

HAYTOUG

THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE ARMENIAN YOUTH FEDERATION WESTERN UNITED STATES
APRIL 2007 - SPECIAL EDITION

breaking
the wall
of denial

Armenian Youth Federation



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ՊԱՅԺԱՐ

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Haytoug would like to thank Zareh for allowing reproduction of his painting in memory of Hrant Dink.

The mouth and bird symbolize freedom of speech. The words of Dink's assassin are on the right in Turkish. They translate to,

"I killed him because he said Turkish blood is bad blood."

For more information on Zareh please visit: www.artistzareh.com

For all Armenian Youth residing in Western America who strive for the national, social and economic liberation of the Armenian people. Haytoug is distributed free of charge within the community. Financial contributions may be made to the address below.

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BREAKING THE WALL OF DENIAL

As a result of increasing and unrelenting activism on the part of Armenians worldwide, governments of the world have taken notice and become far more conscious about the tragic history of the Armenian people. Furthermore, countless Turkish individuals, captivated by the relentlessness of Armenian activism have begun to critically examine their own history. This effect is the result of a multifaceted and organized campaign to end the denial of the Armenian Genocide.

A steadily growing number of intellectuals and activists within Turkey are speaking out about the importance of facing their country's past and recognizing the Genocide committed against the Armenians. In a country built on an extremely nationalistic ideology, where there is no freedom of speech, where minority rights are curtailed and where the founding generation is seen as sacred, speaking out about one of the greatest crimes against humanity can get you ostracized, thrown in jail, or worse.

Prominent examples of ultra-nationalistic and reactionary behavior can be seen in the firebombing of the offices of Ragip Zarakolu, the prosecution and eventual expatriation of Orphan Pamuk and the cold-blooded assassination of Hrant Dink. These violent and tyrannical acts, however, have not stopped the truth from gradually being brought to light.

Seeing the extortive rhetoric from the government of Turkey directed towards the world –such as threats to cut access to military bases or ending

trade relations – revealed as baseless, more and more nations have found the moral courage to reaffirm and condemn the Armenian Genocide.

Still, the views of those progressive minded scholars within Turkey remain an incredible minority within a mélange of nationalist influences that dominate the country. Turks are raised with the understanding that Turkey is surrounded by enemies and that no critical self-examination can exist without insulting Turkishness. We cannot foresee any real progress within Turkey until there is a sincere examination of the means to which the Republic was established; on the ashes of the Armenian population. Further, while the act of recognition is commendable, it is only the first step towards restitution for the crime of Genocide.

Unfortunately, 92 years after the tragedy of the Armenian Genocide, very few survivors remain who are able to hear the words of outspoken Turkish individuals who acknowledge the Genocide and reject its denial. The burden rests with the descendants of the survivors who continue to educate others and refuse to allow the memory of their ancestors to be lost to the annals of time.

For Armenians the responsibility remains to continue the struggle against denial, but also to be ready to reinforce those voices of truth emanating from Turkey. For Turks who genuinely want to see a better future for their nation, the burden for them is to amplify their voice and message in speaking the truth about their nation's Genocidal past.

Ապրիլ 24

Յովհաննէս Թումանեանի «Բարեկենդան» տիպարին պէս, Ապրիլ 24-ը շուտով այս տարի ալ պիտի ժամանէ: Գալիֆորնիոյ Հայ համայնքը անգամ մը եւս իր պատրաստութիւնները կը տեսնէ Ապրիլ 24-ը հանգամանօրէն դիմաւորելու համար:

Այսպիսով, աւանդական կուսակցութիւններն ու զանազան կազմակերպութիւններ ձեռք-ձեռքի իրենց կարելին ի գործ կը դնեն Ապրիլ 24-ի ընդունելութիւնը ո՛չ թէ միայն արժանատի ընելու համար, այլ նաեւ լսելի դարձնելու Ամերիկայի տարածքին: Իրենց կարգին Հայ քաղաքական գործիչներն ալ կ'աշակցին այս գործին, իրենց վարկը հալութեան մօտ բարձր պահելու նպատակով: Անշուշտ այս միջոցին հարկ է յիշել, որ կ'աշխուսեանայ առեւտուրի գործը, օրինակ՝ եռագոյնը, Ապրիլ 24-ի ամենամախրընտրուած գոյները, աւելի կը վաճառուի քան շաքարախտի ճարը, որովհետեւ շրջանիս մէջ աւելի Mercedes եւ BMW-ներ կան քան շաքարախտէ տարապող մարդիկ: Իսկ վաճառքի երկրորդ ամենէն փնտռուածը՝ հագուստեղէնն է, վերջապէս այս բոլոր ձեռնարկներուն քալարշաւներուն եւ բողոքներուն շատ հաւանական երեւոյթ է կին կամ ամուսին ճարելը: Այս խառնիճաղանճ ամբողջէն կարծես նոր հալութիւն մը կը ժայթքի մէջտեղ բերելով նոր դէմքերով եւ նոր մտայնութեան տէր անձեր: Այս «Ապրիլ 24»ի հայերուն համար Ապրիլ 24 դիմաւորելը մահ ու կենաց խնդիր է, որովհետեւ իրենք այս մէկը կը համարեն որպէս հայկականութեան ամենաբարձր յատկանիշ: Բայց այս մարդիկը ուղղակի «անձնագոհ» մարդիկ են: Անոնք դիմաւորութեան առթիւ բողոքի ժամանակ, Յիսուսը կը քարոզեն, կամ քանի մը ղուրուշ դիզելու համար՝ անոնք սիկարի եւ օղիի երեկոներ կը կազմակերպեն եւ կամ ալ կը բաւարարուին իրենց ինքնաշարժերը զարդարած՝ փողոցները չափշփելով:

Միշտ է, որ գաղութիս «Ես Հայ եմ» ըսողները այդ օր կրնան քով-քովի գալ, սակայն Ապրիլ 24-ի հարցը, ցեղասպանութեան ճանաչման հարցը միայն չէ՛: Ան, ժողովուրդի մը պահանջատիրութեան րանվիրայ է: Հայ ժողովուրդը, թէեւ անգիտակցաբար, համախմբուելով անգամ մը եւս կը յիշեցնէ ժողովուրդիս

թէ մենք մեր իրաւունքին տէրն ենք: Թէ ներկայ Հայաստանը, որը միայն 10% -է Սերի դաշնագրով մեզի շնորհուած հողերուն, Հայ ժողովուրդին պահանջատիրութիւնը չի գոհացներ: Ներկայ Հայաստանը անկախ էփ բայց ո՛չ ազատ, անկաշկանդուած է, որովհետեւ ինքնաբաւ չէ: Ան պէտք ունի իր Սերի սահմաններուն, ո՛ր եմ Նախիջեւանը, Ջաւախքը, Արցախն ու Արեւմտեան Հայաստանը: Ամէն անգամ որ բռնկեցուինք, ձեռք ձեռքի տանք եւ պալքարինք ա՛յս նպատակով մեր մեռելներուն հոգիները՝ Տէր Զօրէն, կարինէն թէ Սասնա լեռներէն, իրենց մէջ նիւթական վեճ գնահատական զգացում պիտի ներշնչեն, որովհետեւ պիտի նային այս սերունդին եւ պիտի տեսնեն թէ մենք դե՛ռ պահանջատէր ենք եւ կը պահանջենք մեր մարդկային իրաւունքը: Այլ խօսքով՝ մենք կարչած ենք այն խեղանքներուն, որուն համար իրենք զոհուեցան: Այս է սոյն պատճառը որ Ապրիլ 24-ը սոսկ «Ապրիլ 24»ի քալարշաւ չէ, միօրեայ բողոքի օր չէ, Ապրիլ ամսուան տեղի ունեցող միջեկեղեցական արարողութիւններ եւ միջմիութեանական ձեռնակներ չեն, այլ՝ ապրում է, կեանքի դրոյթ է եւ ներշնչում, անցեալը կենդանի պահելու ապրելակերպ, աւանդը փոխանցելու միջոց, մինչեւ որ արդարութիւնը գտնէ իր ճշմարիտ ուղին. եւ այս կարելի չէ իրականացնել օրուան մը մէջ այլ հարկ է զայն վերածել ոգեղէն տեսլականի՝ հասնելու համար նիւթականին:

Օ՛հ, Հայ երիտասարդ ի սփիւռս աշխարհի եւ հայրենիքի, պապերուդ սուրբ աւանդը ըրած որպէս ոգեղէն ներշնչում՝ եղիր պահանջատիրութեան սերմնացանը եւ անվհատ ցանէ իրաւունքի եւ պահնջքի սերմեր խոպան հոգիներու մէջ, մատուաշ եւ անգիտակից մտքերու մէջ, ցանէ՛ ամենուրեք եւ օր մը, պիտի գայ այն Գարունը՝ երբ նշենիները պիտի ծաղկին հայոց աշխարհի մէջ, դաշտերը կրկին ծլարձակեն, ճուղը ձագ հանէ, արագիլը իր բոյնը նորոգէ, իրիկնամուտի կոշնակը հայ գիւղացին եկեղեցի կանչէ... եւ հայը՝ ալ չ'երգէ «Գարուն ա ձիւն ա առել»:

Յովիկ Գանտիլեան

CRYPTO ARMENIANS

SILENT SURVIVORS OF GENOCIDE

Today, many Diasporan-Armenians travel to Turkey and visit the historic cities of western Armenia with the hopes of seeing the ruins of cities and monuments as well as gaining a better understanding of their ethnic roots. Along with the photographs of churches, and fortresses, many people return with the experience of being approached by individuals who initially identify themselves as Muslim Turks but later quietly reveal their identities as ethnic Armenians, often with secret Christian names. While these stories seem like isolated incidents of a handful of ethnic Armenians in the faraway regions of Turkey, the reality today is that the number of ethnic Armenians in Turkey is far greater than most people, and governments, realize.

Ethnic Armenians in Turkey are divided into three general categories ranging from Armenians who publicly acknowledge their identity to those who deliberately hide their family origins. The first category of Armenians are those who publicly identify themselves as Armenian and maintain contacts with the community in Istanbul. There are approximately ten thousand “official” Armenians living in the eastern provinces of Turkey. Similar to other Christian minorities, reports indicate that they are often subjected to harassment and threats of physical harm due to their religious beliefs and ethnic origins. Compared to other categories, it is easier to monitor the status and population of this group of “official” Armenians.

The second category are the “Islamized” Armenians consisting mostly of Pontian and Hamshen-ian people who converted to Sunni, Islam in the 17th and 18th centuries. While the Pontian and Hamshen communities are fairly large and themselves diverse, there are vast discrepancies in the exact number of people within these communities that have Armenian origins. Many estimate that there are tens of thousands to over a million Pontian and

Hamshen Armenians in Turkey. The growing research on these communities suggests that they have strong ties to Armenian culture and language. For example, the Hamshen Turkish dialect borrows many words from Armenian such as *khaghog* (grapes), *khentzor* (apple) and *hatz* (bread); there are also reports that some Hamshen families have incorporated into their Hamshen culture the religious feasts of *Vartevan* and *Verapokhoun*. In recent years, the Hamshen communities have begun to identify themselves as a distinct cultural group within Turkey.

The third category of people with Armenian origins are the “Crypto-Armenians” who converted to Islam under the threat of physical extermination during the massacres prior to and during the Armenian Genocide. These crypto-Armenians are often considered the children and grandchildren of Armenian orphans that were taken in by Kurdish and Turkish families during the Armenian Genocide. According to documents found in the United States archives, in 1921, there were over 95,000 Armenian orphans living throughout the cities of Anatolia. Today, these Armenians live throughout the cities and villages of central and western Turkey, in historic western Armenia, but hide their ethnic identities among the local Kurdish and Turkish population. It is difficult to assess the number of “crypto-Armenians” due to their unrecognizable ethnic transformation that is outwardly Turkish or Kurdish and inwardly Armenian. The most conservative estimate of the number of “crypto-Armenians” begins at thirty to forty thousand and the more liberal estimates reach several hundred thousand.

The crypto-Armenians are the most noteworthy group because they have changed their religion and ethnicity publicly but remain Armenian Christians internally amongst their families. Within their homes it is possible to find a lost religious heirloom from their Armenian Christian heritage as well as practices of Armenian customs. Similarly, they have maintained

some knowledge of the Armenian language, including, in some cases, their local village dialect of Armenian (*par-par*). In the 1990's, during Kenan Evren's military rule, there are many reports that the Turkish army attacked and devastated 729 Kurdish and Christian villages; while the ethnic origin of the Christian villages is unspecified, it is likely that this number includes "crypto-Armenian" communities.

The enduring existence of crypto-Armenians is further strengthened by public discussions taking place in the field of literature. In recent years, a number of Turkish authors have published memoirs portraying their family histories that include Armenian relatives. While these books do not address the truth of the Armenian Genocide, they do point towards the existence and survival of crypto-Armenians both in the villages of Anatolia as well as in the urban centers of Istanbul and Ankara. In several interviews, the late Hrant Dink, editor of the *Agos* newspaper, often remarked that he often received requests from people seeking to find their Armenian roots and their family histories. This growing discovery of Armenian roots in the urban centers and the continued expressions of identity in the Anatolian countryside undeniably point toward the existence of a large and underground Armenian population in Turkey.

This existence and growing information about the crypto-Armenian population means that the remnants of the Armenian Genocide are more than ancient Armenian churches, monuments, and lost cities – the historic lands of western Armenia include a vast Armenian population that continues to survive. Within their hidden knowledge of family histories, local village dialects and customs lies the indigenous culture of western Armenia. This population struggles to maintain and conceal their national roots; however,

their existence is continuously at risk of further assimilation and absorption into Turkish society.

The growing right wing extremism and the simultaneous erosion of secularism in the modern Turkish Republic create risks for the entire Armenian population in Turkey. The murder of Hrant Dink in the streets of Istanbul, the harassment of Christians and the continued expression of anti-Armenian sentiments in Anatolia signal that the Turkish society is intolerant and threatening towards religious and ethnic minorities. During a recent memorial service for Hrant Dink in Istanbul, gun shots were fired near the courtyard church, perhaps as a warning to all Armenians. Today, particularly after the murder of Hrant Dink, Armenians that live in the most progressive cities of Turkey live with a silent fear.

With these factors in mind, the Diaspora must recognize that its efforts for recognition of the Armenian Genocide are also a campaign to establish basic civil and human rights for the Armenian population in Turkey, including the crypto-Armenians. By demanding recognition and justice from the Turkish government, the Armenian Genocide issue serves as a catalyst to free the Armenians throughout Turkey from fear of retaliation for

expressing their ethnic identity. The only way to end ethnic and religious intolerance is for the government of Turkey, as well as the overall Turkish society, to come to terms with its history and recognize that a large segment of its population are the children of Genocide survivors.

By calling for Genocide recognition, the Diaspora sends a strong message to all Armenians throughout Turkey, that while they struggle to maintain their identities, we will continue to advocate on their behalf.

ARF "Shant" Student Association,
<http://www.ARFShant.org>

"THE DIASPORA MUST RECOGNIZE THAT ITS EFFORTS FOR RECOGNITION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE ARE ALSO A CAMPAIGN TO ESTABLISH BASIC CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THE ARMENIAN POPULATION IN TURKEY"



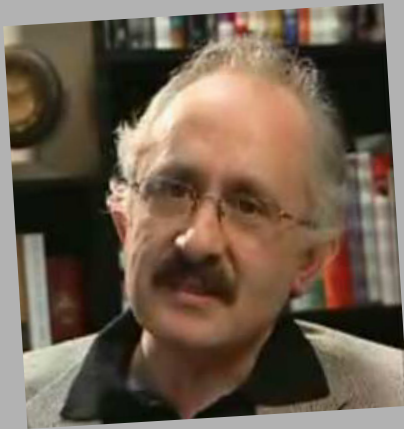
ORHAN PAMUK

Orhan Pamuk is the best-known novelist in Turkey. His book entitled *Snow* was on the New York Times' 2004 best-seller list and he recently received the 2006 Nobel Prize in Literature. Yet, in 2005, he faced up to three years in prison for violating Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code, a retroactive charge given the law went into effect four months after the comments he was tried for were made.

During an interview on February 6, 2005 with the Swiss newspaper *Tages Anzeiger*, he stated that "30,000 Kurds and 1,000,000 Armenians were killed in these lands and nobody but me dares to talk about it, and the nationalists hate me for that." However, this was not Pamuk's first time speaking out on Turkish policy. Throughout the mid '90's, he took a critical stand for human rights and freedom of thought in Turkey. Because of his radical thinking, his books have been burned at demonstrations, his photos shredded at rallies and he has received numerous death threats.

When Pamuk was charged it sent shockwaves throughout the world and his case was viewed as a test of Turkey's eligibility to join the European Union. Charges against him were finally dropped, on January 22, 2006; after the Justice Ministry decided against issuing approval for the trial to proceed.

QUOTE: "We are all responsible for his death, but above all those who still defend Article 301 and insist it should stay are guilty - those who launched a campaign against Hrant Dink as an enemy of the Turks and marked him out as a target."



TANER AKÇAM

Taner Akcam has had a history of activism long before becoming the first Turkish scholars to use the words "Armenian Genocide" in his works. Throughout the mid-seventies, he was a leading member of the militant group, *Dev Yol*, a faction of The Turkish People's Liberation Party-Front. During his time with *Dev Yol*, he was arrested for writing an article on the Kurdish situation and was sentenced to ten years in prison, but was released a year later.

With his main scholarly interest being violence and torture in Turkey, Akcam gravitated towards the matter of the Armenian Genocide. He noted that the political amnesia and "the destruction of documents is an important part of [Turkey's] culture." Another important step Akcam has taken in his research with the Armenian Genocide is his belief in the need to step away from the victim mentality and begin analyzing the genocide from the perpetrator's mindset in order to fully understand how genocide develops to prevent it in future instances.

For analysis of Akcam's newest work, see the "Book Review" section of this issue.

QUOTE: "An official recognition of the Armenian genocide must take place in Turkey. The Armenian diaspora seeks a clear recognition of this historical injustice, which present-day Turkish pro-democracy advocates must support."

TIMELINE OF JUSTICE AND RECOGNITION

APRIL 24, 1965: DEMONSTRATIONS IN YEREVAN

On the fiftieth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, up to a million people spontaneously take to the streets of Yerevan demanding official recognition of the Genocide on the part of Soviet authorities. Protestors chant 'Our Lands! Our Lands!' and 'Justice! Justice!' in what becomes the first major mass expression of dissent in the Soviet Union. To stem the tide of discontent, officials in Moscow agree to allow the construction of the Tsitsernakapert memorial dedicated to the victims of the Armenian Genocide.

1960S: THE MOVEMENT FOR GENOCIDE RECOGNITION

From the Middle East, to Europe, to the Americas, Armenian communities throughout the diaspora begin to move from simply mourning the victims of 1915 to calling on the world to recognize the Genocide and demanding retribution from Turkey.

JANUARY 27, 1973: DIPLOMATS SLAIN IN SANTA BARBARA

Georgen Yanikian, a 77-year old writer and Genocide survivor, shoots and kills the Turkish consul general to Los Angeles and his assistant in a Santa Barbara hotel. This individual act marks a turning point in the Armenian community and symbolizes the confined anger felt by many over the denial of justice to the Armenian people.

MARCH 6, 1974: UNITED NATIONS REMOVES ARMENIAN GENOCIDE LANGUAGE

The UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of National Minorities removes reference to the Armenian Genocide in its report, following heavy pressure from the Turkish government.

1975-1985: ZINYAL BAYKAR

Armenian resistance groups carry out a prolonged series of attacks on Turkish officials and diplomatic missions throughout the world. Their aim is to call international attention to the crimes committed by the Turkish government against Armenians and to attain reparations and restoration of Armenian lands.

APRIL 29, 1982: CYPRIOT HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES RESOLUTION

House of Representatives unanimously adopts resolution condemning the deportation and annihilation of the Armenian people.

JUNE 1982: FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE SHOAH AND GENOCIDE, TEL AVIV

A major conference on genocide studies was to take place in Jerusalem in which six of the 150 lectures were to be on the Armenian Genocide. After intense pressure by the Turkish government, the Israeli Foreign Ministry urged various institutions and individuals involved in the conference to withdraw their support. As a result, Elie Wiesel, the keynote speaker, and numerous others refused to attend the conference and it was eventually moved to Tel Aviv with only half of the expected number of participants.

AUGUST 10, 1983: WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES RECOGNIZES ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The World Council of Churches calls for the public recognition of what took place during the Armenian Genocide “in order that they do not continue to engender violent acts of retribution, and that through remembering the history of the Armenian people other peoples might be spared a similar fate.”

APRIL 13-16, 1984: PERMANENT PEOPLES’ TRIBUNAL VERDICT

The Permanent Peoples’ Tribunal convenes in Paris to examine the case of the Armenian Genocide. The Tribunal’s panel of experts finds Turkey guilty of committing the crime of genocide against the Armenians and calls upon “the Turkish state to assume responsibility, without using the pretext of any discontinuity in the existence of the state to elude that responsibility.”

JUNE 19, 1985: ARGENTINE SENATE DECLARATION

The National Senate calls on United Nation to back request to include the murders of 1915 in the prescriptions of the Convention of 1948 condemning genocide. In a vote of 14 to 1, the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopts a report referring to the extermination of Armenians in 1915 as an example of genocide. It becomes the first time that a UN document officially recognizing the Armenian Genocide becomes adopted.

AUGUST 29, 1985: UN SUB-COMMISSION RECOGNIZES ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

In a vote of 14 to 1, the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopts a report referring to the extermination of Armenians in 1915 as an example of genocide. It becomes the first time that a UN document officially recognizing the Armenian Genocide becomes adopted.

JUNE 18, 1987: EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION

The European Parliament adopts a resolution on “a political solution to the Armenian question.” It recognizes the events of 1915 as genocide and calls on Turkey to do the same.

SPRING 1995: ACADEMIC’S SERVICE TO TURKISH GOVERNMENT EXPOSED

In their article entitled “Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide,” published in the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, authors Roger W. Smith, Eric Markusen and Robert Jay Lifton examine the extent of Turkey’s campaign of denial. In particular, they expose a memorandum by Dr. Heath W. Lowry addressed to the Turkish ambassador in Washington, D.C., in which Lowry offers advice on how to best go about denying the Armenian Genocide. Their expose sheds light on the propaganda services provided by a handful of academics to the Turkish state.

APRIL 14, 1995: RUSSIA RECOGNIZES THE GENOCIDE

The State Duma of the Russian Federation condemns the perpetrators of the 1915-1922 Armenian Genocide.

APRIL 20, 1995: BULGARIAN PARLIAMENT PROCLAMATION

Parliament commemorates the “80th anniversary of the Genocide of the Armenians”

JUNE 21, 1995: BERNARD LEWIS CONVICTED IN PARIS FOR DENYING THE GENOCIDE

The well-known Orientalist and Professor Emeritus at Princeton, Bernard Lewis, is condemned by a French court for statements he made during a 1993 interview with the newspaper *Le Monde*, denying the facts of the Armenian Genocide. The court found that “his remarks, which could unfairly revive the pain of the Armenian community, are tortuous and justify compensation.” Lewis was symbolically fined one franc and *Le Monde* was ordered to reprint portions of the French court judgment, which appeared two days later.

APRIL 25, 1996: HELLENIC PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION

The Greek Parliament establishes April 24 as the day of commemoration of the genocide of Armenians by Turkey.

JUNE 13, 1997: ASSOCIATION OF GENOCIDE SCHOLARS PASSES RESOLUTION

The International Association of Genocide Scholars, the world's leading organization of experts on genocide, unanimously passes a resolution affirming the historical facts of the Armenian Genocide and condemning its denial "by the Turkish Government and its official and unofficial agents and supporters."

MARCH 26, 1998: BELGIUM SENATE RESOLUTION

The Belgium Senate calls on "the Turkish government to recognize the historic reality of the genocide committed in 1915 by the last government of the Ottoman Empire."

APRIL 24, 1998: STATEMENT OF SCHOLARS ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

150 prominent scholars and writers, including such names as Harold Pinter, Howard Zinn, and Susan Sontag, sign a statement affirming the historical facts of the Armenian Genocide and denounce the Turkish government's denial as "morally and intellectually corrupt."

MARCH 29, 2000: SWEDEN RECOGNIZES THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The Swedish Parliament passes a resolution stating that, "An official statement and recognition of the Genocide of the Armenians is important and necessary." It goes on to characterize recognition of the Genocide as an important step for the stability and development in the Caucasus.

NOVEMBER 16, 2000: ITALIAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION

Italy's Chamber of Deputies passes a resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide and urges Turkey to do the same in order to ease tensions between peoples and minorities in the Caucasus.

JANUARY 29, 2001: FRANCE RECOGNIZES THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

French President, Jacques Chirac, and French Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, sign a resolution passed by the parliament publicly recognizing the Armenian Genocide of 1915.

APRIL 24, 2001: COUNCIL OF EUROPE RECOGNIZES THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The Council of Europe adopts a declaration calling on all members to properly recognize the genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians. It hopes international recognition will lead the way for a similar admission on the part of Turkish authorities and, thus, lay the groundwork for regional peace, security and stability.

SEPTEMBER 27, 2001: VATICAN DECLARATION

Joint declaration from Pope John Paul II and Catholicos Karekin II, remembering the 1.5 million victims of the first genocide of the 20th Century.

DECEMBER 16, 2003: SWITZERLAND RECOGNIZES THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Switzerland's National Council "recognizes the genocide of the Armenians in 1915" in the name of justice for its victims and preventing other crimes against humanity.

JANUARY 28, 2004: NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE SETTLEMENT

NY Life resolves more than 2,000 insurance policies issued to Armenians in the Ottoman Empire prior to 1915. New York Life pays all valid claims relating to these policies and also contributed at least \$3 million to Armenian civic organizations. The total value of the settlement is \$20 million.

MARCH 26, 2004: URUGUAY COMMEMORATES APRIL 24

The Senate and House of Uruguay's Parliament adopts a bill marking April 24 the "Day of Remembrance for the Armenian Martyrs" slain in 1915.

APRIL 21, 2004: CANADA RECOGNIZES THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The Canadian House of Commons officially acknowledges the Armenian Genocide of 1915 and condemns it as a crime against humanity.

NOVEMBER 30, 2004: SLOVAKIAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION

Parliament recognizes the Armenian Genocide and calls it a crime against humanity.

DECEMBER 21, 2004: HOLLAND CALLS FOR RECOGNITION

Holland's House of Representatives passes a resolution calling on the government to "continuously and expressly raise the recognition of the Armenian genocide within the framework of its dialogue with Turkey."

FEBRUARY 6, 2005: ORHAN PAMUK REFERS TO THE KILLING OF A MILLION ARMENIANS

In an interview with the Swiss newspaper *Das Magazin*, bestselling Turkish novelists Orhan Pamuk, is quoted as saying, "thirty thousand Kurds and a million Armenians were killed in these lands and nobody but me dares to talk about it." The Nobel Prize-winning author would later be tried under Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code for making these remarks. Although charges against him are ultimately dropped, Pamuk's prosecution attracts international attention.

FEBRUARY 2005: US AMBASSADOR REFERS TO THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

In several public gatherings within Armenian-American communities throughout the United States, U.S. Ambassador to Armenia, John M. Evans, speaks candidly about the events of 1915 and refers to them forthrightly as genocide. As a result, President George W. Bush summarily removes Evans from his position as ambassador to Armenia on May 24, 2006.

OCTOBER 12, 2006: FRANCE PASSES LAW CRIMINALIZING GENOCIDE DENIAL

National Assembly adopts a law penalizing denial of the Armenian Genocide.

JANUARY 19, 2007: HRANT DINK MURDERED IN ISTANBUL

The well-known editor of the Turkish-Armenian newspaper *Agos*, Hrant Dink, is assassinated in front of his newspaper office in Istanbul. Dink was most well known for speaking openly about the Armenian Genocide in Turkey and being prosecuted on three separate occasions under Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code for "denigrating Turkishness."

MARCH 9, 2007: TURKISH POLITICIAN CONVICTED FOR DENIAL IN SWITZERLAND

A Turkish nationalist politician, Dogu Perincek, is found guilty by a Swiss court for denying the Armenian Genocide in a 2005 speech. He is given a 90-day suspended sentence and fined \$2,460 under a 2003 Swiss law criminalizing the denial of genocide.



FATMA GOCEK

Fatma Muge Gocek is an Associate Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies at the University of Michigan. After

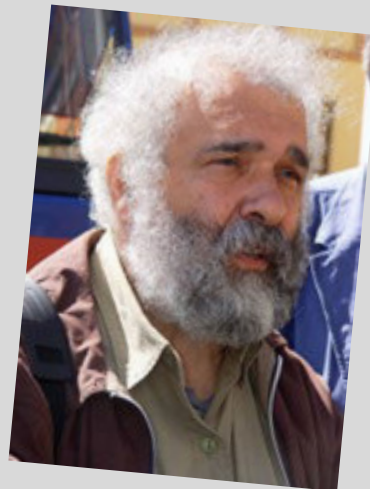
moving to the United States to further her studies she realized that she was no longer subject to the same historical denial that her fellow people were subjected to in Turkey.

Because of her interest in the decline of the Ottoman Empire, she recognized the high occurrence of voiceless minorities in Turkey. Through this recognition, she eventually came across the situation of the Armenians.

She began organizing conferences with Armenian and Turkish scholars who were willing to confront history objectively. Her motivation to commence with these conferences arose from her interactions with Armenians and Turks alike. Whenever she met an Armenian, she always found herself trying to persuade them that she is not responsible for what happened in 1915, and when she did finally convince them that she wants to understand their situation she then had to convince them that she was not of Armenian descent. Conversely, when she met a Turk and told them of her sympathetic leanings to the Armenian Genocide she again had to convince them that she was not Armenian because it was not logical to them that a Turk would believe in such "counter-Turkish" ideologies.

It is her view that Armenians cannot fully cope with history until there is an end to Turkish denial and that both sides must confront reality in order for there to be progress between the two people.

QUOTE: "I want you to know that as an ethnic Turk I am not guilty, but I am responsible for the wounds that have been inflicted upon you, Armenians, for the last century and a half. I am responsible for the wounds that were first delivered upon you through an unjust deportation from your ancestral lands and through massacres in the hands of a government that should have been there to protect you. I am also responsible for the wounds caused by the Turkish state's denial to this day of what happened to you back then. I am responsible because all of this occurred and still occurs in the country of which I am a citizen."



RAGIP ZARAKOLU

As the director and owner of Belge Publishing House, Ragip Zarakolu has earned the title of "the most persecuted publisher in Turkey."

His controversial articles in socially conscious papers such as *Ant* and *Yeni Ufuklar* got him a three-year prison sentence. However, neither prison nor having his office firebombed by an extremist group in 1995 made him waver in his strong desire to create a Turkey more tolerant of diverse thought.

It was as a member of the Turkish Human rights Association at the Auschwitz Conference on the Armenian, Jewish and Tutsi Genocides where Zarakolu made his opinion of the situation clear. He expressed his desire to show his people the fields and rivers that still scream from the atrocities committed there because "we have to learn from history and avoid denying the past tragedies, which should cause shame in us. Otherwise, history is bound to repeat itself."

QUOTE: "The Armenian genocide was a crime against humanity by the Ottoman Turkish state against part of their own citizens. To deny it, is an insult to the memory of those who died and to those who survived. To deny it poisons each generation, not just the Armenians, but also the Turks who take part in denial."

The biographies on this page and others throughout this issue are written by Nora Injeyan.

HRANT DINK: MORTAL

Although the publication in which this article is printed will surface nearly four months after the assassination of Armenian journalist, Hrant Dink, I hope that it will propel more than emotions, and equally, I hope that those emotions are not ones of anger, loss, or worst of all confusion and despair; I am hoping that this piece will be read as a reminder for how the deliberation and action we are hopefully consumed with at the present moment was thus strengthened and fortified.

I received news of Hrant Dink's death through an e-mail entitled "sad day." And the event, as it should have, espoused immediate worldwide grief and anguish. The pain felt by those

closest to him is thus unimaginable and no banal phrases of supposed understanding of that grief will be strewn by this author as no words of solace can possibly placate that pain. Yet, what the all too-impressionable youngster, Ogun Samast, (who I think was robbed of whatever adolescence he could have had when he acquiesced to conspire and carry out the intentions of the misinformed and hate-driven individuals who probably feared the legal consequences had they committed the crime themselves) had not yet learned upon firing his gun, is that bullets may penetrate, harm and permanently injure bodies, but they are incapable of silencing ideas. Hrant Dink was an embodiment of ideas, and thus remains impenetrable. Let us then not fixate our gaze upon the photos of his now still body, but let us stare at and devour with our eyes his words, thus keeping them in perpetual motion and allowing them to take flight with and through our actions.

Hrant's words were penned daily, for he was the founder and editor of "Agos" the only bilingual Armenian and Turkish weekly newspaper, which served as a forum for critical and substantive reporting and journalism regarding the nature of what Armenian genocide recognition meant not only for Armenians, but the political imperatives it represents for the Turkish psyche—for Turkey's own conciliation with its past

on its present trek towards democratization and an open-society that segments of its population desperately seek in their near future. Turkish journalist and human rights activist Murat Celikkan was quoted in an article written by Yigal Schleifer (posted by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency on Jan 25 2007) to have said the following about Hrant Dink, "I don't know anyone else like him who raised his voice for minorities and democracy in Turkey... Intellectually he was a very important figure for Turkey. We don't have anyone else like him." Him—Hrant, in his death, attracted what was reported in the western media as an unprecedented Turkish response of remorse, culminating in the chanting of "We are all Hrant Dinks" by Armenians and non-Armenians alike.

This act warrants some reflection for several reasons. First, that sort of claim would only be appropriate whilst *acting* as Hrant Dink. Invoking his figure amidst the dizzying confusion and sadness which blanketed Turkey seems understandable, but now, post-ceremonial remembrances and gatherings are we, each one of us, living up to the legacy of Hrant Dink? The Hrant who was dedicated to the tireless pursuit of a truth despite his absurd sentencing under Turkish penal code 301, the Hrant who tried to convey truths about Turks to Armenians and Armenians to Turks so as to broaden the



MAN, IMMORTAL IDEA

discourse of both peoples in what has been and will continue to be an emotionally daunting road towards Recognition and Reconciliation was thus invoked by the masses when they uttered “We are all Hrant Dinks” amidst their sobs and wails.

Frankly, I do not know how many Hrant Dinks are in my purview, although I remain convinced that through our actual reading and understanding of his texts and articles, and through our embodiment of the messages he disseminated, for instance his interpretation of how he saw the debates regarding his trial (the charges of which were eventually suspended) as positive advancements for Turkey in that they indicated political dissent, and through that, the opportunity for true change, growth, and progress, that we may in our own way keep Hrant Dink alive as an inspiration for our own political commitments. Whether that means continually pushing for answers about the firing of former U.S. Ambassador Evans for his embodiment of *acting* like Hrant Dink when he spoke the truth and termed the events of 1915 as genocide, or equally working towards opposing the (re)nomination of Richard Hoagland for Evans’ post, given the former’s denialist stance about the Armenian genocide, we can all work towards acting in Dink’s manner. The opportunities for us to live up to and, why not, to surpass Dink’s legacy are

within our immediate grasp, in fact they are waiting to be seized and triumphed, yet it is up to all those who easily chanted the phrase, and even those who did not, to live up to the difficulty of enacting Hrant Dink. But again, one cannot enact a personality about whom she remains ignorant. It was thus with great enthusiasm that I read about the



Hrant Dink archive that is to be compiled and housed at the Library of Congress wherein a hard copy of materials will be available for referencing and re-referencing to satiate the appetites of activists who seek inspiration from the Idea that could not be laid to rest.

January 19, 2007, was, as the subject of my e-mail described it, a sad day. But the saddest scenario would be if we equated sadness with the memory

of Hrant Dink. The funeral oration practice of the ancient Athenians, known as an *epitaphios*, was skillfully utilized by orators in rallying citizens upon the loss of a beloved and famed leader. It was most useful when what had been internalized as a tragedy by the people was actually reconstructed as their most opportune moment to reflect, unite, engage in dialogue and assess where they were and where they were headed. As this article will be printed as part of a commemorative April 24th issue, it is this author’s hope that not only the Armenian community, but all those who deem deliberation as imperative within the political realm, will be commemorating the passing of H. Res 106, realizing that it is not a victory in and of itself, but that it is only the first of many arduous battles to, as the Armenian National Committee of America proclaims one of its campaigns to be to “end the cycle of genocide.” If that has happened, then, truly, we as the inheritors of Dink’s legacy will have reconstructed the tragedy of his death as a moral victory not only for Armenians, but for Turks alike in what would be the first step towards their journey of an open, progressive and democratic society.

Article was written by Noushig Karpanian. Noushig is a second year graduate student in the Politics Department at the University of California, Santa Cruz



HrantDink funeral in Istanbul

Ախթամար

Վանայ լիճի մէջ փոքր կղզի մը հպարտօրէն կը կանգնի: Անոնք որոնք բախտաւոր եղած են այս կղզին տեսնելու կը պատմեն իր հրապուրիչ գեղեցկութեան, խորհրդաւոր միջավայրին եւ իրենց զգացած աննկարագրելի հոգեկան ապրումներուն մասին: Այցելողները կը պատմեն թէ՛ որքան ներշնչուած են երբ Սուրբ Խաչ եկեղեցւոյ մէջ Աստուծոյ աղօթք կ'ուղղէին: Կը պատմեն թէ՛ խունկի կախարդական բոյրը կը լեցնէ իրենց թոքերը, եւ յանկարծ՝ հոգեւոր ապրումներով կը փոխադրուին անցեալին՝ հազար տարիներ առաջ տեղի ունեցած Ս. Պատարագի արարողութեան մը:

Այս կղզին կը կոչուի Ախթամար՝ եւ մինչեւ այսօր կը մնայ Հայոց մշակոյթի հոգեւոր գանձերէն մէկը: Ախթամարը Վան-Վասպուրական շրջանին մաս կը կազմէ եւ հիացմունք կ'ազդէ բոլոր իր այցելողներուն: Այսօր, Ախթամարը Արեւմտեան Հայաստանի հողերուն մաս կազմելով, գրաւուած է Թուրքիոյ կողմէ:

Կը պատմուի թէ՛ ժամանակին, կղզիին վրայ կ'ապրէր Թամար Իշխանուհին, որ քաղքենի տղու մը հետ սիրահարուած էր: Այդ տղան ամէն գիշեր լողալով Վանայ լիճը կ'անցնէր ու կ'ուղղուէր դէպի իր սիրահարը, իսկ Թամարը՝ բերդի մը մէջ ճրագ վառելով տղուն կ'առաջնորդէր դէպի կղզին եւ իր սիրտը: Սակայն, երբ Թամարին հայրը կ'իմանայ այս հանդիպումներուն մասին, կ'արգիլէ որ Թամարը իր սիրահարին հանդիպի ու գաղտնօրէն գիշերուան ճրագը կը մարէ: Տղան այդ գիշեր պեկոծուած ծովու ալիքներուն մէջ իր ճանապարհը կը կորսնցնէ եւ «Ա՛խ Թամար» կանչելով կը մահանայ: Այս ձեւով, կղզին կը ստանայ իր անունը:

Ախթամար կղզիին վրայ կառուցուած էին բազմաթիւ ճարտարապետական կոթողներ, օրինակի պալատներ, ամրոցներ, բերդեր, նաւահանգիստ մը եւ սքանչելի պարտէզներ: Այժմ՝ կղզիին վրայ մնացած կառուցները միայն նշույլ մըն



են անցեալի ճարտարապետական կոթողներէն, որոնք ճանչցուած էին աշխարհի չորս կողմերը:

Պատմութեան ընթացքին, Ախթամարի բնական գեղեցկութեան շնորհիւ, զանազան թագաւորներ իրենց ամրոցները կառուցած են Վանայ լիճի ափերուն վրայ:

Գագիկ Ա. Թագաւորը, (908-943) բնական է Ախթամար կղզիին վրայ, Վանի հետ միասին՝ զայն մայրաքաղաք կոչելով արուեստի, առեւտրի ու հոգեւոր մշակոյթի կեդրոնի վերածած է: Այսօր, այդ կերտած շէնքերէն մնացած է միայն Սուրբ Խաչ եկեղեցին:

Սուրբ Խաչ եկեղեցին, որը նաեւ վանք էր, կառուցուած է 915 - 921 թուերու միջեւ, Արծրունեաց Գագիկ թագաւորի հովանաւորութեամբ եւ Մանուէլ հանճարեղ ճարտարապետին շնորհիւ: Վանքը ճանչցուած էր մանաւանդ իր ալիքներուն մէջ գտնուող քարէ քանդակուած արձաններով, որոնք մինչեւ այսօր կը նկատուին իբրեւ հայկական քանդակագործութեան գլուխ-գործոցներ:

Սուրբ Խաչ եկեղեցին կարելու սրբավայր մը եղած է հայութեան համար,

մանաւանդ՝ որ կաթողիկոսարանը հոն փոխադրուած է 1116 թուին: Սակայն այդ կաթողիկոսարանը շատ ուժ չէ ունեցած: Ախթամարի կաթողիկոսները ընթանալով Արծրունի ընտանիքի անդամներէն եղած են: 1895-էն ի վեր Կաթողիկոսարանը թափուր մնաց եւ 1916-ին փակուած է, Յեղասպանութեան ահաւիժի հետեւանքներէն մէկը ըլլալով: Այդ ժամանակ, արդեն Ախթամարի վանականները սպաննուած էին, վանքը՝ կործանուած, իսկ Սուրբ Խաչ եկեղեցին՝ թալանուած:

Դժբախտաբար, Ախթամարի կոթողական գանձերը աւերակներու վերածուած են տարիներու ընթացքին: Հայ ժողովուրդի ներկայութեան փաստերու մեծամասնութիւնը քանդուած են:

Մայիս 2005-ին, թրքական կառավարութեան Մշակոյթի նախարարութիւնը յայտնեց թէ Սուրբ Խաչ եկեղեցին եւ վանքը վերականգնման եւ պահպանման աշխատանքի պիտի ենթարկուին:

Հայկական հազարաւոր վայրերու մէջէն Ախթամարը միակ եկեղեցին եղաւ Թուրքիոյ պետական թակարդին մէջ մնացած, որ «վերականգնման»



աշխատանքին արժանացաւ: Փաստեր կան
աշխատանքին արժանացաւ: Փաստեր կան
որ այս աշխատանքը աւելի վնաս
պատճառած է հայկական եկեղեցիին զան
օգուտ բերած: Աւելին՝ թրքական կառա-
վարութիւնը եկեղեցւոյ «վերականգնման»
աշխատանքի լծուեցաւ քաղաքական
պատճառներով, ոչ թէ բարի նպատակով:
2է՞ որ թրքական կառավարութեան
աշքերը սեւեռած են Եւրո-Միութեան
անդամակցելու... Այս ի՞նչ լաւ ձեւ է որ
Թուրքիան ուրիշ ազգերու եւ մշակոյթներու
հանդէպ ունեցած իր յարգանքը ցուցաբերէ:
Լուր չունէի՞ք թէ հայական եկեղեցիներուն
գեղեցկութիւնը կը հիացնէ թուրքերուն:
Ես ալ համաձայն եմ. կասկածները շատ
են....

Եւ ահա կը տեսնենք որ մեր
կասկածները իրականացան: Ախթամարի
եկեղեցիին բացումը տեղի պիտի ունենար
24 Ապրիլ, 2007-ին: Սակայն, Պոլսոյ
Առաջնորդ՝ Մեսրոպ Արք. Մուֆաֆեանի
եւ Սփիւքի ճիգերուն շնորհիւ, բացումը
յառաջաձգուեցաւ եւ կատարուեցաւ Մարտ
29-ին:

Պատմական Սուրբ Խաչ եկեղեցին
վերաբացուեցաւ իբրեւ թանգարան, եւ ո՛չ
եկեղեցի: Թրքական դրօշակներ եւ
Աթաթուրքի նկարներ ծածկած էին
եկեղեցին, իսկ գմբէթը մնաց մերկ՝ առանց
խաչի: Այս պատճառով, թէ՛ Ամենայն
Հայոց Կաթողիկոս՝ Գարեգին Բ. եւ թէ՛
Մեծի Տանն Կիլիկիոյ կաթողիկոս՝ Արամ Ա.
մերժեցին ներկայացուցիչներ ուղղարկել
բացումին, նշելով նաեւ թէ Թուրքիան
տակաւին չէ ընդունած Հայոց
Ցեղասպանութիւնը:

Ուրիշ կասկած մըն ալ արթնցած է
մէջս: Արդեօ՞ք Թուրքիան Ս. Խաչ
եկեղեցիին բացումը յառաջաձգեց հայերուն
ուրախ պահելու, թէ այլ պատճառով: Իմ
կարծիքովս Թուրքիան շատ մտահոգ էր
Ապրիլ 24-ի ոգեկոչման համար տարուած
աշխատանքներով, մանաւանդ Ամերիկեան
Գոնկրէսէն ներս Ապրիլ 24-ը
Ցեղասպանութեան օր հռչակելու ճիգերով:
Ասոր համար, այս եկեղեցիին բացումը
կրնայ հիմա օգտագործել որպէսզի
Ամերիկացիներուն ըսէ. «Տեսէ՛ք նոյնիսկ
հայերու եկեղեցիները կը նորոգենք: Բայց
հայերը անուղղայ են եւ մեզի հետ չեն ուզեր
գործակցիլ»: Պարզ է որ Թուրքիան միայն
իր պետական շահերուն հիման վրայ կը
տանի բոլոր իր գործունէութիւնները,
առանձն կատարի ունենալու նոյնիսկ իր
փոքրամասնութիւններուն կրօնական եւ
հաւատքի նկատառումներուն:

Մարալ Տէր Սարգիսեան

Կոմիտասից Խելագարուած

Արարատեան դաշտի տափարակութեամբ
Խոր Վիրապի հարեանութեամբ
Խոնարհում է մի նոենի,
Մասիս սարի արքայութեան:
Այս նոենին ականատես հանդիսացաւ՝
Իր արքայի ձեռքակալման
Գրիգորի Լուսաորչման
Նոյան Տապանի հանգստութեան:
Անցել է մօտ հարիւր տարի
Ահաւոր մի դար է շրջուել
Բայց նոենին ամուր կանգնած
Յիշում է դեռ Ապրիլեան կարմիր մի օր,
Երբ թեւերն հոգնել էին կարմիր ու ծանր նուռ կոելոց
Խոնարհուել էր իր Մասիսին, վերջիշել էր իր հին արքան:
Ամէն մի նուռ այս նոենուց,
Պարծենում էր որ չի պոկուել,
Ենթարկուելով ձմռան քամուն ու սուր թրին
Պարծենում էր որ կարմիր է եւ ոչ թէ սեւ:
Անաստուածային գարնան մի օր,
Թուրք քաշեց քամին դժոխք,
Պոկեց, ջարդեց այս նոենին հատիկ-հատիկ
Պոկուածները տարածուեցին աշխարհով մէկ
Իսկ ջարդուած երկու միլիոն
Ծածկեցին դաշտը կապոյտ, արեան լճով:
Իսկ նոենի հատիկները,
Մէկը-մէկից խելագարուած
Անյայտացան, անհրաժեշտաբար, մի ընթացքում:
Ապրիլեան այս սառ քամին
Որ փշում էր Արարատի խորթ փէշերից
Չյաջողեց արմատախիլ անել այս նոենուն:
Էլ նոենին չի պարծենում իր բերքերով
Ո՛չ էլ զանազանում մերկ ճիւղերով
Այլ հպարտ է իր արմատով
Որ դիմացաւ այս ճուրտ քամուն:
Այս արմատը
Տասը անգամ՝
Հարիւր անգամ՝
Հազար անգամ՝
փորձուած է, եւ չի հանուած
Այլ՝ զօրացած է աւելի
Ասես լինի փայլուն ոսկուց, ո՛չ թէ փայտից
Որ ինքքա՛ն էլ որ զարկուի, պիտ ամրանայ ու փայլփիլ
Իբրեւ պաշտող այս արմատի,
Չե՛մ քարոզում նոր մի Աստուած,
Հաւատացեալին հաւատք պետք չէ՛, պէտք չեն թեւեր
Հարկաւոր են եռանդ ու ուժ, Հայ ընկերներ
Եկէ՛ք մենք էլ այս սուրբ օրին
Ընկերանանք, եղբայրանանք
Ո՛չ թէ՛ ողբանք տարուց-տարի
Այդ նոենու կողոպտումը
Այլ պարծենանք որ ոչ մի բան
Չյաջողեց նոյնիսկ շեղել մեր նոենու արմատը ծանր,
Թէ պահպանենք ոսկուց էլ թանկ այս արմատը՝
Ընկերութեամբ, եղբայրութեամբ եւ միութեամբ
Թո՛ղ որ տեսնեմ չի պարծենայ մեր նոենին
Բերք ու բարիք նուիրելով, ո՛չ միայն մօրը՝ Արարատին
Այլ աշխարհին,
Յիշեցնելով որ Հայ նուրը,
Կարմիր չէ լոկ իր քաղցրութեամբ
Այլ կոում է արիւնն ու հոգին մեր հայութեան:

Կորիւն

45 minutes...

By Ani Garibyan

The time it takes to drive from Gyumri, Armenia to Kars, Turkey is approximately forty-five minutes if you cross through the border. Due to the blockade that Turkey has imposed on Armenia, the forty-five minute drive takes eighteen hours. I, along with ten friends went on a pilgrimage to our historic homeland that is now located in Turkey. Let me take you through our trip to Western Armenia and try to explain to you how much of our culture, history, heritage and identity has been destroyed. Our journey began when we climbed into a Mercedes van in Yerevan and headed toward the border of Armenia and Georgia. The ride to the border was an easy and comfortable one. In contrast, the roads of Georgia—especially on its southern end—were rough. The historian traveling with us explained that this particular road had not been re-paved since 1991. This road leads not only to the Turkish border, but also drives through the southern end of Javakhk.

Once we reached the border between Georgia and Turkey, the deputies asked all of us to get out of the van. They searched the van, while we were filling out paperwork and going through a medical exam. The deputies constantly looked at us, especially the females, as if it was their first time looking at the opposite gender. That hour was the creepiest one of our journey.

Finally, we were in Western Armenia. We drove up a hill and, at its peak; all you could see were hills and hills of green grass, clear skies, and a beautiful sunset. A few hours later, we had reached Kars. The buildings of Kars are very similar to that of Gyumri and Yerevan, with its Tuf stone and distinct architecture.

Forty-five minutes west of Kars is Ani, which is best known for its 1001 churches and monasteries. During Ani's boom in the 1200's, there were over 100,000 Armenians living in the city. On that warm summer day, there were

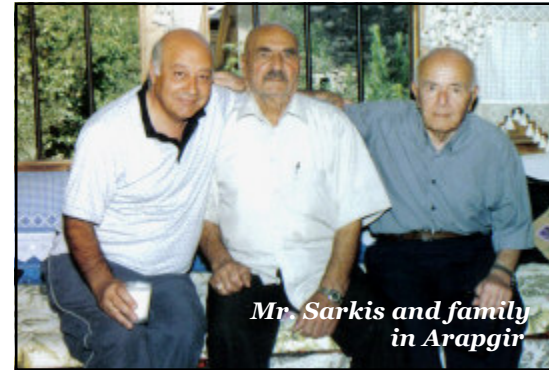
no more than ten structures remaining, most of which were half-standing, and only eleven Armenians were visible in the city. This once great capital has now become a place for cows to graze. Of course, the Turkish government saw a handful of Armenian-Americans as threats, and so sent two men to follow us around as we journeyed through Ani.

Three structures stood out in particular in Ani. The Church of St. Gregory of Tigran Honents is the most decorated Armenian Church I have ever seen. Inside, there was no speck of white; every inch of the church was colorful with religious paintings and icons. Over those paintings, you can now find graffiti, mainly people's names. Nearby is the Church of the Redeemer. This is the tall, cylinder shaped church that looks as if it was cut directly in half. Most of the frescos have been destroyed and the walls were, again, covered with graffiti. If you look through one of its windows, you can see Ani's Mother Cathedral. It is difficult to describe the sheer size of the cathedral. You read about how big Greek temples are or how beautiful Italian churches are. The same can be said for Ani's Mother Cathedral. The structure is missing its dome and a side section, yet once you step inside and look up, you truly appreciate the time and work that went into building these structures. Most of Ani has been destroyed by the Turkish government in hopes of erasing all traces of Armenian history and culture. Today, the people of the surrounding villages not only scroll on the walls of these elaborate churches, they also take the crumbled stone and mend the walls of their own homes.

Van is a few hours drive from Ani. It is known for its courageous people and how they fought off the Turkish attack in 1915. While under Ottoman rule, Aygestan was where the Armenian quarters were. Above Aygestan is an Urartu Fortress and it was from here that the Turks would attack the people of Van. I got a better appreciation for the people of Van because I realized how difficult it was to fight off an army attacking from above. Today, all traces

of the Armenian quarter have been destroyed, except for their tunnels. The people of Van had dug tunnels underneath their homes as a form of protection from the Turks. The traces of these tunnels are evident. The local Kurds told us that ever since the Armenian quarters were destroyed, Turkey tried to build mosques on the same land, but each time they finished the building it would collapse. Today, Aygestan is gated up because locals believe that it is haunted.

Van is also known for an island by the name of Akhtamar. On Akhtamar lies the Holy Cross Church. This is



Mr. Sarkis and family in Arapgir

where Khrimyan Hayrig resided. With a forty-five minute boat ride, we reached Akhtamar. Two years ago, the church was full of carvings of religious icons. The facade of the church was also full of bullet holes because Turkish police would use the church as target practice. In 2005 the church was closed for "renovations" with the assistance of UNESCO. Today, the church is completely austere. The beautiful carvings of the church are now covered by machine cut stones. The church now has no character and no reference to Armenians. Not only has Turkey covered up Armenian culture, they now can continue their lies claiming the church to be Byzantine, Assyrian or Greek ... but never Armenian.

Mush was a very populated region in Eastern Turkey. The new town was built adjacent to the old Armenian quarter. Across the hill we found a

graveyard that was dug up and destroyed. This graveyard was the burial grounds of Armenian freedom fighters including Kevork Chavoush. Mush is also known for The Holy Apostles Monastery created in 306 AD, located in the Taron region. Armenians would journey there for spiritual healing. It truly was a journey because in order to reach the monastery, you would have to climb up a mountain for at least an hour and forty-five minutes. From the research we had done, we were expecting to see a huge monastery. When we reached the top of the mountain we saw two semi-standing structures, a Kurdish village and a lot of sheep grazing the land. The village elder came to us wondering what we were doing and asked if we had come back for gold. Apparently, the Turkish government had tricked the Kurds of Eastern Turkey into believing that Armenians buried gold in the graves of their families. In every Armenian cemetery throughout Turkey, most tombstones have been destroyed and graves dug up in search of gold; a clever means of removing any remnants of Armenian remains and history. The village elder told us that in the 1960's Turkish officials used explosives to destroy the monastery. He also explained that when Armenians lived there, life was better for them and that

the landscape was full of fruit trees, olive trees, and vegetables. Now, there is nothing but brush, cows and sheep.

Most have heard or read about Siamanto and Metsarents, two great Armenian writers; these and many other writers and artists came from the region of Agn near present day central Turkey. Agn is probably one of the most beautiful regions we visited. Located at the banks of the Euphrates River, Agn has luscious green trees and gorgeous homes that were once Armenian. The town was once surrounded by thirty-three churches but, today, all but one have been destroyed. The one that remains has been converted into a museum and no longer resembles an Armenian church.

Near Agn is Kharpert, a once grand city full of Armenian intellectual life, literature and business. Almost all traces of Armenian life have been destroyed. We saw one structure that used to be an Armenian church but it was in such bad condition, we could hardly make out what it was. American diplomat Leslie A. Davis was stationed in Kharpert during the Genocide and he wrote about the horrible massacres of the region in his book, *The Slaughterhouse Province: An American Diplomat's Report on the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1917*. In his book, he speaks of a Lake called Goljuk (Dsovk in Armenian) where there were piles of dead Armenian bodies on the shore and in the lake. Lake Goljuk is now a resort area.

Thousands of years of Armenian history, heritage, and culture has been destroyed by the Turkish government and its citizens. Yet there were three regions we visited that gave me hope that perhaps not all is lost.

One Armenian symbol that has not been decimated is Nemrut Mountain. Nemrut Mountain is known for its ruined sculptures of ancient Pagan-Armenian gods that remain on the mountain. We did not visit that end of the mountain. Instead, we ended up on its peak, by the lake. This mountain was once a volcano and, throughout the years, the crater kept filling with water; becoming a big lake. This is where Armenian freedom fighters such as Serop Aghpiur, Soseh Mayrig, and Arapo would frequent; we got to swim

in the lake as they did. This was not a tourist spot. There was no Kurdish village or Turkish official visible for miles. We were all alone with the spirits of our heroes.

The second Armenian figure that gave me hope was Mr. Sarkis and his family who live in a town called Arapgir. We went to Arapgir in search of an Armenian church, but the locals told us that no such thing existed any more. Instead, they showed us to a house where an Armenian family currently lives. In fact, it was the only Armenian family we encountered throughout our journey. Sarkis is now 95 years old, an Armenian Genocide survivor with one of the strongest spirits I have ever come to know. His home was full of Armenian embroidery, religious text, and family photos. He told us stories about Turkish officials arresting him several times for no apparent reason and that, the last time they did so, he ended up dragging the policeman by the ear to police headquarters. He said that he would never leave his home and his land. They offered us tahn and fruits from their garden. Right then and there, I did not feel as if I were in a foreign land...I felt at home.

The greatest Armenian cultural symbol that can never be destroyed is Mt. Ararat. We drove up the mountain until it became too rocky to continue and decided to hike up a bit in order to get closer to this icon. After about forty-five minutes of hiking, we ended up in a grassy area where we saw two Lombardy Popular trees (Bardi Tsar), just like the ones we see in almost every painting of the mountain. These trees are symbolic to Armenian culture because they are considered "toast trees" (Genatsi Tsar) and they live up to 120 years. On the banks of the mountain we drank the water flowing down; it was clear, needed no filter and tasted sweet and crisp.

The government of Turkey tried to destroy an entire race, history, culture, and heritage, yet they have not succeeded and never will.

Visit our lost homeland. It will give you a newfound perspective on the importance of cause and our lands—and what we need to do to get them back.



Armenian Church in Ani

TURKEY'S PEOPLE GRAPPLE WITH UNJUST LAW

By Itir Yakar

Growing up in Turkey until the age of 15, I didn't know any Armenians.

In fact, it wasn't until I moved to the United States and became a minority myself that I learned about my home country's rich yet uneasy ethnic and religious makeup.

When I came here I knew two things about Armenians. One was a familiar Turkish sound bite: They perished in exile in 1915 after they collaborated with the Ottoman Empire's enemy in World War I, the Russians. The second was that you could know somebody was Armenian by the "-yan" suffix in their last names. This last one was offered by a history teacher.

I certainly was not prepared for the anger some of the Armenians I met here had toward Turks, nor did I know the pain in their history. They said my ancestors had implemented a campaign of genocide against the Armenians, which the Turkish government denies to this day.

On Jan. 19, Armenian journalist Hrant Dink was murdered after publicly arguing for years that there had been a genocide. Dink, 52, the founding editor of Turkey's sole Armenian newspaper, was shot point-blank in the head and neck on a busy Istanbul street. He was killed for his courageous

assertion of freedom of speech and human rights in Turkey - probably by someone who had never read his columns.

Just months before his murder, Dink was convicted under Turkey's controversial new law that makes it a crime to "insult Turkishness." Those convicted under the law can be imprisoned between six months to three years. Dink received a suspended six-month prison sentence.



The law prescribes additional jail time if the purported insults are made through the media or abroad.

As a Turkish citizen working as a journalist in the United States, I am subject to this law. But I find inspiration in Dink's life, as I hope other writers will inside and outside of Turkey.

According to a 2007 Reporters Without Borders report, 65 people, including numerous journalists, have been prosecuted under the law, Article

301 of the Turkish Penal Code. Turkish law lets private citizens bring charges against others they suspect of breaking the law. In most cases, including Dink's, ultranationalist lawyers brought the charges.

In his final column, published a day after his murder, Dink recounted how he was called in to the Istanbul mayor's office in 2004 and warned that his writings might create a tense atmosphere in the country.

He also wrote about the hundreds of death threats and hate mail he had been receiving. Dink said he was particularly disturbed by one sent from the city of Bursa, near Istanbul, because it warned of imminent danger. He noted that he had not received any results after turning the letter in to local prosecutors.

"2007 will probably be a more difficult year for me," he predicted in the column. "Prosecutions will continue, new ones will begin. Who knows what

other injustices I will be faced with."

Dink described living in a state of psychological torture after his conviction but still had the utmost faith in Turkey. He had resolved not to leave for Western countries.

"Comfort would bother me!" Dink wrote. "It wasn't in my nature to leave 'boiling hells' for 'ready heavens.'"

In the days since Dink's murder, many Turkish officials promised to bring his assailants to justice. But it seems convenient for a government that passed a law so blatantly anti-thetical to freedom of conscience and expression - and stood by as Dink received death threats - to now turn around and decry his murder.

The truth is the law against "insulting Turkishness" cannot be the will of a confident nation. Such a country would welcome opposing views and unpopular speech, as Turkey should do, and not make it a crime to utter them.

The Turkish public should demand that lawmakers immediately repeal the 2005 law. Pending cases brought under the law must be dismissed. So must the remaining cases against Dink.

For Dink's mourners, a beam of light has given us hope in recent weeks. It is the thousands of Turkish citizens who took to the streets to condemn Dink's murder and the 100,000 across ethnic and religious backgrounds who attended his funeral in Istanbul last month.

Dink's killers surely did not anticipate that their bullets would mobilize thousands to declare "We're all Armenian, we're all Hrants!" at his funeral,

declarations unimaginable until that day.

The thousands must not let up. They must preserve their united spirit to demand some real answers into the ugly forces of hatred and intolerance that resulted in Dink's politically motivated murder.

The investigation that has been started should be conducted according to the

"I FIND STRENGTH TODAY IN THE 100,000 PEOPLE WHO TRAILED DOWN THE STREETS OF OLD ISTANBUL ON THE DAY OF DINK'S FUNERAL, A PROCESSION THAT PROMISED HOPE."

highest standards. This is even more crucial after news broke across Turkish media that Turkish police officers who arrested Dink's killer first offered him a congratulatory welcome and took photographs with him with a Turkish flag.

The Turkish public's next challenge should be to help create peaceful forums of open discussion on the subject of the massacre of the Ottoman Armenians at the turn of the 20th century.

It is all too easy to label as traitors those who challenge the

official government line, as Dink did, and characterize their views as "insults on Turkishness." In my mind, the real insult on Turkishness is the creation of an atmosphere in which journalists and the public at large cannot voice their opinions for fear of persecution and death.

Dink became the 62nd journalist to be killed in Turkey since 1909. It must stop now. Journalists should be encouraged to keep on writing freely, not be forced to check their surroundings for possible threats as Dink was.

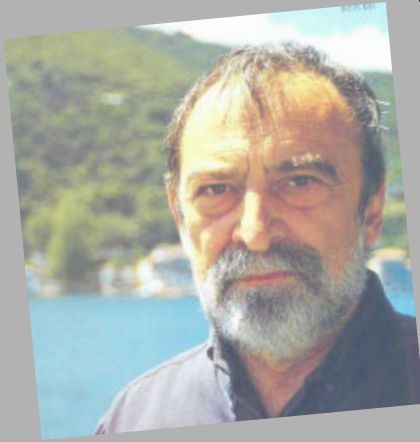
Finally, Turkey should start acknowledging and teaching its children that its minorities - including Armenians, Kurds, Greeks, Assyrians, Roma, Alewites, Jews and Christians are not a threat to the physical and social unity of the country and that, quite to the contrary, Turkey is all the richer for it.

I, for one, don't know if I will forgive myself for not writing this column when Dink was first charged with and convicted of betraying his country. Looking back, I must have resigned to that sense of "what I have to say won't change anything," that I had no way of reacting other than bafflement. Today, I no longer have the luxury.

I find strength today in the 100,000 people who trailed down the streets of old Istanbul on the day of Dink's funeral, a procession that promised hope.

I also find hope in the dozens of people I've met in the San Francisco Bay Area since Dink's murder who have mobilized to work toward a new dialogue between Armenians and Turks.

Itir Yakar was born in Istanbul, Turkey. She currently covers the California Supreme Court for the Daily Journal.



MURAT BELGE

Murat Belge is a Turkish writer, scholar and activist who is editor at İletişim Publishing House and Yeni Gündem, a weekly political magazine. He also heads the Department of Comparative Literature at Bilgi University in Istanbul. He has been an active participant of a left wing group of scholars at the Department of English Language and Literature at Istanbul University.

Belge was a member of the organizing committee of a two-day academic conference starting on September 24, 2005, held at Bilgi University in Istanbul, entitled "Ottoman Armenians During the Decline of the Empire: Issues of Scientific Responsibility and Democracy", which offered an open dispute of the official Turkish account of the Armenian Genocide. The conference was held, despite legal threats and accusations of treachery.

The result for Belge and other four journalists was charges of insulting judicial authority under Article 301 of the criminal code and of interfering with the judicial process under Article 288.

QUOTE: "You cannot make the whole thing disappear by denying it. It is transformed into other shapes, but they keep on haunting you."



ELIF SHAFAK

Growing up in the 1980's as the daughter of a Turkish diplomat, Elif Shafak felt compelled to reflect on history and began to explore the plight of the Armenian people.

As the bestselling author of the first Turkish novel to directly confront the Genocide, Shafak has been active and outspoken on various 'taboo' issues in Turkey. She is a staunch critic of ultranationalism and rigid ideologies, including those coming from the Kemalist elite.

In 2006, she was charged under Article 301 for "insulting Turkishness" because of a reference to the Armenian Genocide made by a fictional character in her novel, *The Bastard of Istanbul*. However, the charges against her were later dropped in September at the request of the prosecutor in her case. The trial was widely scrutinized by the EU as a test of freedom of expression in Turkey.

QUOTE: "I find it sad that some Turks can't talk about 1915, that ours is a society with collective amnesia. We haven't come to grips with our past, nor have we recognized how bitter the Armenians are because their grief goes unacknowledged. I would like Armenians to forgive and forget one day, too, but we Turks need to remember first."

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WHY WE PROTEST

“FIRST THEY IGNORE YOU, THEN THEY RIDICULE
YOU, THEN THEY FIGHT YOU, THEN YOU WIN.”

- MAHATMA GANDHI

By Vache Thomassian

Every year on April 24th the streets of numerous cities worldwide become captivated by hundreds of thousands of Armenians and human rights activists alike, demanding justice for the crimes of 1915. The anger, frustration and disappointment expressed at a world which continues to deny a part of our past, resonates deafeningly. Taking to the streets is our means of expressing to the government of Turkey that our struggle will not end without proper recognition and restitution. Furthermore, protesting allows an amplification of our voice through media, a means by which we can reach a previously oblivious audience. In this manner protesting has a certain educational effect.

A very important aspect of the protest is the ability to stand shoulder to shoulder with those who share a common history, a common cause and a common desire for justice. The capacity to say, “We are the descendants of Genocide. We will remember our martyrs and we will not stand for denial of their existence,” creates a sense of unity and a sense of fraternity.

Skeptics and critics may be quick to point out that the Turkish Consulate is empty on April 24th (perennially closed on that day to celebrate “Turkish Children’s Day”), as if their physical presence would be the only thing that validated the demonstrators’ efforts. The knowledge that the representatives of the Republic of Turkey refuse to face the descendants of the Genocide they deny, should serve as fodder to continue and fortify our struggle.

It is naïve to expect a single demonstration of any size to change the current landscape of the world and have decades of denialist propaganda evaporated without a fight. However, the work of the true champion of truth does not begin and end on April 24th. Protests can be ignored, our voices can be diluted through lessened media coverage, marginalizing and containing us. We can not allow ourselves to simply feel fulfilled by one day of “activism.” Those in power, those who deny our history have come to expect and anticipate our

actions. They know that once a protest is concluded, once everyone goes back to the comfort of their homes and the monotony of their daily lives, that 90% of the people involved will sit complacently... waiting until the next April 24th. Even though there are intensely passionate and concerned individuals, the majority of people will do nothing more.

Protests cannot be stand alone conceptions; they must be founded in a larger Movement based on strategy, forethought and planning. In the case of the demand for Armenian Genocide recognition, the April 24th Protest finds itself in a larger scheme of the Hai Tad work carried out by organizations like the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) and the Armenian Youth Federation, who commit not just a single afternoon, but rather every day of their existence towards the fruition of Hai Tad, the betterment of Armenia and the strengthening of our communities.

Our strength is yet to be seen in its full capacity, our voice yet to be unified and amplified and until then...the world continues on its course.

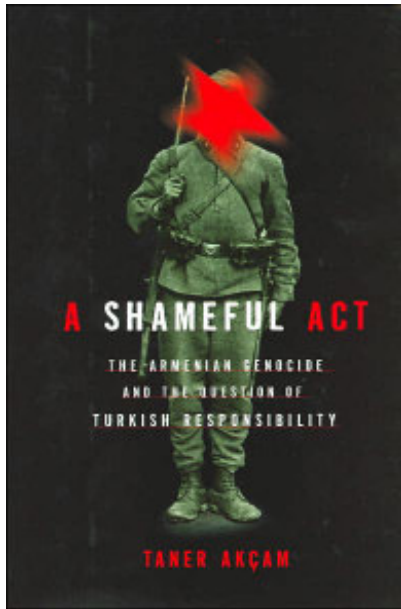
I admire those with the political will and determination who time after time attempt to activate and motivate our communities; their work is sacred and it is righteous. However, a certain sense of responsibility must be delegated to those who feel powerless, those who feel their voice is lost, and those who don’t believe they can make a change.

It is through protest that we show our solidarity and our strength as a community. It is through protest that we show our commitment to our cause. It is through protest that we expose the crimes of history which have not yet healed. It is through protest that we motivate the apathetic while reinvigorating ourselves. It is through protest that we speak the truth.

However, it is through collective action and commitment after we get home from our protest that we will be able to see results.

BOOK REVIEW

BREAKING THROUGH THE WALL OF DENIAL



A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility

by Taner Akcam

Metropolitan Books, \$18.50

ISBN# 0805079327

Staffwriter

In his latest work, Taner Akcam breaks through the traditional wall of Turkish scholarship by impartially and objectively examining the culpability of Turkey in committing and denying the Armenian Genocide. By incorporating archival material from British, German, U.S. and Ottoman records he studies the events through multiple lenses and shows the deliberate intent to annihilate the Armenia population of Anatolia.

Rocked by a series of humiliating military defeats, Akcam demonstrates the desperation of the Ottoman leadership, choosing genocide as an answer to the collapse of their Empire. He debunks the claim that the killing of Armenians was simply a byproduct of war, revealing, instead, a centralized and planned program of extermination.

The book is divided into three parts which look at various aspects of the Genocide. Akcam follows the chronology of events detailing the rise of the Armenian Question, the treatment of ethnic and religious minorities, the development of the Committee of Union and Progress, as well as the rise of Turkish nationalism. Subsequently, he investigates the decisions that led to the Genocide and their implementation.

Akcam further uses the evidence of post-WWI military tribunals as proof of Turkish responsibility. He even quotes Mustafa Kemal as stating that, "[Ottoman leaders] should have been brought to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects ruthlessly driven en masse from their homes and massacred." (The title of the book, in fact, comes from an early speech made by Kemal, condemning the massacres of Armenians as "a shameful act").

This book is a direct challenge to the modern Turkish policy of genocide denial. It is a must read for Armenian activists, those who wish to understand the crime of genocide and Turkish individuals who seek to move forward and remove the veil of denial imposed on them by their unrepentant government.

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We thank you in advance for your support and we hope you enjoyed this issue of the Haytoug.





**Türk kan
lediği içi**

To leave "boiling hells"
and go to "ready heavens"

I can feel
myself as
reflex as
a dove

**pis kandır
n öldürdüm**