

# Understanding the Ideological Blockades in Armenia's Contemporary Politics

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Armenia has been consistently violating international law since the declaration of independence in 1990 – a political choice which impedes not only regional peace, stability, and security, but also the interests of its own people. As a sovereign yet an unreliable member of international community, Armenia, has invaded a neighboring country, Azerbaijan, and refused to implement relevant UN resolutions. It has repeatedly made irredentist claims against the territorial integrity of another neighboring state, Turkey, and when the Zurich protocols were signed between Turkey and Armenia to establish diplomatic relations and develop bilateral relations in 2009 Armenia suspended the ratification.<sup>1</sup> Even worse, Armenian President Serj Sargsyan recently expressed territorial claims towards Turkey, saying that “liberating the historic territories in Western Armenia” (implying eastern Turkey) “depend on younger generations”. This followed his statement that

“I think my generation has managed to fulfill its debt when it was necessary to protect the part of our Motherland, [Nagorno-Karabakh], from the enemies. We managed to do it. I just want to say that every generation has its own responsibilities and must be able to fulfill them well.”<sup>2</sup>

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Historically speaking, this policy is the result of the complex and occasionally contradictory relationship between official Yerevan, Karabakh Armenians, and the extremist parties of the diaspora. On the other hand, it has been the *ideologies* historically produced/

1 The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Armenia (2010) *The Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Armenia on the Case on Determining the Issue of Conformity with the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia of the Obligations Stipulated by the Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey and by the Protocol on Development of Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey Signed in Zurich*, 10 October, Available at <http://www.concourt.am/english/decisions/common/pdf/850.pdf> (Accessed: 10 April 2017).

2 *Hürriyet Daily News* (2011) “‘Western Armenia’ return depends on youth, Sarkisian says”, July 26, <http://www.hurriyetsdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=8216western-armenia-8217-return-depends-on-youth-sarkisian-says-2011-07-26> (Accessed: 20 April 2017); Presidency of the Republic of Armenia (2015) “Pan-Armenian Declaration on the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide,” Press Release, January 29, Available at <http://www.president.am/en/press-release/item/2015/01/29/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-visit-Tsitsernakaberd-Genocide/> (Accessed: 15 April 2017).

reproduced by all three parties that have led Armenia to disregard historical borders and the ethnic composition of the territories of its neighboring states. These factors, as this paper will argue, continue to shape the ethnic-nationalist and expansionist policies of Armenia.

The first part of this commentary analyses the basis of the specific ideology in power in Armenia, namely racism. The second and third parts describe the concrete manifestation of ethnonationalism, namely ethnic cleansing and terrorism, as well as their relevance in today's Armenia.

*'The religion of race'*

Ethnocentrism and political racism were fundamental to the thinking of one of the first Armenian nationalist theorists, Grigoriy Artsruni (1845-1892),<sup>3</sup> but the decisive turn for racist theories took place during the first decade of the 1910s, when the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF, established in 1890), also known as Dashnaksutyun, officially adopted the belief of the superiority of the 'Aryan race'.<sup>4</sup> This was confirmed in 1922, when the Delegation of the Armenian Republic in Paris (an ARF organization) submitted a request to the French government, asking for the implementation of the Sèvres treaty and justifying the inclusion of provinces such as Van and Bitlis into a 'Wilsonian Armenia' (note dated 9 February 1922),<sup>5</sup> and when the United Armenian Delegations (the ARF and the Ramkavar) submitted a note to the Lausanne conference (20 December), reiterating the same racist argument.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to these statements, the ARF signed an agreement with the first Kurdish nationalist party, the Hoybun, the year it was established (1927), in the name of 'Aryan fraternity'. The main goal was to establish an 'Aryan confederation' led by Iran, directed against the USSR and Turkey,

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3 Perinçek, M. (2015) *Ermeni Milliyetçiliğinin Serüveni*, İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, pp. 31-40.

4 See, in particular, the editorial of *Hayasdan* (Sofia), 19.08.1914 in *Aspirations et agissements révolutionnaires des comités arméniens, avant et après la proclamation de la Constitution ottomane*, İstanbul: Matbaai Orhaniye, 1917, p. 155; and Varandian, M. (1917) *L'Arménie et la question arménienne*, Laval: Imprimerie moderne, pp. 14-15 and 23-27 (Varandian was the main ideologue of the ARF from 1905 to his death in 1934).

5 Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères (AMAE), La Courneuve, microfilm P 16676.

6 AMAE, P 16677.

but on friendly terms with Fascist Italy.<sup>7</sup> Not surprisingly, the ARF welcomed the arrival of Adolf Hitler in Germany, and several of its leaders, such as Drastamat ‘Dro’ Kanayan, Vahan Papazian and Alexandre Khatissian, collaborated with the Third Reich for ideological reasons but also because the Nazis promised to give Karabakh, Nakhchevan, and a part of southern Georgia to Armenia after the expected victory against the USSR.<sup>8</sup> The most vocal proponent of the alliance between the ARF and the Third Reich was probably Garegin Nzhdeh (1886-1955), one of the main military leaders of the Armenian national movement after the Balkan wars (1912-1913), when he led Armenian volunteers for the Bulgarian army (he later did the same for the Russian army, during the First World War). In 1933, Nzhdeh was in charge of organizing a youth branch for the ARF in the US; he initiated the *Tzagharon*, “the religion of race,” as an Armenian counterpart of the Hitlerjugend.<sup>9</sup> On 10 April 1936, the issue of the *Hairenik Weekly*, Nzhdeh stated: “Today Germany and Italy are strong because as a nation they live and breathe in terms of race”, a statement made after the Nuremberg laws in Germany and the racist turn in Fascist Italy.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Nzhdeh’s move to Germany, where he became a member of the ARF-dominated Armenian National Council, established in 1942 under the patronage of Alfred Rosenberg,<sup>11</sup> was fully consistent with his pre-war activities.

Nzhdeh is the main source of ideological inspiration for most of the political parties in today’s Armenia. The only person cited as a doctrinal reference in the Republican Party of Armenia’s statement of principles is Nzhdeh,<sup>12</sup> and the ARF, the junior partner of the Republican Party of Armenia from 1998 to 2008 and since 2016, also continues to claim Nzhdeh’s intellectual

7 Gorgas, T. J. (2007) *Le Mouvement kurde de Turquie en exil : continuités et discontinuités du nationalisme kurde sous le mandat français en Syrie et au Liban (1925-1946)*, Berne: Peter Lang, pp. 153-154, 225-228 and 253 ; Penati, B. (2008) “C’est l’Italie qui est prédestinée par l’Histoire: la Rome fasciste et les nationalistes caucasiens en exil (1928-1939)”, *Oriente Moderno*, 88(1), pp. 66-69.

8 Perinçek, M. (2015) “Nazi-Dashnak Collaboration During World War II,” in AVIM (ed.), *Turkish-Russian Academics*, Ankara: Terazi, pp. 199-231.

9 John Roy Carlson (Arthur Derounian) (1943), *Under Cover: My Four Years in the Nazi Underworld of America*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, pp. 81-82.

10 Ishida, K. (2002) “Racisms compared: Fascist Italy and ultra-nationalist Japan,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 7(3), pp. 380-391.

11 “Document Reveals Dashnag Collaboration With Nazis,” *Congressional Record*, 1.11.1945, pp. A4840-A4841; Ternon, Y. (1983) *La Cause arménienne*, Paris, Le Seuil, p. 132.

12 Tuncel, T. K. (2014) *Armenian Diaspora*, Ankara: Terazi, pp. 309-311.

legacy.<sup>13</sup> The situation is hardly different among the political opposition. The name of Nzhdeh was given to the second largest square in Yerevan and to a metro station in 1991, during the presidency of the ‘moderate’ Levon Ter-Petrossian, responsible for the invasion of 20% of Azerbaijani territory. Correspondingly, in autumn 2014, when the municipal council of Yerevan decided to build a second statue of Nzhdeh, the only dispute was over the location,<sup>14</sup> and in 2013, the leader of Heritage party Raffi Hovhannissyan laid flowers at Nzhdeh’s grave.<sup>15</sup>

That ideological framework is a key to understanding why in 2003 President Robert Kocharian justified the ethnic cleansing of the Azerbaijanis of Armenia, Karabakh, and seven other districts of Azerbaijan under the Armenian occupation on the basis of alleged “ethnic incompatibility”.<sup>16</sup>

### *Continuity of ethnic cleansing*

Ironically, for a country whose leaders constantly ask their neighbors to ‘face up to history’, the Republic of Armenia exists due to a continuous process of ethnic cleansing, sometimes unstated, sometimes explicitly celebrated. Indeed, before the Russian conquest of 1828, the Khanate of Yerevan was mostly populated by Muslims (about 80%), and the overwhelming majority of these Muslims were ethnic Azeris. Regardless, it can be argued that the main perpetrator of the policy of expulsion of Azeris and immigration of Armenians from Anatolia and Iran at the time was Russia. The role of the Russian authorities in the bloody clashes of 1905 between Armenians and Azeris - certainly through passivity, and likely through provocations - cannot be ignored.<sup>17</sup> However, the

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13 Armenian Youth Federation, official website, Available at <https://ayfwest.org/about/history/> (Accessed: 01 April 2017).

14 *Armenia Now* (2014) “Hero’s Statue: Location chosen for Garegin Njdeh’s monument in Yerevan sparks controversy,” October 30, Available at [http://armenianow.com/society/58107/armenia\\_garegin\\_njdeh\\_statue\\_yerevan](http://armenianow.com/society/58107/armenia_garegin_njdeh_statue_yerevan) (Accessed: 15 April 2017).

15 Lurer (2013) “Raffi Hovhannissyan laid flowers at Garegin Nzhdeh’s grave,” April 1, Available at [lurer.com/?p=89147&l=en](http://lurer.com/?p=89147&l=en) (Accessed: 01 April 2017).

16 *Asbarez* (2003) “Armenia’s Azeris ‘Ethnically Incompatible,’” January 16, Available at <http://asbarez.com/48242/armenias-azeris-ethnically-incompatible/> (Accessed: 02 April 2017).

17 Constant, A. (2002) *L’Azerbaïdjan*, Paris, Karthala, pp. 228-230; Swietochowski, T. (1985) *Russian Azerbaijan, 1905-1920. The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community*, Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 37-46; McCarthy, J. (1995) *Death and Exile. The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*, Princeton: Darwin Press, pp. 123-125.

war crimes perpetrated by Armenian units of the Russian army in eastern Anatolia from 1914 to 1917 (to create a ‘Greater Armenia’) was a somewhat different situation, because the Russian central government and at least some of the officers present were concerned by this extreme violence. The resistance among Muslims provoked by these killings, destructions, and rapes made the Russian domination only more difficult.<sup>18</sup> The widespread devastation and massacres during the Russian retreat (1917-1918) are precisely due to the collapse of the Russian army, and the resulting lack of manpower.<sup>19</sup> Correspondingly, if the massacre of Azeris in Baku in 1918 is the result of an alliance between the ARF and the Bolsheviks,<sup>20</sup> the campaign of ethnic cleansing in Armenia, from 1918 to 1920 – today euphemized as ‘Armenization’ in ARF and pro-ARF publications<sup>21</sup> – is the sole responsibility of the ARF government.

In this regard, it is essential to note that the Armenian cabinet continued the expulsions and massacres in 1920 in the face of domestic opposition, and despite the cost of ethnic cleaning for Armenia itself.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, on April 8, 1920, Lord Curzon firmly warned the representative of Armenia Avetis Aharonian

“We have decided, when the treaty with Turkey is signed, to send several commissions which shall settle the boundaries of the three states. I am compelled, however, to observe that your people, especially the Dashnak Party, of which I think you, Mr. Aharonian, are a member, have given frequent cause for the break of the peace. Your three chiefs, Dro, Hamazasp and Kulkhandanian are the ringleaders of the bands which have destroyed Tartar (Azerbaijani) villages and have staged massacres in Zangezour, Surrnalu, Etchmiadzin, and Zangibasar. This is intolerable. Look - and here he pointed to a file of official

18 Reynolds, M.A. (2011) *Shattering Empires*, New York-Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, pp. 156-159.

19 Lieutenant-colonel Vladimir Nikolaevitch Twerdokhleboff (1919) *Notes d'un officier supérieur russe sur les atrocités d'Erzèroum*, Istanbul, Available at [http://louisville.edu/as/history/turks/notes\\_sur\\_les\\_atrocites\\_d\\_erzeroum.pdf](http://louisville.edu/as/history/turks/notes_sur_les_atrocites_d_erzeroum.pdf) (Accessed: 10 March 2017).

20 Kazemzadeh, F. (1952) *The Struggle for Transcaucasia*, New York-Oxford: Philosophical Library/George Ronald Publisher, pp. 71-75; Montefiore, S. S. (2008) *Young Stalin*, New York: Vintage Books, p. 374.

21 Even a political scientist of Armenian heritage and hostile to today's Azerbaijan criticized this euphemism: Minassian, G. (2005) *Géopolitique de l'Arménie*, Paris: Ellipses, p. 16-17.

22 McCarthy, J., *Death and Exile...*, p. 216.

documents on the table - look at this, here in December is the reports of the last few months concerning ruined Tartar villages which my representative Wardrop has sent me. The official Tartar communique speaks of the destruction of 300 villages. This may do great harm to your cause.”<sup>23</sup>

Curzon continued: “Your interests demand that you be peaceful otherwise we cannot help you, we cannot supply you arms and ammunition because you will be using them against the Tartars.”<sup>24</sup> However, the ARF cabinet ignored this crystal clear warning from the Foreign Secretary. Indeed, when asked by Paris about Yerevan’s demand for weapons, Damien de Martel, the French High Commissioner in the Caucasus, did not answer yes or no, but expressed an implicit and strong disapproval. One of his main arguments was the continuation of ethnic cleansing in June 1920, namely two months after Lord Curzon’s strong statement. During this month alone, in villages close to the Turkish-Armenian boundary, 4,000 ‘Tatars’ (Azerbaijanis) were massacred by Armenian soldiers, including women and children, and 36,000 expelled “by canon shots.”<sup>25</sup> Correspondingly, *Le Temps*, a daily notoriously close to the Quai d’Orsay, wrote that several dozens of thousands Muslims had been killed in Armenia during the months of June and July 1920.<sup>26</sup> It is clear that the priority of the ARF cabinet was the physical elimination of non-Armenians, in spite of the Soviet threats (the Soviets had invaded Azerbaijan in April 1920, profiting from the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict) and of the risk of war with Kemalist Turkey.

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As already observed, the ARF still sees the ‘Armenization’ in 1918-1920 as an achievement. Regarding the Republican Party of Armenia, the clearest example is furnished by the official commemorations of Andranik Ozanian (1863-1927), including by President Sargsyan.<sup>27</sup> An officer for an Armenian volunteer

23 Aharonian, A. (1963) “From Sardarapat to Sèvres and Lausanne (A Political Diary) (Part IV),” *Armenian Review*, 16:3, p. 52.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

25 Télégramme de Damien de Martel au ministère des Affaires étrangères, 20 Juillet 1920, AMAE, P 16674.

26 *Le Temps* (1920) “Les musulmans en Arménie”, July 25, p. 4.

27 Presidency of the Republic of Armenia (2013) “President Serzh Sargsyan Visited The Erablur,” Press Release, April 9, Available at <http://www.president.am/en/press-release/item/2013/04/09/Presi->

unit during the First World War, Antranik Ozanian organized massacres and reportedly involved in the rape of women and children in the eastern Anatolia, particularly in 1916.<sup>28</sup> He even refused to halt the ethnic cleansing by the ARF in mid-1918 (interrupted by the advance of Ottoman forces): “Andranik forces crushed one Tatar [Azeri] village after another,”<sup>29</sup> as Richard Hovannisian, a historian strongly identified with hardline Armenian nationalism, writes.

It is not difficult to see the ideological continuity between the 1918-1920 cleansing, and the massacres - especially in Khojaly - during the war of 1992-1994 occupation of Azerbaijani territories by Armenia. Indeed, the issue of the personal responsibilities of current Armenian leaders, President Sargsyan first, has to be raised in this regard. When he was still a minister, Mr. Sargsyan stated: “Before Khojaly, the Azerbaijanis thought that we were joking with them, they thought that the Armenians were people who could not raise their hand against the civilian population. *We* [author’s emphasis] were able to break that [stereotype]. And that’s what happened.”<sup>30</sup> By definition, “we” includes “I,” and

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in fact, Mr. Sarkissian was the officer in charge in and around Khojaly in February 1992.

#### *Continuity with terrorism*

Terrorism, motivated by the historical legacy of the so-called liberation movements, is one of the clearest elements of historical continuity in Armenian nationalism.<sup>31</sup> In the case of today’s Armenia, the first attack to consider is the one perpetrated by members of the (banned) United

dent-Serzh-Sargsyan-Erablur-visit/ (Accessed: 10 April 2017); Presidency of the Republic of Armenia (2015) “President Attends Concert Evening Devoted To Andranik Ozanian’s 150th Anniversary,” Press Release, February 25, Available at <http://www.president.am/en/press-release/item/2015/02/25/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-visit-event-dedicated-Andranik-Ozanyan/> (Accessed: 1 April 2017).

28 See the report of the mayor of Ilica and of the legal advisor of the province of Erzurum, 14 June 1916, in Schemsi, K. (1919) *Turcs et Arméniensdevantl’histoire*, Genève: Imprimerie nationale, pp. 52-56 Available at [http://louisville.edu/a-s/history/turks/turcs\\_et\\_armeniens.pdf](http://louisville.edu/a-s/history/turks/turcs_et_armeniens.pdf) (Accessed: 30 March 2017).

29 Hovannisian, R. G. (1967) *Armenia on the Road to Independence. 1918*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, p. 194. See also Ter-Minassian, A. (2006) *1918-1920, la République d’Arménie*, Bruxelles: Complexe, pp. 84-85.

30 de Waal, T. (2003) *Black Garden*, New York-London: New York University Press, p. 172.

31 Gunn, C. (2016) “Getting Away with Murder: Soghomon Tehlirian, ASALA and the Justice Commandos, 1921-1984,” in *War and Collapse*, Hakan Yavuz and Feroz Ahmad (eds), Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, pp. 896-917; Lowry, H. (1984) “Armenian Terrorism: Threads of Continuity,” in *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection*, Ankara: Ankara University Press, pp. 71-83; Tölölyan, K. (1992) “Terrorism in modern Armenian political culture,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 4:2, pp. 8-22.



Nation Party (UNP), not to say by the UNP itself, in the subway of Moscow on 8 January 1977. Officially seven,<sup>32</sup> possibly 35 persons were killed<sup>33</sup>—in that case, twice the number of victims of the terrorist attacks in Paris in January 2015.<sup>34</sup> During the trial, Stepan Yatikyan, the main perpetrator, was particularly arrogant and expressed his anti-Semitic beliefs (the myth of Judeo-Bolshevism) very clearly.<sup>35</sup> Yet, the Republican Party of Armenian considers him the successor of the UNP, which existed underground from 1967 to 1987.<sup>36</sup>

The UPN terrorists were firmly supported during and after their trial, in 1979, by the Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenian (ASALA).<sup>37</sup> A decade later, ASALA terrorists joined the Armenian armed forces that invaded Azerbaijan. The most emblematic example is Monte Melkonian (1957-1993). No. 2 of the ASALA from 1980 to 1983, namely during the bloodiest period of the group, Melkonian established his dissident terrorist organization in mid-1983, the ASALA-Revolutionary Movement. Arrested in Paris in 1985, he was sentenced in 1986 to six years in jail (including two suspended) for conspiracy, illegal possession of a gun and explosives, and possession of a fake passport. During his trial, Melkonian was similarly arrogant and tried to deny his crimes, but the hearings were a disaster for the image of Armenian terrorists, especially when the presiding judge publicly read Melkonian's own documents on the false flag attacks by the ASALA against Armenian targets in France.<sup>38</sup> Released in 1989, Melkonian moved to Hungary and then to Armenia, when he became an officer of the invasion forces and was killed in 1993 during a clash with the Azerbaijani army. However, Melkonian's case is not an isolated one. Gilbert Minassian, a member of the

32 Russia Today (2010) "Recent history of terror attacks in Moscow," 29 March, Available at <https://www.rt.com/news/moscow-blast-background-attacks/> (Accessed: 20 April 2017).

33 Hyland, F.P. (1991) *Armenian Terrorism. The Past, the Present, the Prospects*, Boulder-Oxford: Westview Press, p. 79.

34 L'obs (2015) "Chronologie: 3 jours d'attentats terroristes sur la France," January 10, Available at [tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/charlie-hebdo/20150110.OBS9671/charlie-hebdo-chronologie-3-jours-d-attentats-terroristes-sur-la-france.html](https://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/charlie-hebdo/20150110.OBS9671/charlie-hebdo-chronologie-3-jours-d-attentats-terroristes-sur-la-france.html) (Accessed: 15 March 2017).

35 Youtube Video, "Armenian Terrorists Attack in Moscow Metro – 1977" published on 17 September 2013, Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c8SKU9Lkp3k> (Accessed: 01 April 2017).

36 Tuncel, T.K., *Armenian Diaspora...*, p. 55.

37 Hay Baykar (1979) "Brejnev assassin!," février-mars, p. 6.

38 Le Monde (1986) "Les archives sanglantes du terrorisme arménien", December 1; Le Monde (1986) "Monte Melkonian est condamné à six ans de prison dont deux avec sursis" December 15; Hay Baykar (1986) "Un verdict scandaleux," December 20, pp. 3-7.

political wing of the ASALA in France, sentenced *in absentia* to life imprisonment in 1989 for a hold-up perpetrated in 1984. He later became a colonel of the Armenian army for his participation in the war of 1992-1994.<sup>39</sup>

As another example, Mardiros Jamgotchian was sentenced to 15 years in jail in Geneva in December 1981 for the murder of Mehmet Yergüz, a secretary of the Turkish consulate in that city.<sup>40</sup> He was welcomed in Armenia by the Armenian Benevolent Association ‘Gtutium’ – the very first NGO created in Armenia – after his release from a Swiss prison, in 1991.<sup>41</sup> Even more remarkably, Varoujan Garbidjian was sentenced to life in prison for his involvement in the Orly attack (eight persons killed on 15 July 1983). After his release and deportation in 2001, he was welcomed in Yerevan by the Prime Minister, Andranik Markarian, and by the mayor of Armenia’s capital, Robert Nazarian, who pledged to provide him with employment and accommodation.<sup>42</sup> Correspondingly, in 2009, the Armenian Ministry of Culture financially supported the publication of a book glorifying the bloody hostage-taking at the Turkish consulate of Paris (1981), which was presented in 2010 to the press by its author, Grigor Janikyan, with two of the perpetrators.<sup>43</sup> More recently, a memorial was erected in Yerevan for the deceased ASALA terrorists.

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### Conclusion

The occupation of Western Azerbaijan by Armenia continues primarily because the ideology of the current Armenian leadership considers the dream of an ‘integral Armenia’ inhabited by ‘Aryans’ to be more important than reality. It is, in a sense, the continuation of the Dashnak policies in 1918-1920. A solution to the conflict must identify its ideological roots and individual responsibilities in Yerevan. As far public opinion is concerned, the campaigns of information on Khojaly –

39 La Provence (2013) “Retour à Marseille de ‘Gib’ héros national arménien,” August 09.

40 Richardot, J.P. (1982) *Arméniens, quoi qu’il en coûte*, Paris: Fayard, pp. 95-122; Şimşir, B. N. (2000), *Şehit Diplomatlarımız (1973-1994)*, Ankara: Bilgi yayınevi, Vol. 1, pp. 40-422.

41 Letter of Gtutium, 8 April 1991. I express my thanks to Sevil Kaplun, who sent to me a copy of this document.

42 Radio Free Europe (2001) “Gusinsky says there is no respect for free press in Russia,” May 7, Available at <https://www.rferl.org/a/1142396.html> (Accessed: 02 April 2017).

43 See <http://hyeforum.com/index.php?showtopic=31988> (Accessed: 02 April 2017).

and more generally the ethnic cleansing in Armenia from 1987 to 1989 and in occupied Azerbaijan from 1992 to 1994 – should include the historical background, stressing the continuity with past action such as the ones of 1918-1920 and the ideological dimension. At the legal level, after the *Chiragov v. Armenia* decision of the European Court of Human Rights, the issue of the personal accountabilities of current Armenia leaders should be raised.