speech are aimed at making clear for the reader / listener that his understanding of the phenomenon of genocide is rather thorough and comprehensive.

By applying such units the speaker is trying to draw attention to another important mission of his: to revive the moral characteristics of the Jewish nation by restoring in the memory of his audience the positive image of ethnic Jews, such as Henry Morgenthau, Franz Werfel, Shmuel Talkowsky. They are the true incarnations of his nation's morality. In this way he is trying to counteract, to compensate for the immoral behaviour of the Israeli authorities, while, as it would turn out, they would go even farther along the path of their moral aberration. The speaker believes that all those who treat the phenomenon of genocide with silence or

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[100] Shmuel Talkowsky was a Zionist leader and later the secretary of Israel's first President Chaim Weizmann. He has expressed sorrow for the martyrdom of Armenians and noted that "free and happy Armenia, free and happy Arabia, and free and happy Jewish Palestine are the three pillars on which the peace and prosperity of the Middle East should rest." <http://www.lragir.am/index.php/arm/0/society/view/34137 > **Retrieved [08.03.2014, 22:53]**

indifference[101] or operate on a profitable political basis, always help the criminals. The pragmatic evaluation of this notion of Yossi Sarid allows us to see that the charge here is not only general and targeted against all sorts of deniers and denying (this tendency of the author is borne out by the use of the pronominal form ***whoever*** which occurs thrice in the context: ***whoever*** *stands indifferent in front of it – (genocide – S.G.),* ***whoever*** *makes calculation,* ***whoever*** *is silent always helps the perpetrator* and enhances the idea of generalization) but has also a particular focus on reckoning his country's position of denial as unacceptable.

The speaker is fully aware of how important for Armenians worldwide the official Israeli position on the issue is. He assures that he will employ all his rights and opportunities as Minister of Education, so that the younger generation of his nation knows the background of this terrible crime against Armenians. He has no doubts that only those who are well informed, who sense the abhorrence of all kinds of genocides perpetrated against humanity, are able to truly recognize and condemn them.

However, it is not impossible to understand from the context of the Minister'speech that while the Jewish official deeply shares the grief of the Armenian people and presses for its recognition, nevertheless, he fails to throw off the consistently overwhelming

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[101] Discussing the problem of indifference Yahir Auron severely criticizes the representatives of the Zionist movement (David Ben-Gurion, Yitzhak Ben-Zvi and others) whose attitude of silence and indifference both in the period of the slaughter of the Armenians and after seems out of logics and morality. Moreover, the Armenian Issue has been avoided not only by individual Zionist leaders but also by the official historiography. Cf. **Յա. Աուրոն**, *Սիոնիզմը և Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը. Անընդունելի անտարբերություն* [*Sionizmy yev Hayots tseghaspanutyuny: Anynduneli antarberutyun*], Եր., Զանգակ ՍՊԸ, 2013.

idea of the Holocaust being the primary one of its kind. Note the use of such expressions as: ***the most terrible of all, we Jews, as principal victims***.

Obviously, both individual statesmen and scholars who accept the Armenian Genocide particularly emphasize that this issue has a deep moral significance for the Jewish people – survivors of the Holocaust – and for the State of Israel, as their representative; that is why the advanced Jewish public are determined to fight up to the end. He wonders if the authorities of the Jewish state, who tend to leave the solution of the problem to experts, will eventually hearken to the voice of the public. Maybe they will at long last come to the understanding and accept that there cannot and must not be an insurmountable gap between politics and morality and maybe they will stop petty political manipulations of moral principles? Eventually, the political reputation of any government is the result of its moral image, reflected in its behaviour.

Currently, as relations between Israel and Turkey are somewhat complicated, and discussions of the issue of the Armenian Genocide are expected within the Israeli government, can we hope that Israel will at long last get rid of its hyperpragmatic principles of Realpolitik, as well as the exclusivity syndrome and take a just stand on the matter? It should be borne in our minds that the Armenian Genocide is not only the problem of the Armenian people but also of the whole mankind for it can never be severed from the historical memory of humanity.[102]

However, as experts in Turkish Studies mention, the issue of the Armenian Genocide is just one of Israel's key factors against

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[102] <http://www.panorama.am/am/politics/2010/04/19/manukyan/? >
Retrieved [08.03.2014, 23:09]

Turkey, a trump card to exert pressure on it. Israel is, of course, anxious about Turkey's recent involvement in the region and especially the behaviour of its authorities in power, but it seems unlikely to recognize the Armenian Genocide in the near future. The problem may happen to be included for discussion in the Knesset and certain steps may be taken to stir up the Israeli political information field but that is not a reason for serious expectations.[103] And as long as this problem has not reached its fair solution it will continue to be in the agenda of international policy, and world powers will keep playing on it to regulate Turkey's behaviour in the world arena.

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[103] < http://akunq.net/am/?p=26179>
Retrieved [08.03.2014, 23:03]

Taner Akçam's Position on the Armenian Genocide

For almost a century Turkey has been investing tremendous political power and resources to impede the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide. However, notwithstanding the enormous possibilities and powerful means Turkey tries to make use of, in advocating its persisting policy of denial, (which on an international scale is rightfully characterized as the "Turkish denial syndrome" or "an industry of denial"[104]), it is obvious that this darkest page in the history of Armenia written by the bloody hands of the Young Turks and their predecessors, will eventually be condemned as an unprecedented barbarity – the first genocide in the history of mankind.[105]

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[104] The characterization "the Turkish denial syndrome" and "industry of denial" is particularly encountered in: Վ. Դաղդյան, *Հայկական ցեղասպանության թրքական հերքման գլխավոր տարրերը: Խեղաթյուրման և կեղծիքի մասնավոր դեպքերի ուսումնասիրություն* [*Haykakan tseghaspanutyan trkakan herkman glkhavor tarrery. Kheghatyurman yev keghtsiki masnavor depkeri usumnasirutyun*], Կանադա, Զորյան ինստիտուտ, 1999.

[105] As mentioned above, the Armenian Genocide commemoration and condemnation acts have been passed in more that 20 parliaments of the world.

Henry Morgenthau wrote in 1918: "I am convinced that in the entire history of humanity there have been no more horrendous facts as this massacre is. All manslaughter and persecutions that happened in the past seem almost insignificant as compared to the sufferings of the Armenian nation in 1915."[106] Although the ineffable tragedy of the Armenian people later became a diplomatic bargaining chip for the big nations,[107] nevertheless, renowned world intellectuals responded to the Armenian massacres quite honestly. M. Twain, J. Lepsius, A. T. Wegner, H. Morgenthau and A. Mandelstam are just a few examples.[108]

It should be noted that in recent years a unique link in the chain of Western scholarly comments on the recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide is the book *"A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish*

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[106] **H. Morgenthau**, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. Garden City New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918, p. 324. Cf. also **Մ. Գ. Ներսիսյան, Ռ. Գ. Սահակյան**, *Հայերի ցեղասպանությունը օսմանյան կայսրությունում* [*Hayeri tseghaspanutyuny osmanyan kaysrutyunum*], Եր., Հայաստան հրատ., 1991, էջ XIX.

[107] Describing the policy of the European governments in the period in question, Dmitr A. Spirov writes on this occasion: "Europe is a rare filthy whore as can be seen in the outskirts of Constantinople, especially in Sulugule. She has become the pimp and patron of the bloodthirsty tyrant and the grand murderer. She is a worm paired with the oriental aga gnawing on the bones of the rayah, a night owl, a spook, a vampire that wanders on the burial-ground and feeds on the bodies of the poor, sucks their blood and juice like a drone..." *(trans. from Armenian - S.G.).* **Դմիտր Ա. Սպիրով**, *Հայաստանը և սուլթան Աբդուլ Համիդը* [*Hayastany yev sultan Abdul Hamidy*], թարգմ. բուլղարերենից Կ. Հ. Ճինգոզյան, Եր., 2000, էջ 29.

[108] For more details cf. **Մ. Գ. Ներսիսյան, Ռ. Գ. Սահակյան**, 1991, *նույն տեղում* [*Ibid.*]; **Հ. Ղազարյան**, *Օսմանյան բռնապետության ներքո ապրող հայ և մյուս ժողովուրդների ցեղասպանության պատմությունը* [*Osmanyan bnapetutyan nerko aprogh hay yev myus zhoghovurdneri tseghaspanutyan patmutyun*], հ. 3, Եր., Էդիթ Փրինթ հրատ., 2010.

Responsibility" authored by Taner Akçam, a Turkish historian and sociologist.[109] In the book, the history of the Armenians of the Ottoman era and the Armenian-Turkish relations in general are examined in a new light, "breaking" many ideological cliches and stereotypes. Based on thorough investigation this book by T. Akçam presents to the current generation of Turks the shameful facts of their past. As the author rightfully suggests, Turkey must face its own history and bear moral responsibility for the Armenophobic policy of its ancestors. This is the decisive step Turkey must take paving the way to real democracy.[110]

T. Akçam is one of the exceptional Turkish historians who openly criticizes the 1915 felony qualifying it as a genocide.[111] The following quotes published in various periodicals support this claim:

> *One of a handful scholars who are challenging their homeland's insistent declarations that the organized slaughter of Armenians did not occur,*

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[109] Taner Akçam has been in politics since his young age. In 1976 he was arrested as an editor of a student political paper and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. A year later he escaped from jail and found refuge in Germany under the protection of *Amnesty International*. Beginning from 1988, Akçam was working at the Hamburg Social Studies Institute taking special interest in problems of the Armenian Genocide. In 1996, he defended a PhD thesis on the issue, and since 2002 he is an adjunct professor at the Minnesota University (USA). He is the author of 10 books including *"A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility,"* published in 2006, which is here the subject of our inquiry.

[110] <http://archive.168.am/am/articles/10909-pr >
Retrieved [07.03. 2014, 21:19]

[111] Cf. **Ս. Գասպարյան, Գ. Հարությունյան,** *Թաներ Աքչամի «Ամոթալի արարք...» աշխատությունը* [*Taner Akchami "Amotali arark..." ashkhatutyuny*] // Վէմ համահայկական հանդես, N° 2 (38), Եր., Վէմ հանդես ՍՊԸ, 2012, էջ 125-134.

*Akçam is the **first Turkish specialist to use the word "genocide" publicly in this context.***[112]

(The New York Times, Turks Breach Wall of Silence on Armenians, March 06, 2004)

*The few Turkish Scholars who have challenged the official line have been called traitors. **Taner Akçam, the only Turkish historian to have talked of genocide...***[113]

(The Economist, Turkey and the Armenians. A Historical Heroin, March 25, 2004)

*But what makes Akçam's book stand out among other works on the subject - apart from the fact that the author is a Turk - is that it is the **first scholarly attempt to understand the genocide from the perspective of the perpetrator rather than the victim.***[114]

(Montreal Gazette, Taner Akçam: The Turk who Insists Turkey Acknowledge the Armenian Massacre, June 26, 2004)

T. Akçam's position in the issue of the Armenian Genocide becomes obvious at the very moment one takes the book in hand. The title itself succinctly discloses the author's evaluative attitude to the facts, events and conceptions presented. His denouncing approach first of all is indicated in the attributive word combination

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[112] < http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/06/arts/turks-breach-wall-of-silence-on-armenians.html > **Retrieved [11.03.2014,17:46]**

[113] < http://www.economist.com/node/2545973> **Retrieved [11.03.2014, 17:53]**

[114] <http://hnn.us/article/5983> **Retrieved [11.03.2014, 18:09]**

a shameful act in the title, the basic semantic unit being the attribute expressed by the adjective ***shameful;*** the idea of shamefulness is being actualized by the stem ***shame*** carrying an intrinsically negative connotational colour combined with the suffix ***-ful,*** which is meant to make the negative colouring even stronger. The inherent negative charge of the unit ***shameful*** becomes even more intensified when perceived in the context of ***the Armenian Genocide and the question of Turkish responsibility*** where the unquoted use of the unit ***genocide*** directly points to the fact that the author actually admits the reality of the Armenian Genocide and condemns its executors. Moreover, T. Akçam's ethnic identity is no obstacle on his way to expressing his honest views in defence of the Armenian cause and calling on his fellow nationals not to shirk responsibility, for only by taking the responsibility may they try to cleanse the brand of shame inherited from their ancestors.

Thus, the very title of the book attracts the reader's attention and succinctly informs about the overall content of the narrative, discloses the identity of the text in general and enables the reader to foresee the author's predisposition.

In his book T. Akçam covers a large range of questions elucidating the genocidal situation in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century. He presents, describes and discusses completely fresh and crucially important records and facts the investigation of which leaves no room for doubts about a centrally planned and instructed operation of annihilation and even the division of labour among various organizations.

Discussing the causes of the Genocide the author, referring to Refik Ahmed, highlights the documented reality that the annihilation of Armenians had long become one of the national

objectives of the Unionist leaders who had planned ***to avoid carrying out reforms in the six eastern provinces, and to solve the Armenian "problem" at its root (p. 112).***

On the other hand he reveals the falsity of the prevailing opinion of Turkey's forced entrance into the war. As the author confirms, the Unionists, on the contrary, made great efforts to join the war, for they were well aware of the opportunities they could be availed of by the process of World War I. They expected they could manage to return the territories lost in the Balkan war and accomplish their grand project of Pan-Turanist and Pan-Islamic expansion.

Referring to different documents, official and private correspondence T. Akçam also brings out the ideal of the Turkish authorities to destruct the Moscovite enemy in order to get a possibility to include all branches of Turkic people into the Empire and unite them. The author criticizes the "illusory goal" of the Ottomans which prompted them to instigate the actions in Baku in 1918 aimed at ***cleansing*** Azerbeijan of Russians and Armenians in order to provide **"territorial continuity"** between Turks.[115]

Thus T. Akçam openly declares that the Turkish authorities perceived Armenians (as well as Greeks) to be a major territorial and religious obstacle preventing the realization of their Pan-Islamic objectives. This was a goal which they strived to achieve by all means: deportations, mass killings, violation of historical, geographical and demographic facts.

Interestingly enough, the author dedicates his book to the memory of an ethnic Turk, named Haji Halil, who (as testified by Greg Sarkisyan at a conference in Armenia in 1995), risking his

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[115] Cf. **J. M. Landau,** *Pan-Turkism: from Irredentism to Cooperation. Bloomington:* Univesity of Indiana Press, 1995, p. 55.

own life, saved and hid eight members of the family of Greg Sarkisyan's mother for more than six months. The author believes this heroic deed of Haji Halil, as well as the candid praise for the act of a Turk by Armenians makes him expect positive shifts in Armenian-Turkish relations. Thus:

> *I would like to dedicate this book to the memory of Haji Halil, a devout Muslim Turk, who saved the members of an Armenian family from deportation and death by keeping them safely hidden for over half a year, risking his own life.* ***His courageous act continues to point the way toward a different relationship between Turks and Armenians****...<...> I was deeply moved by the story, by the humanity that triumphed over evil and by the fact that an Armenian could find it in his heart to praise a Turk in a public forum, for the humanity. The memory of Haji Halil reminds us that* ***both, Turks and Armenians, have a different history on which they can build a future.***
>
> *T. Akçam, A Shameful Act ... p. VIII*

It is rather obvious from the context of the passage that, writing on the Armenian Genocide and commemorating an ethnic Turk, the author aims at opening the eyes of the Turkish society, help them know and understand their past, thus attempting to shed new light on the Armenian-Turkish relations. And although the author fully reasons that the heroic stance of Haji Halil and other individuals alike cannot level out the amount of what had been done and the grade of the atrocities, he cannot underestimate the value of this kind of Turk. He would prefer more people among his nation be like

Haji Halil, for Akçam is also a Turk, and he does not want to be ashamed for the disgraceful behaviour of his compatriots.

> ***This book breaks with that tradition. It is a call to the people of Turkey to consider the suffering inflicted in their name on those "others".*** *The reason for this call is not only the scale of the Armenian genocide, which was in no way comparable to the individual acts of revenge carried out against Muslims. It is also because all studies of large-scale atrocities teach us one core principle: to prevent the recurrence of such events,* ***people must first consider their own responsibility, discuss it, debate it, and recognize it****. In the absence of such honest consideration, there remains the high probability of such acts being repeated,* ***since every group is inherently capable of violence; when the right conditions arise this potential may easily become reality, and on the slightest of pretexts.*** *There are no exceptions. Each and every society needs to take a self-critical approach, one that should be firmly institutionalized as a community's moral tradition regardless of what others might have done to them. It is this that prevents renewed eruptions of violence.*
>
> *T. Akçam, A Shameful Act ... p. 2*

This book is an appeal to the Turkish people not to evade reviewing the shameful chapters of their history full of atrocities, but rather to make an effort to discuss, learn and criticize the condemnable acts of Turks in order to prevent such crimes against humanity in future. In the passage this idea is conveyed to the

reader by the use of such connotationally coloured linguistic means as ***inflict, prevents, renewed, eruptions, violence.***

From a pragmalinguistic viewpoint[116] the use of homogeneous predicates ***(people must consider their own responsibility, discuss it, debate it, recognize it)*** is of special interest; hereby the author tries not only to make his language more persuasive but also denote the sequence of steps that may bring to the admittance of the Genocide: first, consider their share of guilt, discuss, debate and then recognize. From the pragmatic point of view the use of the unit ***"others"*** is also important. In our surveys we have dealt with the use of pronominal units **their, they, these** in works that deny and reject the fact of the Armenian Genocide. Particularly in the book titled *"An Armenian Question...? Let's Consider..."* by H. B. Danisman, the unquoted use of pronominal units expresses the implicit sense of mutual alienation and hostility.[117] In the example above the quoted pronoun ***"others"*** emphasizes the fervent desire of the author to eliminate the stereotype

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[116] In linguistic research nowadays more significance is being given to the role of a human being as the key element of communication. The complex relationship between the speaker/writer and the listener/reader is rendered paramount importance to in speech activity which is always dependent on the pragmatic goal of the speaker. Thus, pragmalinguistics – an appealing and promising branch of linguistics, is always communicatively-oriented and aims at revealing the peculiar features of speech formation in this or that social and communicative situation. Cf. **S. C. Levinson**, *Pragmatics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; **Н. Д. Арутюнова, Е. В. Падучева**, *Истоки, проблемы и категории прагматики* // Новое в зарубежной лингвистике [*Istoki, problemy i kategoii pragmatiki* // Novoe v zarubezhnoy lingvistike], вып. 16. М., изд-во Прогресс, 1985, с. 3-43; **J. Verschueren**, *Understanding Pragmatics.* London: Arnold, 1999, etc.

[117] **S.Gasparyan, G.Harutyunyan, L.Gasparyan**, *Interpretations of the Armenian Genocide: A Linguocognitive Study* // "Language, Literature & Art in Cross-Cultural Contexts," AASE-3 International Conference. Yerevan, 2011, 4-8 October.

of mutual alienation, in the meantime targeting his criticism against scholars who accept, confirm and constantly fuel the sense of alienation by using quotation marks. In other words, the quotations in this case convey a new shade of meaning to the word fulfilling its communicative purpose: to highlight the idea of peaceful coexistence of nations, including Armenians and Turks.

By dedicating his book to the memory of Haji Halil the author writes about the Genocide of Armenians, admitting and recognizing it, but at the same time as an ethnic Turk he seeks to somehow justify the Turkish people by refusing to make generalizations about the Turkish society as a whole. The use of words, collocations and utterances like ***every group, inherently capable of violence, the right conditions arise this potential may easily become reality, on the slightest of pretexts*** affirms this not only in the given passage but also in other extracts of the book like the one that follows:

> *Those who acted collectively in history were not the entirety of "Turks" and "Armenians", but certain* ***organizations or groups*** *that shared a common interest and claimed to be acting in the name of the nation or religion to which they belonged. In some cases, this meant the* ***government****; in others* ***a political party****; in still others, the representatives of a clearly defined* ***class or subclass****.* ***It is even questionable whether the broad mass of Muslims in Anatolia at the time understood themselves as Turks, or Kurds, rather than as Muslims.*** *In all cases, however, these actors never comprised the entire national or religious group that they claimed to represent.*
>
> *T. Akçam, A Shameful Act ... p. 15*

The first thing in the passage that strikes the attention of the reader is the statement of the author which indirectly guestions the awareness of Turks and Kurds of their national identity ***(whether the broad mass of Muslims in Anatolia at the time understood themselves as Turks, or Kurds, rather than as Muslims)*** and spreads light on what R. Suny tries hard to disguise under the veil of World War I. That is the basic underlying reason for pre-planning and unleashing the Armenian Genocide – the insatiable desire of the Turkish authorities to take possession of vast territories in the Middle East and establish the Greater Turan inhabited only by Muslim population (cf. pp. 79, 85, 90, 91 of the present book). Thus, it was their aspiration for religious superiority and the morbid pining for the Greater Turan that mattered, and this can be deduced from the mentioned utterance of the passage. Although in various parts of the narrative the author emphasizes the fact of the pre-planned nature of the Armenian Genocide, based on the documentary files of numerous testimonies, court writs, national and international instructions, published and unpublished notes and memorandums, nevertheless, by using words and expressions like ***group, government, organization, political party, representatives of a clearly defined class or subclass*** the author once again attempts to persuade the reader that the committed crime was the act of a specific group – a political party, authorities or some other team. And he does this with a sole purpose: to alleviate the share of guilt of the Turkish people trying to enhance the idea that not the nation as a whole but a certain group of people is to be held culpable.

The following passage where the author examines the terms "Armenian" and "Turk" makes this notion even more convincing:

*...Instead I have selected more precise terms for the people involved in any particular actions. The terms "**Turks**" and "**Armenians**" which are widely used in historiography and conversation, are not historical categories but rather **ahistorical constructions**. They are used to express only that one group is not Armenian and the other not Turk. This not only misrepresents history but exacerbates public perceptions and prejudices today.*

T. Akçam, A Shameful Act ... p.16

The passage reveals the author's intention: to take a fresh look at the terms "Armenian" and "Turk," and bring the discussion of the Armenian-Turkish relationship to a new stage. One can hardly accept the author's idea of the terms "Armenian" and "Turk" being non-historical categories. As words widely used in historical, ethnographical and anthropological studies they are merely metalinguistic units (ethnonemes) denoting ethnic identity, nevertheless, from the point of view of their conceptual content they cannot evade historicity, for *ethnos* itself is a community of people sharing common material, linguistic and cultural features. It is historically formed within a certain space and time[118]. By viewing these notions as ***"ahistorical"*** concepts the author definitely intends to take away the historically formed stereotype of alienation. However, it is undeniable that almost a century after the Genocide the words "Armenian" and "Turk" still bear a conflicting mark in

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[118] Cf. *Փիլիսոփայական բառարան* [*Pilisopayakan bararan*], Եր., Հայաստանի հրատ., 1975, էջ. 4. This is particularly supported by **Miroslav Hroch** in his essay *Nationalism and National Movements: comparing the past and the present of Central and Eastern Europe* // Nations and Nationalism, N° 2(1), 1996, p. 35-44.

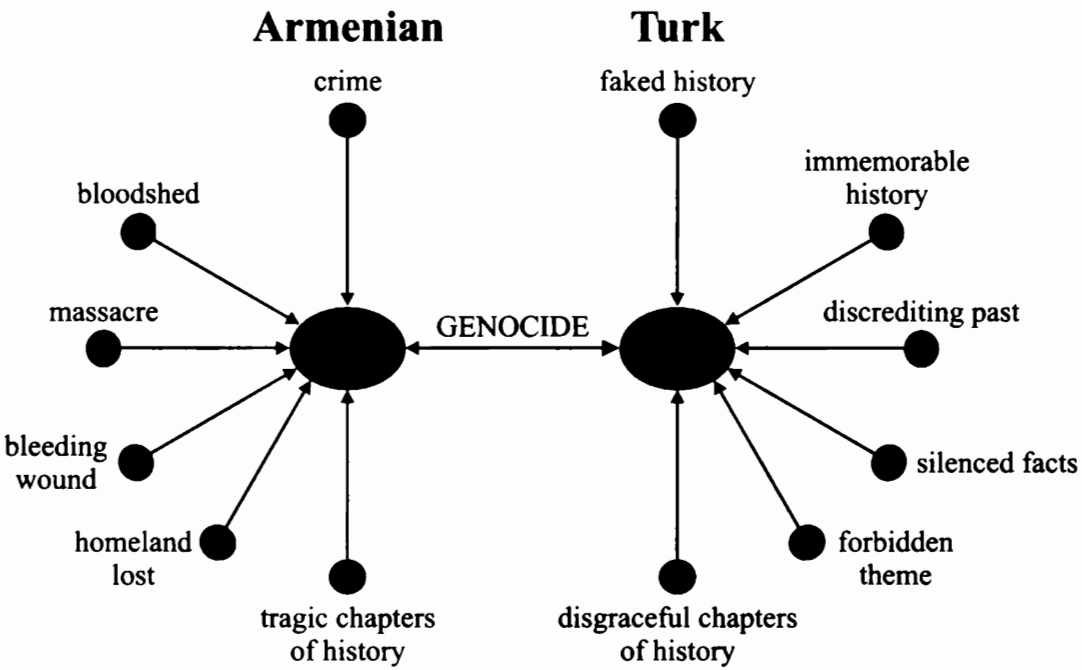
both Armenian and Turkish comprehension (cf. the next chapter of the present book), also due to the fact that the culpable side is not courageous enough to admit the historical truth. Moreover, they make every possible effort to deny the undeniable truth and present a distorted past to their future generations. To illuminate the idea let us just refer to Taner Akçam's highlight of the term ***genocide***.

> *Because of the long-standing Turkish policy of denial, the very* ***term "genocide" has become contested – sacred to Armenians, taboo to Turks****. Both sides attach supreme importance to the question whether or not* ***"genocide"*** *should be used.*
>
> *T. Akçam, A Shameful Act ... p. 9*

It is not difficult to deduce from the context of the passage that the unit ***genocide,*** the use of which is definitely conditioned by the historical reality, the basic background ideology and the aim of communication, is perceived as two conflicting concepts in the minds of an Armenian and of a Turk: ***sacred*** for the Armenian, and ***taboo*** for the Turk.

Thus, in the mind of a Turkish speaker/listener the word ***genocide*** is associated with forbidden, far-fetched, silenced, immemorable and discrediting ideas which remind one of a disgraceful past, but in the mind of an Armenian it recollects a combination of the following associations: crime, massacre, tragic chapters of history, bleeding wound, dispossession of homeland, blood-shed, etc. From the perspective of a national mentality the coded meaning of the unit ***genocide*** draws the listener's attention to the connotational colouring of the word corresponding to the mindset of that very nation. This can be viewed on the diagram below.

Possible Associations of Genocide Arising in Armenian and Turkish Conscience



The diagram shows that in the mindset of a Turkish speaker and of an Armenian speaker the possible associations of the term ***genocide*** are not of a common nature. This explains the impossibility of mutual understanding of the issue in question between the two nations to this day. Moreover, the existing tension between the opposing sides becomes intractable as it is impossible to find common ground. It is also important that on a rational level the speaker's perception conditioned by national identity, ideology, mentality and other factors in the case of Armenians comes close to the essence of the concept of ***genocide*** and suggests ideas of requisitioning; in the case of Turks the perception drifts away from this understanding in favour of a denialist's viewpoint.

T. Akçam's interpretation of the concept ***genocide*** is based on the definition by R. Lemkin.[119]

> *I have used the term in line with the United Nations definition adopted in 1948. Accordingly,* ***genocide includes the partial or complete destruction of an ethnic, national, racial, or religious group, whether in periods of peace or war****. The definition covers various means of destruction, be it killing members of a particular group, exposing them to grave physical or emotional harm, inflicting such physical*

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[119] In 1944 the US saw the publication of *"Axis Rule in Occupied Europe"* by **R. Lemkin** in which the author came up with a thorough and detailed legal analysis of the policy of the Nazi Germany during World War II. The work is also noted for the scrupulous examination and further addition to the comments on the term ***genocide.***
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genocide>
Retrieved [15.04. 2014, 18:12]

damage that ends the group's continued existence, preventing the group's members from giving birth, or forcibly removing their children and merging them with other communities. Under the terms of the UN definition, and in light of all the documentary evidence, ***we cannot but call the acts against the Armenians genocide.***

T. Akçam, A Shameful Act ... p. 9

The value of the words ***we cannot but call the acts against the Armenians genocide*** by T. Akçam cannot be overestimated. Inspiring confidence and encouragement, they once again assert that what happened to Armenians in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century is nothing but genocide; and no other word but ***genocide*** could be the internationally accepted term to evaluate the committed felony.[120]

However, a notable consideration occurs in T. Akçam's book: the author believes it is not the term itself that requires attention but the very fact of the Genocide that deserves condemnation ***(the moral position that recognizes the crime and condemns it).***

The important thing, however, is not the term, but rather the moral position that recognizes the crime and condemns it. *However we define it, whatever word we use, we must acknowledge that this history involved the*

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[120] For more details cf. **U. Գասպարյան,** *Եղեռն բառի համարժեքության դաշտը անգլերենում* [*Yeghern bari hamarzhekutyan dashty anglerenum*] // Վէմ համահայկական հանդես, N"1(29), Եր., Վէմ հանդէս ՍՊԸ, 2010, էջ 138-148.

deliberate destruction of a people. In 1915 Cerkez Hasan was an Ottoman officer commissioned to resettle Armenians in what are now the Syrian and Iraqi deserts. When he realized that the real aim of the deportations was not resettlement but annihilation he resigned. "You may argue whether or not the word 'killing' is synonymous with 'deportation'," he said. "Use it in any way you want; it doesn't change what actually happened in any real sense... There is only one terrible way to understand what happened, and of which the whole world is aware (Aksin 1987: 169[121])."

T. Akçam, A Shameful Act ... p.9

One cannot possibly overlook, however, the well-established linguistic reality that any word, under the influence of various linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, can grow more powerful and capacious, can be enriched by new shades of meaning, evaluative-attitudinal components, thus changing in depth and volume, and expressing the speaker's attitude to a certain issue, turn to a weapon to influence the audience. Neither should it be ignored that each year on April 24 Armenians worldwide listen closely to the words of the President of the USA to hear whether or not he will pronounce the word **genocide** in his annual address, for the mere utterance of this single linguistic unit is sure to add a new subtext to the message, even to landmark a breakthrough along the process of admitting, condemning and conceding the responsibility of Turkey for the 1915 Genocide. After all why not call it what it is?

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[121] **S. Aksin,** *Jon Türkler ve İttihat ve Terraki* [*Zhon Tyurkler ve Ittihat ve Teraki*]. İstanbul, 1987, s. 169

The Armenian Genocide must be condemned by the whole world as the first genocide of the 20th century for this is the demand of Justice, and the demand of our concern for the Future of this world; for it is our sacred duty to prevent any recurrence of genocide on this planet in future.

T. Akçam's work enables us to mark a step forward along that path, for it reassures and fosters the hope that Turkey will eventually come to read the dark chapters of its history, admit the truth, and undertake a roadmap of peace in its relations with Armenia.[122]

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[122] It is not a mere chance that T Akçam writes: "The Armenian Genocide is nothing else but a real genocide, and not a mere massacre or murder. I would say if what happened in 1915 is not called a genocide, then we should say no genocide has ever occurred in the world." This is the rationale of the author: things must be called by their names proper to create a right attitude towards them. <http://araxmag.blogspot.com/2010/06/1915.html>
Retrieved [07.03. 2014, 1:37]

"Armenian" and "Turk" as Cognitive Concepts

Today, in the 21st century, in the era of human rights, freedoms and responsibilities and the right of nations to self-determination and democracy the issue of the Armenian Genocide is still one of the most debated among officials at the highest echelons of the international community. This is the issue of a genocide carried out about a century ago, but unfortunately still subject to debates due to political considerations and calculations by some. Genocides, regardless of national and time measurements, should, undoubtedly, be constantly discussed, and perpetrators punished so that further generations of humanity do not even think of executing one or passively watching the powerful in arms do it, so that they learn whence and how genocides emerge and what outcome and consequences they have both for the victims and the executors, as well as for the international community. But if the issue of the Armenian Genocide has been disputed for almost 100 years this, certainly, gives rise to serious reflections.

The international community, particularly the influential political bodies and organizations are never tired of appealing to solidarity and peace. Meanwhile, today's Turkey, the successor of

the Ottoman Empire, possesses a substantial part of the habitat of the Armenian people, usurps the property and cultural wealth stolen from them, denies the fact of the Genocide, bullies all over the world, and schemes against the Armenians.[123] How then can solidarity be achieved between the two countries, in this region, in this world, and eventually in peoples' souls?

The Armenian Genocide has, indeed, been recognized in dozens of countries and by international bodies; they have confirmed it by numerous resolutions and adopted laws. They also condemn the executors and legally prosecute the deniers. However, as mentioned above, there are countries, political leaders and, unfortunately, "scholars" who deny it, preferring geopolitical, economic and often also personal interests at the expense of justice and morality, sometimes in fear of Turkish threats which actually generate and lead the denial campaign.[124]

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[123] A vivid illustration of the vicious mechanisms of behaviour inherited by the present Turkish government from their predecessors is Turkey's active support and participation in the recent events in Kessab – a region in Syria inhabited by Christian population, prevailingly Armenian.
<http://armenpress.am/eng/news/755363/turkish-intellectuals-condemn-ongoing-events-in-kessab.html>
Retrieved [15.04. 2014, 18 : 30]

[124] See, e.g., **R. Melson,** *A Theoretical Inquiry into the Armenian Massacres of 1894-1896* // Comparative Studies in Society and History, XXIV, 3 (July 1892), p. 481-509; **S. Shaw**, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey,* vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976; **G. Lewy**, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide,* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004; **R. Suny**, *Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993; *A Question of Genocide. Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottomann Empire* / Ed. R. Suny, F. Göçek, N. Naimark. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, etc.

In this part of the linguocognitive examination[125] of some interpretations of the Armenian Genocide, I intend to make use of the opportunities offered by the theory of frame widely applied in cognitive linguistics and reveal the contrived and fabricated nature of the denial propagated through those interpretations.

The advocated denial, apart from everything else, overlooks a very important factor: the information stored in the memory of not only Armenians but humanity at large, and that information is by no means in favour of the Turks, for the events of the dawn of the century in Western Armenia and the Turkish policy in general have forged certain cognitive models in the field of human perception and left such a deep imprint on the worldview of mankind (first of all on the worldview and cultural outlook of the dispersed Armenian ethnicity) that the neglect of this issue is unacceptable, to say the least. Indeed, in the process of proper perception and interpretation of the events the adequate evaluation of the terms ***Armenian*** and ***Turk*** has an important background significance, and in this very matter the theory of frame comes to

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[125] In surveys on problems of gnoseology and cognitive linguistics in particular, the anthropocentric approach and the cognitive orientation of studies allow to reveal the correlation of linguistic phenomena and the human knowledge accumulated from the objective reality by personal experience as well as expose the mechanisms underlying the cognitive processes. As a result, speech is viewed as a process reflecting public behaviour which rests upon cognitive structures fixed in human brain and deduces the "inner mind" formed therein. Particularly in the matters of cognitive-pragmatic aspect the key to their solution is in the intersection of lexicology and a number of other sciences. Cf. **Е. С. Кубрякова**, *Парадигмы научного знания в лингвистике и ее современный статус* [*Paradigmy nauchnogo znaniya v lingvistike i yeyo sovremennyy status*] // Изв. РАН Сер. Лит-ры и яз., т. 53, 122. М., 1994; **Շ. Պարոնյան**, *Լեզվաճանաչողություն և դիսկուրս* [*Lezvachanachoghutyun yev diskurs*], Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2011; etc.

aid.[126] The cognitive model may be defined as a knowledge forming mechanism, a structure comprising the total of knowledge and experience in the human consciousness which has a situational cultural background; it can contribute to the cognition of various typical situations and phenomena presenting the essential, inherent and possible set of various concepts.

The first stage of investigating the concepts ***Armenian*** and ***Turk*** reveals the stylistic neutrality of these units. In other words, they are concepts which first and foremost indicate ethnic identity.[127] Nevertheless, the names of both nations are destined to be interrelated. In the Armenian linguistic conscience the first member of this pair is positive, while the second one is perceived as most negative. This contrast exists in the Turkish mindset as well but with the opposite placement of the members. Yet in the first case it is the result of a bloody collective experience which has engendered an adequate state of mind in Armenians to become

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[126] Cognitive models form the world outlook of a human and direct his or her behaviour. On this issue cf. **Е. С. Кубрякова, В. З. Демьянков, Щ. Г. Панкрац, Л. Г. Лузина,** *Краткий словарь когнитивных терминов,* [*Kratkiy slovar' kognitivnykh terminov*]. М., МГУ, 1997; **М. Минский,** *Фреймы для представления знаний* [*Freimy dlya predstavleniya znaniy*]. М., изд-во Энергия, 1979; **Ч. Филлмор,** *Фреймы и семантика понимания* [*Freimy i semantika ponimaniya*] // Новое в зарубежной лингвистике. Когнитивные аспекты языка [Novoe v zarubezhnoy lingvistike. Kognitivnye aspekty yazyka], вып. XXIII. М., изд-во Прогресс, 1988.

[127] In most English dictionaries the mentioned units are interpreted as follows: Armenian – a member of a people dwelling chiefly in Armenia but also dispersed throughout the Middle East and emigrated to the New World; Turk – a member of any of numerous Asiatic peoples speaking Turkic languages who live in the region ranging from the Adriatic to the Okhotsk and who are racially mixed but are held to have risen in the Altai mountains and western Siberia. (Cf. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*. Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster Inc. Publishers, 1981, p.119, p. 2465).

an integral part of their national identity, while in the latter it is the result of misleading propaganda caused by the psychological impediments and pragmatic concerns, which together preclude their taking the responsibility for crimes committed by their ancestors. Perhaps it can be said that ***Armenian*** and ***Turk*** are not merely separate concepts; their contraposition forms a complex conceptual sphere on the cognitive level. And if the concept ***Turk*** is presented with conceptual frames like *Turk – enemy, Turk – barbarian, Turk – murderer of a nation,* which may be generalized by the frame *Turk – menace*, the concept ***Armenian*** in the Armenian linguistic conscience and in general exists in frames like *Armenian – creator, Armenian – Christianity/ Christian, Armenian – victim, Armenian – grief.* I should hasten to add that it took quite a long time for Armenians to overcome the last two complexes.

Deep in the national conscience of Armenians are also rooted the frames *Armenian – subsistence, Armenian - survival*. If we rely upon the image of an Armenian depicted in Byzantine sources (the concepts *Armenian* and *brave* were known to be synonymous in the Byzantine Empire[128]), the mentioned sequence of conceptual frames will be completed with *Armenian – valour* the validity of which is also borne out by our national liberation movement, as well as the freedom struggle of Artsakh.

In the semantic structure of the word ***Turk*** the following metaphorical meanings are highlighted: *"one who is cruel,*

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[128] Cf. «Բյուզանդական աղբյուրներ» ["Byuzandakan aghbyurner"], հ. Ե, Թեոփանեսի շարունակող, թարգմ. Հ Բարթիկյան, էջ 313, ծնթ. 56 ըստ՝ Ա.Այվազյան, *Հայկական ինքնության հիմնաքարերը. բանակ, լեզու, պետություն* [Haykakan inknutyan himnakarery: banak, lezu, petutyun], Եր., 2007, էջ 28.

hardhearted, or *tyrannical"*[129] or *"applied to anyone having qualities attributed to Turks: a cruel, savage, rigorous, or tyrannical man."* [130] Interestingly, in various surveys, studies and fiction as well these two concepts indicating the two ethnic identities have almost always been presented in two diametrically opposed ways.

As early as in 1853 in an article in the American *Daily Tribune* Karl Marx expresses the idea that the Turkish presence in Europe seriously hampers the development of the region *(the presence of the Turks in Europe is a real obstacle to the development...),* and the unreasoned religious fanaticism of the Turkish mob is able to undermine any progress *(the fanaticism of Islam supported by the Turkish mob ... to overturn any progress...).*[131]

Another mention of the image of Turk is found in Victor Hugo's poem "L'Enfant" (The Child): *"Les Turcs ont passe` la. Tout est ruine et deuil" (Turks went through there; All is ruin and sorrow).* In these lines the stylistically neutral narrative utterance ***Turks went through there*** followed by the utterly negative image ***all is ruin and sorrow*** indirectly, yet clearly, draws the picture of a Turk in the reader's imagination – ferocious as it could be that it

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[129] *Webster's Third New International Dictionary.* Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster Inc. Publishers, 1981, p. 2465:

[130] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* vol. 2. Oxford: Clarindon Press, 1978, p. 2382.

[131] <http://ziontruth.blogspot.com/2007/11/was-karl-marx-zionist-neocon-bat-yeor.html> **Retrieved** [15.04. 2014, 18:17]
On this issue cf. also **Ս.Գասպարյան, Գ. Հարությունյան, Լ. Գասպարյան,** *Հայոց ցեղասպանության արձարձումների լեզվաճանաչողական յուրահատկությունները* // Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների [*Hayots tseghaspanutyan artsartsumneri lezvachanachoghakan yurahatkutyunnery*], 1(633), Եր., ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Գիտություն հրատ., 2012, էջ 184-199.

would brutally trample even the juvenile innocence on its way to suppress the liberation struggle of the Greeks.[132]

It is important to note that the concepts ***Armenian*** and ***Turk*** have been elucidated in a similar way also in works by other foreign authors and eyewitness testimonies,[133] as well as in voluminous archival and contemporary documents.[134]

On July 16, 1915, US Ambassador to Turkey Henry Morgenthau in a confidential telegram informs the Secretary of State:

> ***Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians*** *are increasing and from* ***harrowing reports of eyewitnesses*** *it appears that* ***a campaign of race extermination*** *is in progress* ***under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.***

Morgenthau's point is that the Armenian people are a peaceful population without any destructive ambitions, whereas they were being treated extremely harshly, and the acts of cruelty were increasing on and on. As the American high-ranking official

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[132] **V. Hugo,** *Les Orientales* / Ed. Charles Gosselin, Paris, 1829. Cf. also **A. Ekrem**, *L'image du Turc dans les Orientales de Victor Hugo* // Francofoni 2003, N° 15, pp. 91-100.

[133] Vivid cases in point are: **Գ. Գուարչ,** *Հայկական տոհմածառը* [*Haykakan tohmatsary*], թարգմ. իսպաներենից Մ. Սուքիասյան, Եր., Հայաստանի գրողների միության հրատ., 2005; **Գ. Գուարչ,** *Հայոց կտակ* [*Hayots ktak*], թարգմ. իսպաներենից Մ. Սուքիասյան, Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2011; Г. Гуарч, *Белая гора* [*Belaya gora*], перевод с испанского В. Гуренко. М., изд-во Фитон XXI, 2013; **Ա. Արսլան,** *Արտույտների ագարակը* [*Artuytneri agaraky*], թարգմ. իտալերենից Ս. Հարությունյան, Եր., Սահակ Պարթև հրատ., 2007; etc.

[134] The documentary English texts used in this part of the book have been derived from the website of the Museum-Institute of the Armenian Genocide: <http://genocide-museum.am/eng/ >

qualifies, the eyewitness testimonies were heartbreaking and soul-tearing *(**harrowing**)*, and it was clear that a campaign of extermination of a whole human race was being executed under the Turkish government pretext of retaliation against rebellion.

On August 8, 1915, Ambassador Morgenthau reports about his conversation with Talaat. He informs of the desolated Armenian settlements and the hateful attitude of the Turks towards Armenians.

> *<...> **they had already disposed of three quarters of them**, that there were **none left in Bitlis** (Arm. **Baghesh** – S.G.), **Van, Erzerum** (Arm. **Karin** – S.G.), and that **the hatred was so intense now that they have to finish it**.*

There are similar testimonies in Austrian documents, too. On September 30, 1915, the Austrian charge d'affaires Count Trauttmansdorff writes to Imperial Foreign Minister Baron Stephan Burian from Constantinople:

> ***With great satisfaction Talaat bey** has recently told me that **hardly any Armenians were left in Erzerum** ...*

In 1915, Leslie Davis, US Consul to Turkey, in a message from Harpoot (Arm. **Kharberd** – S.G.) to Ambassador Morgenthau in Constantinople qualifies the expulsion of Armenians from the region as a very large scale slaughter. He notes that Armenians were designed to be exterminated as a race by a special plan (***the plan was to destroy the Armenian race as a race***), and that goal was being accomplished with such a cold-blooded and barbaric prudence that they at first did not even realize what was going on.

*<...> it has been no secret that **the plan was to destroy the Armenian race as a race**, but the methods used have been more cold-blooded and **barbarous**, if not more effective, than I had at first supposed <...>*

*<...> it seems to be fully established now that practically all who have been sent away from here **have been deliberately shot or otherwise killed** within one or two days after their departure. This work has not all been done by bands of Kurds but has for the most part been that of the gendarmes who accompanied the people from here or of **companies of armed tchetehs (convicts) who have been released from prison for the purpose of murdering the Armenian exiles**.*

*<...> I do not believe there has ever been **a massacre in the history of the world so general and thorough as that which is now being perpetrated in this region** or that **a more fiendish, diabolical scheme** has ever been conceived by the mind of man <...>*

The US diplomat's speech clearly indicates the widespread nature of the massacres – not a mere deportation or expulsion but rather a planned action to eliminate Armenians as a nation. He qualifies the methods applied as more cold-blooded and **barbarous** than he could ever imagine. By using the unit **deliberately** *(especially of something bad / done on purpose or as a result of careful planning, intentional*[135]*)*, the US Consul highlights the intentional abhorrence of the genocidal plot which was nothing

[135] Cf. *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*. Addison Wesley Longman, 1998, p. 340.

other than a diabolical machination of the human brain (*...I do not believe there has ever been* ***a massacre in the history of the world so general and thorough*** *... or that* ***a more fiendish, diabolical scheme*** *has ever been conceived by the mind of man...).*

The US Consul also gives a detailed account of the "displaced" population driven through the Harpoot valley (Arm. **Kharberd** – S.G.) to Deir-el-Zor.

> ***Many Turkish officers and other Turks*** *visited the camps* ***to select the prettiest girls*** *and had* ***their doctors present to examine them*** <. . .>
>
> ***All in the camp were beyond help.***

The quotes make clear for the reader that Turks were enemies of Armenians, yet nothing is said to assure the contrary. It was from the Turkish side that came the gross hatred towards Armenians, and the hatred was so intense that Talaat pronounced with great satisfaction: ***hardly any Armenians are left in Erzerum*** (Arm. **Karin** – S.G.). Pretty Armenian girls were being chosen by Turks after medical examination. And when Leslie Davis writes: ***all in the camp were beyond help,*** he writes it about the Armenians, not the Turks. Armenians were the victims smitten with sorrow and confined to grief. Turks were the enemy, barbarous and murderous.

While the massacres were proceeding under the same methods, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to Turkey Pallavicini was informing his country's Foreign Minister Ottokar Czernin on the situation in Turkey (as of 22 December, 1917).

Most parts of Armenia, Kurdistan and Mesopotamia have become ***a theatre of barbarous and horrible sights****.*

Once again we come across the reference **barbarous**, this time in the speech of a high-ranking Austro-Hungarian diplomat. In the expression ***a theatre of barbarous and horrible sights,*** the adjective **barbarous** complements the noun **sights** on the sentence level but on the pragmatic and cognitive levels **barbarous** refers also to the Turks, for the executors of barbaric scenes are barbarous themselves.

On May 24, 1915, Great Britain, Russia and France issued a joint declaration clearly indicating that Turks and Kurds massacred the Armenians with the approval and assistance given by the Ottoman government:

> *For about a month* ***the Kurd and Turkish populations of Armenia have been massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assistance of Ottoman authorities****. Such massacres took place in middle April (new style)* ***at Erzerum*** *(Arm.* ***Karin*** *– S.G.),* ***Dertchun*** *(Arm.* ***Derjan*** *– S.G.),* ***Eguine, Akn, Bitlis*** *(Arm.* ***Baghesh*** *– S.G.),* ***Mush, Sassun, Zeitun, and throughout Cilicia. Inhabitants of about one hundred villages near Van were all murdered. In that city Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds****. At the same time* ***in Constantinople Ottoman government ill-treats inoffensive Armenian population****. In view of those* ***new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization****, the Allied governments announce publicly*

to the Sublime-Porte that they will hold personally responsible for these crimes all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.

Essentially important is the fact that in international documents the Turkish-Kurdish actions against the Armenians are expressed with verbs like ***massacre, murder, besiege, ill-treat,*** whereas the Armenian population is defined with the adjective ***inoffensive.*** Such linguistic actualization in speech immediately forms the dichotomy *murderer–victim* on the cognitive level and still intensifies it by the statement ***new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization*** which confirms that the Turkish state followed a consistent policy and a regular practice.

Hans von Wangenheim, the Ambassador of Germany to Constantinople, reports to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg on July 7, 1915:

> *Apart from the material damage incurred by the Turkish state as a result of the deportation and expropriation of* ***a hard-working and intelligent element of the population, for which the Kurds and Turks who are preliminarily taking their places do not constitute worthy substitutes****, our trade interests and the interests of the German welfare institutions existing in those parts of the country are also being severely damaged.*

As described by the German official serving in Turkey, Armenians were a ***hard-working*** and ***intelligent*** element of the

population for which the Kurds and Turks ... did not constitute ***worthy substitutes***. In the context of Wangenheim's statement it is quite visible that Armenians with their industry and gift of creativity have made a significant contribution to the country's economy. This has prompted foreign witnesses and officials to speak words of respect and appreciation both for the Armenian people and certain individuals. A case in point is the official letter of Marcel Cachin, a French MP representing the Seine, sent to the Foreign Minister Aristide Briand on December 19, 1915:

> *The foreign affairs committee of the chamber was informed by* ***respectable Mr. Aharonyan*** *about* ***the new attempt of extermination of the whole nation. The tragic story of this prominent Armenian was confirmed by the reports of American and Swiss missionaries and consuls****, and they are involved in the last book of honorable lord Bryce.*

In another official Austrian document, sent from Constantinople on September 30, 1915, the disastrous state of the Armenians in Ottoman Turkey is mentioned:

> *The situation of the Armenians in Turkey* ***is hopeless****; it seems that* ***the Turkish government has planned the extermination of the entire Armenian race****.*

The passages show that there were more than enough grounds for the formation of the frame *Armenian – victim*, and

this is borne out by the use of such statements as ***the new attempt of extermination of the whole nation, the tragic story,*** *the situation of the Armenians in Turkey* ***is hopeless,*** *etc.* Among many others, they come to testify that the occurrence of the frame *Armenian – victim* was not a mere chance, but based on individual and national experience. There were no obstacles for the Turkish leaders to realize their plan and achieve their goal, fast and final. The butcher himself – Talaat pasha – the Interior Minister of the Ottoman Empire, states in his order-messages that the *Armenocide* **should** be executed however tragic the means may be; and there must be no hesitation or objection to his demands. Thus, for example,

September 3, 1915

To the Prefecture of Aleppo:

We advise that you ***include the women and children also in the orders which have been previously prescribed as to be applied to the males of the intended persons****. Select employees of confidence for these duties.*

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT

September 16

To the Prefecture of Aleppo:

Their existence *(the existence of Armenians – S. G.)* ***must come to an end, however tragic the means may be; and no regard must be paid to either age or sex, or to conscientious scruples.***

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT

Another order-message by Talaat reveals the Turkish attitude towards orphaned Armenian children who were being treated in the same cruel way for they were rendered as at least harmful.

> *We are informed that certain orphanages which have opened also admitted the children of the Armenians. Should this be done through ignorance of* ***our real purpose****, or because of contempt of it, the Government* ***will view*** *the feeding of such children or any effort to prolong their lives* ***as an act completely opposite to its purpose,*** *since* ***it regards the survival of these children as detrimental****. I recommend the orphanages* ***not to receive such children; and no attempts are to be made to establish special orphanages for them****.*
>
> *Minister of the Interior, TALAAT*

The phrase ***our real purpose*** and the statement ***will view as an act completely opposite to its purpose*** directly point to the fact that Turkey acted with purposeful cruelty, and it is obvious enough that it was a plan agreed upon, supported and executed by the government.

The examples provided make the description of *Turks* quite clear – murderous, barbarous, extremely cruel, full of hatred and violence, enslaving though possessing lower intellectual qualities and work skills than those they subject to slaughter. The linguistic expression of all this is the direct reflection of the existence of the frames *Turk – barbarian, Turk – assassin/murderer of a nation.* Quite the opposite of this are the characteristics given to the *Armenians* by the authors of the passages adduced above: harmless, hard-working and intelligent, respectable, but tormented and helpless against the brutal force which devours in order to extirpate.

As has already been mentioned above, one of the main reasons for the decision of eradicating Armenians was the difference in religious identity. There is plenty of evidence spreading light on this aspect of the issue, too. The following is a quote from the German Ambassador Wangenheim's report (June 17, 1915) to the Head of his government, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg.

> *... it becomes obvious that deportation of the Armenians arises not only from military necessity. The internal minister Talaat bey told about it honestly to doctor Mortsman, who is employed at the empire embassy now.* ***Talaat said: "The Sublime Porte intends to make use of the world war for cleaning the whole country from internal enemies, the local Christians*** *<...>"*

Mr. Wangenheim's report overtly shows that it is the Turkish side that puts a "mark" of hostility between themselves and the "internal enemies," i.e. the local Christians. Although in the initial phase of the Genocide an exception was granted to Catholic Armenians because the Turks acknowledged that Catholicism penetrated into Armenia from the Western countries, however, this did not prevent them from breaking the promise, and most of the exceptions were revoked once again. The Special Envoy Wolf-Metternich's report (July 10, 1916) to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg gives evidence of the fact that the Catholic and Protestant Armenians were eventually also being subjected to clearing up, although the Porte had repeatedly assured that the latter would not be deported:

But they are also clearing up among the old established population and ***among the Catholic and Protestant Armenians, although the Porte has repeatedly assured that the latter will be spared. The remainder will be deported partly to Mesopotamia, partly converted to Islam****. <...>*

In Marasch and Aleppo the deportation is in full action; in Marasch not even the families were spared who had formerly been granted special permits by the Minister of the Interior. In Angora the Vali, Reschid Bey, well-known for his deeds in Diarbekir, is engaged in tracing the last Armenians (solely Catholics) and expelling them. The remaining Protestant and Catholic Armenians in Eskischehir and in the areas around Ismir are being treated in the same way. ***Despite all official denials, Islamization plays a great role in this last phase of the persecution of the Armenians.*** *Already at the end of April, Father Christoffel from Siwas (Arm.* ***Sebastia*** *– S.G.) reported that he had met the last Christian Armenians in Eregli (Arm.* ***Aragil*** *– S.G.); from there to Siwas* ***the Armenians had been completely cleared away, "either deported, or converted or murdered. There was not one Armenian sound to be heard anywhere."***

The following are excerpts from the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador Pallavicini's report to the Foreign Minister Ottokar Czernin on December 22, 1917. Once again they confirm the Turks' religious fanaticism and the decisive role of Turkish

religious expansionism underlying the execution of both the Armenian Genocide and the Genocide of other Christian national minorities, subjects of the Ottoman state, for the sole reason that a *Christian* meant somebody different, and that was not to be tolerated.

> *Vilayet of Diarbekir – Veren Shehir is a small town in the neighborhood of Urfa (Arm.* ***Urha, Yedesia*** *– S.G.) and* ***had a population consisting of 1400 Armenian and 140 Assyrian families; the 400 families entirely were exiled at the beginning of the summer. All the men were slaughtered. Rich families with women and children were exterminated****.*
>
> *...Diocese of Sgert (Arm.* ***Sghert*** *– S.G.):* ***there were 450 Armenian, 120 Caldian, 30 Jakobian families here. All of them were pillaged, slaughtered or deported****...*
>
> *<...>****Urfa****, formerly Yedesia, king Abgar's capital,* ***had a more cruel fate. The Christians, the number of which was above 25000, were cruelly pillaged, massacred and tortured three times,*** *the quarters of the town were bombarded and destroyed.* ***Their bishop and priests together with the prominent citizens of the town, nearly 500 people in number, were put into prison before being killed****, it is said, then they were exiled to Diarbekir but they were massacred on the way.* ***Thousands of orphan slaves are now in Mohammedan families: great number of these unfortunates are starving in the streets of Urfa. The Mohammedans of Urfa together with the authorities***

personally took part in massacres, they looted the property of the Christians.

In other parts of Turkey ***the fate of Christians is indefinite. They are always subjected to the threat of being killed.***

The Apostolic Christian faith has always been the most important component of the Armenian national identity since 301 AD when Armenia, first among the countries of the world, adopted Christianity as a state religion. The Armenian Apostolic Christianity and the Armenian language, being the two pillars of the Armenian national identity,[136] have always been in the focus of our enemies' attention.[137] Thus, it is not a mere chance that Armenian Christian faith, church and its leaders have been under special scrutiny of the Turkish authorities. The church was the active circle around which the Armenian people gathered especially under lost statehood. This was the reason for the special Turkish hatred towards the Armenian spiritual leaders. This fact is confirmed by Smirnov's (the Russian Envoy to Cairo) report to the Russian Foreign Minister Sazonov on June 25, 1915, where we can read:

Especially the Armenian clergy are pursued cruelly: the priests are haunted, tortured, their nails are pulled out.

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[136] Cf. **Ա. Այվազյան,** *Հայկական ինքնության հիմնաքարերը. բանակ, լեզու, պետություն* [*Haykakan inknutyan himnakarery: banak, lezu, petutyun*], Եր., Լուսակն հրատ., 2007, էջ 47-97.

[137] Nevertheless, the Armenian people rose every time and defended their vital values also by force, when necessary. A brilliant illustration is the Vardanants struggle to death headed by military leader Vardan Mamikonyan in 451 AD.

The significant value of Christianity to the Armenian nation accounts for the fact that the concept ***Armenian*** in the Armenian self-identification and perception is first and foremost associated with the basic, underlying frame *Armenian – Christianity/ Christian* through which in the prevailing majority of cases an ethnic *Armenian* is perceived also by non-Armenians.

The illustrations given make the Turkish condemnable behaviour quite tangible. They come to confirm the importance of the above-mentioned conceptual models in the cognizance and evaluation of Armenian-Turkish relations and the actual social-psychological background of the Armenian Genocide. They also reveal the explicit artificiality and vainness of promoting denial on false and fabricated grounds.

The documentary material presented above draws our attention to another fact as well: it is no secret at all that the world powers knew what was going on in Ottoman Turkey during the massacres. In their official statements, documents, reports, correspondence representatives of these countries have given detailed descriptions and true evaluations calling the events by their proper names. Some of those governments have been more honest in their evaluations then than they actually are today, in the 21st century. As for Turkey, it denies, dessembles and deludes today just as it used to do yesterday.

In the beginning was the Word,
and the Word was with God,
and the Word was God.
(John 1.1)

Yeghern ⟷ Genocide
The Question of Equivalence

The vocabulary of a language is the richest repository, in fact, the most reliable criterion of its wealth. It is through words that one gets to explore and know the surrounding world, learns to think, to express his/her thoughts and concerns, emotions and experiences. And since words undergo semantic changes over the centuries, reflecting a variety of social, historical and political impacts as well as that of everyday life, their appropriate choice in speech making is of utmost importance. In Maupassant's words, "no matter what you are going to talk about, there is only one word you can express it by, only one adjective you can describe it with, only one verb to animate it with. <...> thus, one must look for that very noun, that very adjective and that very verb <...>."[138]

The meaning of a word may broaden as the word becomes richer and richer under the influence of various linguistic and extralinguistic factors, acquiring new semantic charge and shades

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[138] **Guy de Maupassant,** *Etude prefaçant le livre. Lettre à George Sand; par Gustave Flaubert.* Paris: G. Charpentier et Cie, 1884.
< http://flaubert.univ.rouen.fr/bovary_6/temoins/guy2.html>

of meanings, new expressive-emotional-evaluative overtones. The word may grow in depth and width, and become more capacious both semantically and stylistically, thus expressing "a whole world."[139] This is clearly evident in speech whenever an "inanimate unit" of language revives, becomes more dynamic and presents the speaker's emotional attitude in a condensed way.[140]

The issues associated with such an intricate unit of language become even more complicated when one tries to reproduce a word adequately using the linguistic means of another language, i.e. to overcome the obstacles posed by multilingualism in the path of mutual recognition and understanding between nations.

In our analysis of the question, an attempt will be made to study the semantic field of equivalence of the Armenian word ***yeghern (եղեռն)*** and the problem of its adequate translation into English.

As an initial stage in our research, however, it is necessary to study the semantic structure of the lexical unit in Armenian. The *Fundamental Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Language*[141] by Hrachia Acharyan presents the opinion of the great

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[139] The qualification offered by Toumanian is quite well-known. Cf. Ռ. Իշխանյան, *Արևելահայ բանաստեղծության լեզվի պատմության* [*Arevelahay banasteghtsutyan lezvi patmutyun*], Եր., Երևանի համալսարանի հրատ., 1978.

[140] Cf. Պարույր Սևակ, *Սայաթ Նովա* [*Sayat Nova*], Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ, 1987, էջ 136.
In the poetic speculations of Razmik Davoyan we can read: "Gishakerneri, antaghandneri strukn e Bary/ Na Hantcharin e miayn havasar" (The word is a slave of the beasts, and the untalented / It is equal only to the Genius. Ռ. Դավոյան, *Բառը* [*Bary*] // Մեղրահաց [Meghrahats], Եր., Հայաստան հրատ., 1973, էջ 15.

[141] Cf. Հր. Աճառյան, *Հայերեն արմատական բառարան* [*Hayeren armatakan bararan*], Եր., Երևանի համալսարանի հրատ., 1973, հ. 2, էջ 17.

linguist Sophus Bugge who claims that the Armenian words *yeghern, yegher, yeghuk (եղեռն, եղեր, եղուկ)* originate from the root *gel-* in the Indo-European protolanguage. Comparison with *quelan* in Old High German, *quellian* in Saxon, and *cwelan* ⟶ *kill* in Old English[142] makes it quite clear that the underlying meaning of all these words is *to kill, to commit a crime.* A. Sukiasyan suggests a whole range of synonyms in his *Monolingual Dictionary of Armenian Synonyms:*[143] ոճիր (crime), ոճրագործություն (felony), եղեռնագործություն (villainy, crime), չարագործություն (մարդասպանություն) (malefaction, murder), ծանր հանցագործություն (grave, serious crime), սպանություն (killing, murder, homicide), կոտորած (massacre), ջարդ (mass killing, massacre), նախճիր (carnage), սպանդ (slaughter), արյուն/ա/հեղություն (blood-shed, carnage, massacre), սրածություն (massacre, butchery, slaughter), յաթաղան (killing with a Turkish dagger), խողխողում (killing cruelly, butchery, slaughter), եղեռնություն/archaic (harm, malice, rascality), **ցեղասպանություն (genocide)**. These are not absolute synonyms, of course, but they all have the semantic component *to kill* (i.e. to commit a crime) in their semantic structure.[144]

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[142] Cf. **А. И. Смирницкий,** *Хрестоматия по истории английского языка* [*Khrestomatiya po istorii anglyskogo jazyka*]. М., изд-во литературы на иностранных языках, 1953, с. 160.

[143] Cf. **Ա. Սուքիասյան,** *Հայոց լեզվի հոմանիշների բացատրական բառարան* [*Hayots lezvi homanishneri batsatrakan bararan*], 2-րդ հրատ., Եր., ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2009, էջ 264.

[144] For thorough examination of the word *yeghern* cf. **Փ. Մեյթիխանյան,** *Եղեռն բառի լեզվական քննություն* [*Yeghern bari lezvakan knnutyun*] // Վէմ, Համահայկական հանդես, No. 1(26), Եր., Վէմ հանդես ՍՊԸ, 2009, էջ 144-147.

The study of the data presented in Armenian-English dictionaries[145] provides the following explanations of the word ***yeghern (եղեռն):*** *crime* (ոճիր), *misdemeanor* (չար ընթացք, վատաբարոյություն), *offence* (անարգանք), *rascality* (ստորություն, անընդգամություն), *slaughter* (սպանդ, նախճիր, կոտորած, ջարդ), *carnage* (նախճիր), *massacre* (կոտորած, ջարդ) and ***genocide*** (ցեղասպանություն).

In this comprehensive field of synonyms one can trace similarities as well as obvious differences. For example, the word *crime* is defined as an act (usu. grave offence) punishable by law; evil act; such acts collectively (COD[146]); an act committed in violation of law forbidding or commanding it, and for which punishment is upon conviction (HINDEL), while the word *misdemeanor* is used to mean an action, which though being punishable by law, is not so grave or serious as, for instance, stealing or murder (LDCE). The semantic component of *crime* in the lexical units *offence* (attacking, aggressive action - COD) and *rascality* (dishonest behaviour - LDCE), may be said to be not

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[145] Մ. Գոյումճեան, *Ընդարձակ բառարան հայերենեն անգլիերեն* [*Yndardzak bararan hayerene anglieren*], Բեյրութ, Ատլաս հրատ., 1970; Ն. Բարաթյան և ուրիշներ, *Հայ-անգլերեն բառարան* [*Hay-angleren bararan*], Եր., Մակմիլան-Արմենիա հրատ., 2002.

[146] The following dictionaries have been used in the work: *The Concise English Dictionary (COD).* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976; *The Heritage Illustrated Dictionary of the English Language (HIDEL).* New York: Arm. Her. Publ. Co., Inc., 1973; *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDCE).* Great Britain: Longman Group, 1978; *The Oxford Dictionary of Law (ODL).* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 4th ed., 1997; *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED).* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961-1970, vol. 2; *Webster's New World Dictionary (WNWD).* Cleveland & New York: The World Publishing Comp., 1951; *Webster's Third New International Dictionary (WTNID).* Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster Inc., 1981.

always obvious. The intention of an offence in the sense of aggression or dishonest behaviour is not necessarily accompanied by murder. While "the modern tendency is to refer to crimes as offences" (ODL), and the words *offence* and *rascality* carry an inherent negative connotational overtone, though with far less force than in the lexical unit *crime*. As far as the definitions of the words *slaughter* (the killing or slaying of people in large numbers - OED), *carnage* (the slaughter of a great number, esp. of men; butchery, massacre - OED), *massacre* (the indiscriminate, merciless killing of a number of human beings - WNWD) are concerned, they are relatively closer in meaning to ***yeghern (եղեռն)*** and the prevalent constituent in their semantic structure is ***crime*** (criminal act not conditioned by a lawful necessity).

Genocide is a comprehensive term, and its semantic structure is all-inclusive. Among the interpretations suggested by various monolingual English dictionaries, the one proposed by the WTNID seems to be the most complete from the point of view of the semantic globality of the word: the use of deliberate systematic measures (as killing, bodily or mental injury, unlivable conditions, prevention of birth) calculated to bring about the extermination of a racial, political, or cultural group, or to destroy the language, religion or culture of a group. The fact that this lexical unit was introduced into different fields of humanitarian research only after the 1940s is accounted for by the chronology of its occurrence.

The word ***genocide*** was coined in 1943 by Raphael Lemkin - a Polish lawyer of Jewish descent, who, in one of his articles *(Crime of*

Barbarity[147]*)* used the word with reference to the massacres of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1915 and interpreted ***genocide*** as a crime against international law.[148] As is well known, later he defined ***genocide*** as any act which is carried out with the aim of partial or total annihilation of any national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such and, with the encouragement of the United States, he submitted his definition to the UN General Assembly for consideration. Much later, on December 9, 1948, the UN adopted the "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide" and Lemkin's definition served as a basis for Article II of the Convention.[149]

The word ***genocide*** originates from the Latin *gens, gentis* (origin, race, gene/biolog./, type) or the Greek *genos* (with the same meaning) and the Latin lexical unit *cidium* (cutting; killing) which entered the English language through French as *cide* (the act of killing).

As far as the problem of adequacy of translation is concerned, it should be noted that terminological dictionaries

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[147] His essay on the Crime and Barbarity which was based on the Armenian Genocide was first presented to the League of Nations conference in 1933. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raphael_Lemkin> **Retrieved** [21.06.2014, 11:00]

[148] Cf. note 119 of the present book.

[149] In the Convention, ***genocide*** is interpreted as any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such: a) killing members of the group; b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. *(Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Article II).*
<http://legal.un.org/avl/pdf/ha/cppcg/cppcg_e.pdf>
Retrieved [15.04. 2014, 18:12]

offer three different definitions of the term *translation*.[150] At the emic level (the level of language system) and in the field of lexicography in particular, *translation* is defined as the juxtaposition of two or more languages, with the object of tracing semantic similarities between the units of those languages. Otherwise stated, translating means finding elements in the target language which have the capacity to convey the semantic contents of the source language words adequately.

The study of the aforementioned dictionary data shows that the word as a meaningful unit not infrequently presents a complex structure, and since there can almost never be absolute coincidence of the minimal distinctive semantic features operating in the semantic structures of different lexical units, we can never speak of absolute synonymy. Each of the smallest elements making up the content plane of the meaning of a word may be realized through varying applications of the same word depending on the speech situation. It is here that the role of the well-known language/speech dichotomy,[151] which is of fundamental significance in linguistics, should not be underestimated. The proposition makes it possible to regard the problem of adequate translation as a dialectical correlation of equivalence at the level of language, and equivalence at the level of speech. This, however, does not imply at all that the only precondition for finding the equivalent unit is to examine the original context and the speech situation. The first step in this

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[150] Cf. **О. С. Ахманова**, *Словарь лингвистических терминов* [*Slovar' lingvisticheskikh terminov*]. М., изд-во Советская энциклопедия, 1966.

[151] **А. И. Смирницкий**, *Объективность существования языка* [*Ob'yektivnost' sushchestvovaniya yazyka*]. М., МГУ, 1954.

process is to establish those constituent elements of the target language system which, irrespective of the context and the speech situation, are always equivalent to the corresponding units of the source language. In other words, the first step is to achieve semantic equivalence. The basic and most reliable sources of information for language adequacy are, undoubtedly, monolingual dictionaries, and dictionaries of synonyms that are based on the results of study of the semantic constituents of the word meanings.

In the semantic field of equivalence of the word ***yeghern (եղեռն)*** *crime* may be viewed as a non-differentiated unit, for the meaning it conveys is general and can be traced in nearly all the units in the field. The variants *slaughter* (mass killings, execution, massacre), *carnage* (massacre, bloodshed, butchery), *massacre* (mass murder, annihilation, huge loss of life) are considerably closer to ***yeghern (եղեռն).*** They nevertheless emphasize different semes contained in the semantic structure of the word in question, while the complete and global picture of the phenomenon is reflected in the word-unit ***genocide.***

However, the context plays a highly important role in the adequate choice of the equivalent word. Full equivalence is attained where there is not only semantic, but also functional-stylistic and pragmatic adequacy, i.e. when the target language unit (a word, a sentence, a text, etc.) is equivalent to the source language unit in all the semantic, stylistic and pragmatic values that this carries. And although the semantic constituent is of prime importance, and the basic function of translation, i.e. interlingual communication, will not be realized, unless

semantic adequacy is achieved, the role of the other constituent elements in accomplishing the desired adequacy is of no less significance.

The reason for this is that it is in a particular context and in a certain speech situation that words, under the influence of various linguistic and extralinguistic factors, take on additional semantic and stylistic overtones and carry diverse pragmatic meanings.

An attempt will now be made to look into several contextual realizations of the meaning expressed by the Armenian word ***yeghern (եղեռն).***

> *If nations are allowed to* ***commit genocide*** *with* ***impunity, to hide their guilt in a camouflage of lies and denials*** *there is* ***a real danger*** *that* ***other brutal regimes*** *will be encouraged to attempt genocides.*
>
> *Unless we speak of the Armenian genocide and unless the Government recognizes this historical fact, we shall leave this century of* ***unprecedented genocides*** *with this* ***blot*** *on our consciences.*
>
> *Caroline, Baroness Cox*
> *House of Lords, 4/1/1999*[152]

In the extract adduced above the speaker voices a deep concern that by failing to recognize the Armenian Genocide openly we may abet similar atrocities on the part of other regimes. If nations are allowed to commit genocide and get away with it,

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[152] www.genocide1915.info/quotes/
Retrieved [08.03. 2014, 23:59]

covering up their sin with a veil of lies and denials, our age may turn into a period of continuing genocides.

The passage is rich in a number of units carrying negative connotations ***(commit genocide, impunity, hide the guilt in a camouflage of lies and denials, danger, brutal regimes, unprecedented genocides, blot)***, the combination of which in this context reveals the negative attitude of the speaker towards those who turn a blind eye to the Armenian Genocide, let alone perpetrate it or any other genocide. Baroness Cox is convinced that if the Armenian Genocide fails to be recognized as such, Mankind will always have to bear this *stigma* on its conscience.

The application of the word ***genocide*** in this small passage more than once is intended to warn the listener against the scale and the disastrous nature ***(a real danger)*** of this possible threat to humanity as a whole, to open the eyes of those who play a key role in the discussion of this issue, and to induce them to be honest and just.

The next passage is taken from the speech of John Evans, the former US Ambassador to Armenia, addressed to the Armenian community in America.

> *Today I will call this Armenian* ***genocide.*** *I think that we, the US government, owe you, our fellow citizens, a more straightforward and honest discussion of this problem. I can tell you as* ***a person who has studied this problem*** *– I have no doubts about what happened. I think that it is inappropriate for us, the Americans, to play with*

words in this case. I believe that we must ***call a spade a spade.***

John Evans
US Ambassador to Armenia
Addressed to American Armenians
on February 19, 2005[153]

The context of the passage obviously differs from the previous one with respect to its emotional-expressive charge. Stylistically neutral units are dominant here *(US government, fellow citizens, straightforward discussion of the problem, tell, a person who has studied this problem, about what happened, etc.)*. Their presence in the extract indicates that the goal of the speaker is to present to the public the firm belief which he has come to on the basis of his own thorough investigation of the historical evidence, according to which the massacre of the Armenians committed by the Ottoman Empire was nothing but ***genocide.***

Here, the speaker does not set out to influence the listener by reopening their wounds, which are still fresh. His speech is based on the truth he has arrived at after his own examination of the historical facts ***(as a person who has studied this problem).*** The use of the idiom ***to call a spade a spade*** in this speech is of core importance. On the one hand, it confirms that the word ***genocide*** is the most appropriate in the light of evaluation of the events as such, and on the other, it implies a plea to leave political considerations aside and to call the Armenian events of the

[153] http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/quotations.php
Retrieved [09.03. 2014, 00:03]

1915s by the word that equates to it internationally, i.e. ***genocide.***

The following text presents the appeal of 68 professionals, representing various spheres of activity, sent to the Swedish Parliament in 2008.

> *The Armenian Genocide, which also engulfed the Assyrians, Pontic Greeks and other minorities in the Ottoman Empire, began more than nine decades ago in 1915, but this issue gains added urgency the longer that denial of the crime continues. The genocide, or "extermination" as it was labeled by the international media and diplomatic corps, was an established fact for the world community. During the brief postwar period following the defeat of Turkey in 1918 until the rise of the Turkish Nationalist movement led by Mustafa Kemal, the annihilation of the Armenians was discussed openly. Turkish court martial tribunals tried political and military leaders implicated in "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity". Several of the* ***accused*** *were found guilty and were* ***sentenced to death*** *or given prison terms. Postwar Turkey passed through a phase similar to that of Germany after World War II. During these proceedings the truth about* ***the persecution of the minorities*** *in the Ottoman Empire was brought to light with* ***horrifying details.***
>
> *The process did not last long, however. The rise of the Turkish Nationalist movement and rejection of the Sultan's government ultimately led to the disbanding of*

the tribunals and the release of most of the ***accused.*** *Almost all of the remaining Christian population – Armenian, Assyrian and Greek – was then cleansed from their homelands of several millennia.* ***Much of the court data and protocols disappeared,*** *and Turkey entered* ***a period of trying to erase all traces of Armenian existence in Anatolia*** *and the historic Armenian plateau to the east.*

Nine decades later, the once called "forgotten genocide" is no longer forgotten and warrants growing attention among academic and political circles. It is seen as a prototype of mass killing in the twentieth century and can be viewed as one of the most successful campaigns of genocide and ethnic cleansing in all history. ***The victimization of the Armenians extended to the Assyrian, Greek, Yezidi and even Kurdish population,*** *which was subjected to extensive* ***"social engineering" through forced relocation and resettlement.*** *As it happened,* ***the Turkish beneficiaries of an "Armenia without Armenians"*** *and, despite worldwide pledges and promises to punish the perpetrators,* ***escaped any responsibility for the crime.*** *Today, Turkey implements an active campaign of denial. Silence and passivity on the part of the world community, including Sweden, can only aid and abet this campaign. All the arguments relating to the need for further research or lack of consensus among scholars are spurious. The archives of every major country in Europe leave no doubt about the campaign of*

annihilation which occurred under the cover of a world conflict. The denialist arguments are all politically motivated and have nothing to do with the historical record. They are more credible than those of Holocaust deniers such as Robert Faurisson, David Irving , Willis Carto, and Ernst Zundel.

Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term genocide in the 1940s and was the principal author of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, was deeply aware of the Armenian calamity and the failure of the international community to intercede or at least to punish the authors of the genocide. Recent research has demonstrated how deeply he was affected by the absence of effective international machinery to intervene at the times. He was also troubled by the persecution and massacres of the Assyrians in Iraq during the 1930s. What is more, newly conducted research at Uppsala University confirms that the Swedish Foreign Department and Government, through the reports of Ambassador Per Gustaf August Cosswa Anckarsvard's and Military Attache Einar af Wirsen, were well aware of the annihilation that was occurring in the Ottoman Empire.

Today Sweden is internationally regarded as a champion of human rights. It is incumbent on the Swedish authorities to live up to this reputation and to reject any compromise with negationism and denial. The Swedish Government should attempt to assist

Turkey to become a better democracy by facing its history and acknowledging the truth, not by continuing to stagger in the darkness of self-deception and pretense. Today, the data and information about the Genocide of Armenians, Assyrians and Pontic Greeks are so extensive that no serious politician can honestly cite insufficient or inconclusive research as an excuse to avoid recognition. Refusal to recognize established fact based on qualitative and quantitative research may be regarded as being tantamount to denial. The researchers have done their job in establishing the reality of the Armenian Genocide. Now, the turn has come for the political leaders to fulfill their responsibility by recognizing this calamity for what it was.

The signatories of this letter do not consider there is any doubt that the massacres of Christians and other minorities in the Ottoman Empire during World War I constituted genocide. Even though research must and will continue, the existing information is compelling and must be acknowledged as such[154].

This appeal, based on documentary data, is meant to voice the firm belief of the signatories that the recognition of the Armenian Genocide is the most honest, just and indeed the only way to avoid the necessity of finding an excuse for turning a blind eye to what the world community now regards without doubt as an established

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[154] <itwasgenocide.armenica.org>
Retrieved [09.03. 2014, 00:07]

truth. It is also the best way to help Turkey put an end to its decades of self-deception, to evaluate its history as it is and to move more steadily towards democratization. Post-war Turkey witnessed a few attempts at consideration and condemnation of the most dreadful and awesome persecutions carried out by the Ottoman Empire in ways beyond human imagining and even labelled them war crimes. However, the process did not last long. With the Turkish nationalists gaining more power, the courts were closed and many of the convicts were set free, while many of the court protocols and documents reflecting the truth disappeared. But are we aware of the fact that Armenians were not the only nation sacrificed on the altar of Turkey? There were also Assyrians, Greeks, Yezidis and even Kurds. Moreover, the truth is that despite the pledges and promises the international community gave to the people of Armenia, the crime remains unpunished. Today Turkey has launched an even stricter campaign of genocide denial. Silence and passivity will only encourage this campaign of lies. And all the arguments about lack of agreement in academic circles and the need to continue research in order to clarify the issue, are false and simulated. The archives piled up in different European countries are sufficient to prove that what is labelled a consequence of war was, in fact, a campaign of extermination of an entire nation.

The context of the appeal addressed to the Swedish Parliament is of great interest in the sense that almost all the constituents making up the semantic whole of the word genocide *(extermination, crime, ethnic cleansing, cleanse from their homelands of several millennia, victimization, forced relocation and resettlement, campaign of annihilation, mass killing, massacre)* are introduced through different linguistic units. Despite its apparent informative,

documentary nature from the point of view of pragmatics, the passage is not devoid of certain elements typical of public writing, including units with emotive-expressive-evaluative overtones. This is accounted for by the fact that the speech is designed to win over others to the attitude of the Swedish Parliament, to awaken the international community from the deep somnolence of indifference towards human destinies, and to arouse a wish to be just and honest in the approach to the question.

Apart from the aforementioned units which are of exceptional interest as objects of our study and all carry an inherent negative connotational value, the passage as a whole is drenched with negative evaluative overtones both in its verbal, horizontal context and in the denial of the historical and political events condensed between the lines (i.e. the vertical context) ***(accused, guilty, sentenced to death, persecution of the minorities, horrifying details, much of the court data and protocols disappeared, a period of trying to erase all traces of Armenian existence in Anatolia, the victimization of the Armenians extended to Assyrian, Greek, Yezidi and even Kurdish population, "social engineering" through forced relocation and resettlement, the Turkish authorities became the beneficiaries of an "Armenia without Armenians", ... escaped any responsibility for the crime, etc.)***

The use of the word combination "*social engineering*" which also has a terminological value, should be singled out for having no connection with the general context.[155] It creates a kind of

[155] The WTNID English Dictionary interprets the terminological combination ***"social engineering"*** as manipulation of human resources to affect the role and the function human beings have in society, p. 2162.

stylistic contrast with the help of the trope of enantiosemy and acquires an obvious ironic meaning. The role of inverted commas in the realization of this stylistic device of irony should also be noted. The pragmatic goal of the authors' intention is made clear through the combination of all these linguostylistic devices, which are intended to present the true picture of the genocide committed at the very turn of the 20th century and to show the abhorrence of such anti-human acts for the progressive peoples of the world. The supporters of the appeal hold to a firm belief that the Swedish Parliament will find a place among those representatives of progressive nations.

Surely enough, the Swedish Parliament recognized the Armenian Genocide on March 11, 2010, as well as the act of the annihilation of Assyrians and Pontic Greeks, thereby proving the efficiency of this appeal.

The word *calamity (աղետ)* used in this context may be characterized as a lexical unit with an extremely general and non-differentiated meaning. From a study of the wide array of synonyms of *calamity* in dictionaries of English synonyms[156] (• trouble, distress, misfortune, misery, unhappiness, affliction; • referring to an instance of what is calamitous: trouble, misfortune, misery, distress, disaster /implying unforeseen and adverse forces/, catastrophe /with implications of finality/, blow, scourge /implies severe and continued calamity/; curse/spec./, fatality) the following conclusion may be drawn: although any tragedy or evil, including wars, massacres and devastations may be termed a

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[156] *Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms*. Springfield, Mass.: Mirriam-Webster Inc. Publishers, 1984; **Sturges Allen**. *Synonyms and Antonyms*. Maud Publication, 1994.

disaster in the broadest sense,[157] the word *calamity* appears unable to convey the global meaning of the Armenian Genocide in all its manifestations.[158]

Hence, the study of the word ***yeghern (եղեռն)*** in Armenian and the examination of its semantic, stylistic and pragmatic fields of equivalence in English at both language and speech levels reveal that the English equivalent for the Armenian word ***yeghern*** is ***genocide*** – the only unit acknowledged internationally and used within the scope of international law.

The present research allows us to conclude that when uttering the phrase "the Medz Yeghern" in his speech on April 24, beginning from 2009, referring to the horrible events perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire in 1915,[159] the US President Barack Obama is well aware of the equivalence of these units. It would be natural, as well as logical to believe, though, that the US President would be more determined to display his respect towards the principles of international law and apply the term ***genocide*** which is the only established term in the domain.

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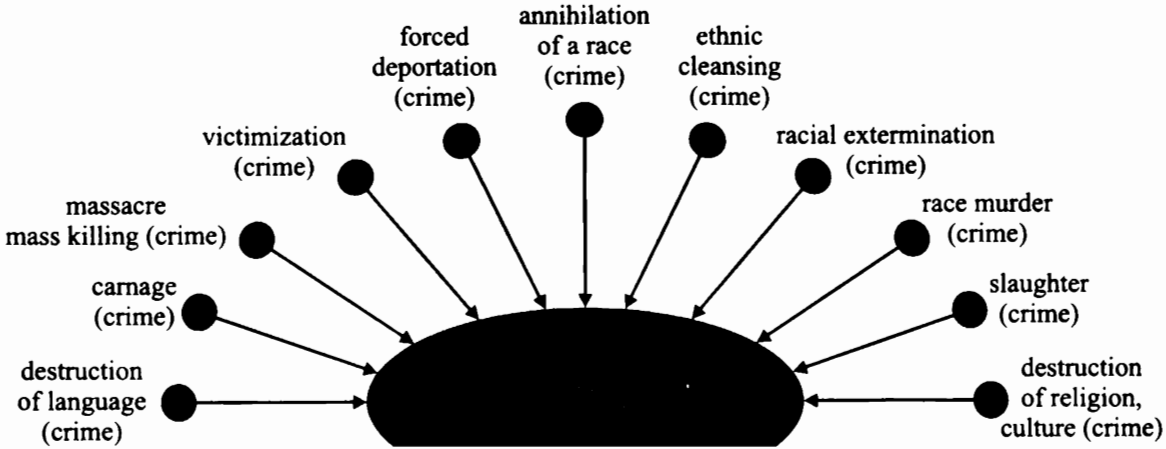
[157] Էդ. Աղայան, *Արդի հայերենի բացատրական բառարան* [*Ardi hayereni batsatrakan bararan*], հ. 1, Եր., Հայաստանի հրատ., 1976.

[158] The results of the research are summed up through the diagram on the next page.

[159] <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/statement-president-barack-bama-armenian-remembrance-day>
Retrieved [09.03. 2014, 00:26]

The Semantic Field of the Word *Genocide*



Afterthought

Challenges that arise in the geopolitical system of the Republic of Armenia at present, require strong and determined resistence and readiness to meet them, for it is only by meeting them that we can ensure the normal life and activity of the country. In recent years, issues of the national agenda and problems of state importance such as the Armenian-Turkish relations, the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide, the resolution of the Karabakh conflict and others require new approaches and new evaluations.

We cannot deny the fact that studies in Armenology today have become a major factor of our public life and national security and are aimed at the making and strengthening of our Republic. But however efficient our country's internal and external policy may be and qualitative changes introduced into our everyday life, we always face the problem of effectively debarring the activities of the propaganda machine driven by the Turkish, Azeri and other forces against our country and our people. This is a problem to be solved by consolidating the national potential in social sciences and Armenology, putting it into effective use in support of national interests, and by improving the methodological, theoretical and practical efficiency of Armenian studies. Such an approach of coordinated efforts and close cross-disciplinary relations may enable to develop a unilateral perspective in the key issues of national and state significance.

Studying the ever expanding field of the denial of the Armenian Genocide we come to the conclusion that through functional, semantic, linguostylistic and linguopragmatic analyses of the means of verbal impact of the anti-Armenian propaganda one can expose strategies and mechanisms of distorting historical facts and interpreting them in a false light, as well as reveal the true tendencies of fakers thereby assisting the extremely important cause of reacting against distortions and falsifications.

Apparently, research and information policy in solving the plethora of problems facing the Republic of Armenia today can hardly be rendered as satisfactory. It may probably be explained by inadequate knowledge of foreign languages, particularly of English, by professionals who pool their scholarly potential in the field of historical science. This fact never conduces to the assessment of the Armenian Genocide, as well as the linguopragmatic impact of the anti-Armenian propaganda discourse and adequate reaction to it. In this respect, the input made by foreign language experts in the linguistic and linguocognitive analyses of anti-Armenian interpretations in English is essential. The linguocognitive examination of various units found in all sorts of publications, disorientating and misleading the reader, of verbal strategic means, distorting and misrepresenting the reality, as well as interpreting the historical and cultural phenomena, will certainly help to assess such publications effectively and will spur the process of retaliating against the anti-Armenian propaganda.

The interpretation and explanation of issues raised in the present linguocognitive study will hopefully attract the attention of professionals and that of the public interested in the matter towards examining the anti-Armenian campaign and propaganda launched in English.

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ԼԵԶՎԱՃԱՆԱՉՈՂԱԿԱՆ ՄԵԿՆԱԿԵՏ

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