

**THE PROSPECTS OF THE GENERATION CHANGES IN THE DIASPORA
IN THE CONTEXT OF STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF ARMENIA.
“PRESERVING ARMENIANNES” WITHOUT “LAND-PRESERVATION” IS
MEANINGLESS**

Avakian Knarik
Institute of History of NAS RA

The Prospects of the Generation Changes in the Diaspora

The Armenians (at first, mainly Western Armenians, and, later, Eastern Armenians, as well) miraculously survived after the Armenian Genocide, scattered all over the world (forming today's Diaspora) and taken refuge along with their generations, in the subsequent years, in various foreign countries have faced, as a result of historical-political, social-economic and other circumstances, an everyday strategical problem of losing their national genetic fund, being doomed to a gradual assimilation and disappearance.

In the history of mankind, the generation change is a process occurring practically once in every 20-25 years. Consequently, the classical Armenian Diaspora, as a collective body deprived of its native land and spread all over the world as a result of the Armenian Genocide, has already stepped into its 4th or 5th generation, which, particularly in the **Western countries** and mostly as a consequence of foreign marriages, is being regenerated into mixed-race and therefore periodically transforming, of diversely-layered identity, foreign language speaking, alienated community with its symbolic Armenian affiliation, often with an uncertain or merely algebraic perception (by 2/4, by 3/4, by 3/5, by 4/5 Armenian, etc.).

In foreign countries, the ***mixed marriages*** are, unfortunately, unavoidable and neither the all-powerful Church, the most national parties, the national schools, nor the press and the family are able to put a stop to them. As the Armenian writer and public man Levon Shant has defined, “The mixed marriage family is a Babylon”¹. And today the predominant part of Armenian Diaspora is actually living and functioning in that Babylon, basically not wanting to realize, that it is gradually being and will forever be cut from its national roots and Motherland.

At present, in the mass media of Armenian Diaspor, functioning in the global environment, that subject is not being broached, not being alarmed, being not desirable, on the contrary, the daily intra-communal problems are neglected, instead, it has become preferable to make partial allusions to the inner-Armenian developments mainly from the point of view of Western states. All these, undoubtedly, pursue the object of

¹ Works of Levon Shant, vol.5, Beirut, 1948, p. 52 (in Arm.).

cooling and blunting the patriotic feelings of the Armenians living in foreign countries toward the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Mountainous Karabagh (Artsakh), to ideologically separate the Diaspora from the Mother-country, consequently, to avert and to rule out the only means of saving the Diaspora from the impending danger of assimilation, that is – the possible repatriation, as well as the Motherland-constructing efforts, aimed at the rebuilding and development of Armenia and Artsakh.

As a consequence of all that, the Armenian people still maintaining their Armenianness under the “influence” of the exclusively Muslim environment in the Near and Middle Eastern countries, upon emigration to the mainly “Christian” and mostly “liberal” reality of the West, having numerous and diverse options and getting more or less in contact with the national organizations (if, truly, the generations are still getting in contact; that depends upon the religious-theological diversity, the socio-cultural environment, the all-smoothing globalization, the personal factor, etc.), will, for a certain time, be able to maintain the elements of their national identity and national self-consciousness, however, the successive generation changes and the hetero-ethnic marriages, mostly the symbolic knowledge of the mother tongue or its total loss, have gradually transformed, are now transforming and will continue to transform the Armenians of the West from conscious into **“symbolic,” emotional Armenians**², and, subsequently also, into an “assimilated, all-smoothing” collective body.

By the way, the same “all-smoothing” and “symbolizing” unavoidable course is expected, in the course of time, for the Armenians **emigrated from the newly-independent Armenia**, who still live in foreign countries in the initial period of “romanticism,” to be involved in communal life or to create their own communal environment (1st and 2nd generations), that is to say, keeping in touch, to some extent, with the already existing national structures, or establishing new, especially Eastern Armenian ones, or, under the conditions of an exclusively Armenian-spirited domestic surroundings, they can make the coming generations maintain their Armenian identity.

Unfortunately, the change into a “symbolic” Armenian and subsequently the gradual loss of the national identity, constitute an inseparable, inevitable and compulsory process tested in all the periods of history for the assimilation and disappearance of the Armenian Diaspora, which is dependent only on time; the degree of the generation and the level of mixed marriages. And that the result, the assimilation, is equally irreversible for all, is an irrefutable fact. [See Tables 1, 2]

² Bakalian A., *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian*. New Brunswick, London, 1993, pp. 393-396.

**The general picture of the evolution of mixed marriages
among the succeeding generations of the Armenians of Diaspora
rescued from the Armenian Genocide
(personal observations)**

Table 1

The generations in the Armenian communities of the <i>Western countries</i>	Intra-national marriages	Mixed marriages
1 st generation	100%	0%
2 nd generation	80%	20%
3 rd generation (foreign language speaking, symbolizing)	50%	50%
4 th generation (foreign language speaking, symbolizing)	30%	70%
5 th generation (alienated, symbolized)	15%	85%

Table 2

The generations in the Armenian communities of the <i>Eastern countries</i>	Intra- national marriages	Mixed marriages
1 st generation	100%	0%
2 nd generation	100%	0%
3 rd generation (awakening: 1960/1975s, ASALA)	95%	5%
4 th generation	90%	10%
5 th generation	85%	15%

According to general calculations, if, following the Armenian Genocide, the process of transformation into “symbolic” Armenians among those scattered all over the world and mostly in the Western countries was perceptible beginning, in the majority of cases, from the 3rd generation, then, that threshold, among the Armenians emigrated from the newly-independent Armenia, has a tendency to be reduced.

Thus, *the slight delay* of the “symbolization” process of the generations of the classical Armenian Diaspora in the Western countries was the result of several circumstances. First, in spite of the fact of the Armenian Genocide perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire, the forcible seizure of the cradle and the scattering of the Armenians all over the world, the immaculate perception and the endeavor for the maintenance and

transmission of memories of the seized Motherland and of their home were still preserved in their consciousness. The delay of assimilation was also the result of the tireless and conscious efforts for the maintenance of the national identity exerted by the 1st and 2nd generations of the Armenians, who had persisted and tried, and are still trying (but inevitable yielded, in the course of time, and are gradually yielding) to confront the new environment and customs. And finally, on pan-national turning point occasions (e.g., 1965 - remembrance of the 50th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, 1988 - Karabagh movement, 1988 - Spitak earthquake, etc.) - on the whole, by the manifestation of solidarity around the Motherland. The above-cited factors have, from time to time, imparted a somewhat sobering, additional charge to the efforts aimed at the maintenance of the national identity in the Diaspora, creating favorable conditions for the reevaluation of the identity, comparatively extending the maintenance of national values.

Simultaneously, from the quantitative and qualitative points of view, the periodic emigrations continuing, from time to time, from the Middle Eastern countries, as well as from the Armenian SSR and subsequently from the Republic of Armenia to the foreign countries, have played and are playing today a significant role in externally “refreshing” the Armenian Diaspora, while in reality – sacrificing new strata of Armenians to the all-assimilating “melting pot.”

Whereas, in the case of Armenians from the Armenia, emigrated to foreign countries, the *comparatively swift process* of “symbolization” can be explained by a number of circumstances. First, it was the result of the serious historical-political events started simultaneously in mid-1980s on the whole territory of the USSR and, particularly in Armenia, of the collapse of the socio-economic situation, as well as of the radical and turning-point modifications of the moral-spiritual-conscious life of the society. The uncertainty and the atmosphere of collusion of public processes, resulting from the anarchy, following the change of the centralized state system, as well as the unavoidable, often artificially created difficulties of the war imposed by the predatory Azerbaijan, the feelings of absence of social prospects have eventually initiated the idea of emigration also among certain Eastern-Armenian community groups. Naturally, among the various strata of Armenians, deprived of the basic means of living and emigrated because of despair or in order to have a more comfortable life or for other purposes, as well as among those, who took flight as a consequence of fraudulent actions, a distorted perception of the newly-independent Armenia has been developed, which has led to a lesser assiduousness for the maintenance of identity in foreign lands and to a tendency to be rapidly integrated to the new environment. And finally, the circumstance of being generally unfamiliar with the customs of the foreign land and with

the classical Armenian Diaspora, in particular, with the linguistic-thinking, socio-cultural, tradition-customary factors and a number of other circumstances play a decisive role.

Consequently, for the former Armenian from Armenia, who in the course of time has experienced a cultural shock and disappointment, has regretted to have emigrated, being confronted every day with the fact of assimilation and gradually becoming self-conscious and not completely altered from the point of view of national, familial, cultural and other values, as well as for the still Armenian-preserved Armenians of Middle East “thanks to” Muslim environment, the possible early return to the Homeland (a fact, which we are witnessing more frequently during the past years concurrently with the gradual stabilization of the political and economic life in Armenia, also as a result of the destructive wars, prevailing in the above-cited regions), can be more realistic and prospective from the standpoint of the maintenance of the family and the generation, as well as of the socio-economic and strategical interests of Armenia. Our past experience demonstrates that at the beginning of the 20th century our compatriots and the greater part of their generations, unwillingly scattered all over the world, found themselves in the same situation. Roaming in the foreign lands and although, on the whole, constantly cherishing the hope to visit someday the Motherland and to be of some assistance to it, they have missed the opportunity, owing to historical-political and other circumstances, and their generations were condemned to assimilation.

The process of “preserving Armenianness” in the Diaspora in the context of the strategic interests of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Mountainous Karabagh

Starting from the beginning of the 20th century and connected with the gradually depending discrepancies between the USSR and the West, the partial freezing of the relations between Armenia and the Diaspora, for decades on end the inculcation of the ideology of “homelessness” (“without a homeland”)³, along with the slackening of the consciousness of the native land due to the generation changes render the whole process of preserving Armenianness in the Diaspora emotional and symbolic, aimless and immaterial, depriving it of its ideological and practical realistic sense, that is - patriotic, land-preserving and Motherland-constructing Armenia-centered basis.

³ The name was put into circulation in 1930s by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF - Dashnaktsoutyun) ideologists for the creation of “homeless” state abroad; later, in 1948, it was used by the American National Committee to Aid Homeless Armenians (ANCHA). For more details, See: Avagyan K., The Prospects of preserving Armenianness in the Diaspora. Who and why oppose to repatriation and nation-collecting, New «Gladzor», Yerevan, 2013, pp. 287-300 (in Arm.).



*The perception of
preserving “homeless” Armenianness - “A Dashnakounid Motherland in Zululand” (1946)
according to the repatriate writer and publicist, public figure and caricaturist from Egypt,
Garnik Svazlian (Pahak)*

And since **“preserving Armenianness”** in the Diaspora is, as a general rule, aimless, that is to say, it has no purposeful, realistic or practical patriotic foundation, in the given case, it is not **Armenia-centered**, on the contrary, it is **“homeless,”** therefore, many representatives of the young generation, who have attended a one-day or an everyday Armenian school (with the main foreign educational system) mainly at the instigation of their parent(s) and have paid their “duty” with regard to their nation “at the price of great sacrifices” (financial, at the expense of their rest and leisure time), on the whole, feel themselves free of their national (ethnic) commitments and can permit themselves to manage the rest of their lives according to the corresponding environment, in which they live (foreign higher education, foreign working place, mixed marriage, etc.). Until the births of mixed-race children, resulting from mixed marriages, or even the births of the children, resulting from intra-national marriages, come to persuade them that “they have nothing to do” for the nation, in reality, for Armenia and for its strategic interests. They consider attending an Armenian school, church and clubs and getting involved in communal activities as a self-consolation and merely as **an institutional Armenian-preservation** in foreign lands, thus, they believe that their duty toward the nation has been accomplished. Consequently, they are not ready and prepared, after some time (especially, following the independence of Armenia) to be repatriated, to live and work in the Motherland, to defend and flourish the native land and, therefore, they are under no obligation. Hence, to be a global citizen is the most

convenient ideological cover for the one-time “Armenian-preserved” group of Armenians, which the latter are easily choosing as their identity.

So that, considering the facts from the standpoint of time and space and also taking into account the individual exceptions, the gradually “symbolizing” Armenians, particularly of the Western countries, are practically becoming for Armenia, for the real strategic interests of the Motherland and for those issuing from the problem-arousing region an “amorphous” or even “questionable” collective body, always subject, ready and obliged to serve the political interests and doctrines of the countries they live in, arousing certain problems to the interests of the national security of Armenia, in some cases, also to the interests of its strategic partner-country, Russia; a circumstance, which the citizens of the Republic of Armenia have frequently witnessed, and are done by some compatriots of the foreign countries enrolled in public-political and other spheres. Taking into consideration the exceptions, it should be noted that this occurrence is distinctive also to the predominant part of Armenians, who have not yet contracted a mixed marriage, living both in the Western and Eastern countries, keeping mainly in touch with national structures, being so-called “Armenian-preserved” (Diasporan Armenian or a former Armenia-inhabitant), since, first and foremost, they are the citizens of their countries, getting there education, work and salary, with the corresponding rights and obligations.

A simple fact is self-explanatory: it concerns the “Armenian-preservedness” of our compatriots transformed into the Diaspora following the Armenian Genocide, that is, the inefficiency of the work accomplished by the political-communal structures with regard to the pan-national priorities. During the past century, compared to the Caucasian (1914-1916) and the Cilician (1916-1918) voluntary movements, the physical involvement of our Diasporan compatriots at the end of the same century, in the years of the Karabagh movement (1988-1994), in the efforts of the liberation of our native territories, was reduced a thousandfold⁴.

Thus, if at the beginning of the 20th century, 5.000 Armenians, from the USA alone, were enrolled in the volunteer movement for the liberation of Cilicia,⁵ then at the end of the century, in the years of the Karabagh movement (1988-1994), were enlisted as volunteers and have taken part in the military operations on non-continual service - 11⁶, on continual service - 3⁷ Armenian-Americans.

It is incomparable also the general participation of the Armenians of Diaspora enrolled as volunteers for the liberation of the native cradle in years of the Karabagh movement with the total number of the Armenians of Diaspora involved in the

⁴ Avagyan K., The idea of preserving homeland and “Homeless” Armeniannes in the Armenian community of the USA, «Lraber hasarakakan gitutyunneri», 2014/2, pp. 41-57.

⁵ Avagyan K., Cilician Armenians in the USA and their contribution to Motherland. American Armenians and “Eastern-Armenian Legion”, «Hask». Armenological yearly, New Period, year 10, 2007-2008, Antilias - Lebanon, 2009, p. 68.

⁶ Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia (Editor-in-chief H. Ayzazyan), Yerevan, «Armenian Encyclopaedia» publishing house, 2004, p. 536.

⁷ Ibid, pp. 265-266, 481, 659.

Caucasian volunteer movement, in the beginning of the 20th century, in the years of World War I. Thus, if during World War I about 3.000 Armenians had arrived in the Caucasus from the USA, Europe and from other parts of the world (Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, Egypt, Persia, etc.),⁸ then during the Karabagh war, the total number of Diasporan volunteers, having continually taken part in the military operations, did not exceed two dozens, while those having a non-continual participation were 120 in number. According to the official data, the "Special Battalion of Shoushi," which was created on September 1, 1992, on the basis of the volunteer detachments of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF - Dashnaktsoutyun) party formed earlier, was periodically replenished with 118 Diasporan volunteers, 64 among them being essentially from the foreign countries (Lebanon - 23, USA - 11, Iran - 9, Canada - 7, France - 7, Syria - 6, Italy - 1) and 54 - from the former territories of the USSR (Georgia - 51 [45 from Javakhk], Russia - 3)⁹.

Many of the Diasporan volunteers were basically the former members of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA, 1975) or reasonable and devoted Armenian youth, filled with the hope of righteous historical retribution or the vengeance for the restoration of trampled national dignity, who, being mainly a generation tempered in the Middle Eastern wars of 1970s, as well as re-emigrants to the USA or elsewhere from the Middle Eastern countries or their children, kept still within themselves the historical memory of the heroic traditions of the Armenian volunteer movements in World War I and the sacred dream to see Armenia liberated and united.

The participation in and the assistance of the Armenians of Diaspora to the war of liberation of Artsakh could be on a much larger scale if, besides the devoted individuals, the political organizations of the Diaspora, too, who are obliged to rally the Armenian people around the national super-problems, would organize their community after the example of the Armenian volunteers of the Caucasian and Cilician (*Armenian Legion*) movements at the beginning of the past century and would favor the efforts of Mother Armenia to liberate a fragment of the 9/10 of historic Armenia found in captivity.

The volunteers of Armenian nationality, arrived from foreign countries and particularly from the USA, have expressed their indignation concerning this matter. These volunteers were, as a consequence of the deprivation of the Western Armenians of their Motherland (Armenian Genocide, 1915-1923), the representatives of mainly the 3rd generation of the Armenians turned into the Diaspora and, from the point of view of the preservation of fundamental elements of national identity under the conditions of the Western globalizing reality, the representatives of the last borderline generation [See Table 1].

⁸ Kirakosyan J., *World War I and Western Armenians. 1914-1916*, Yerevan, 1965, p. 187 (in Arm.); Lazyan G., *Armenia and Armenian National Committee (Հայ դատ)* according to treaties, Cairo, 1942, p. 81 (in Arm.).

⁹ *Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia*, p. 536.

Thus, the legendary model of the valiant and devoted volunteer and commander, **Monte (Avo) Melkonian**¹⁰ (1957, Visalia, near Fresno, CA - 1993, Merzili, near Aghdam, RMK), who was enlisted in 1990 in the defensive forces of Artsakh, considered the liberation of the native land a sacred duty for every Armenian. He has said: *"It is normal that the Armenian comes to defend his Motherland. It is absolutely normal. It is everybody's right and also the duty. And it is surprising that a greater number of Armenians haven't come to do the same thing. That is the only surprising thing. It is not surprising, that one comes to defend his country, it is surprising that one doesn't come to do it. Well... I would very much like that more people came both from Armenia and from the Diaspora to defend their country. That is to say, the real Armenian patriots should be here today, in Artsakh,"*¹¹ since, *"If we lose Artsakh, we shall turn over the last page of the history of the Armenian people..."*¹²

Typical are also the accusing words of the former ARF party member, the commander **Garo Kahkejian**¹³ (1962, Aleppo - 1993, Martakert Region, RMK) (the hero guided by the motto: "My party is my country") to the party having a century-old history: *"You taught us; we are the soldiers you have trained. Why don't you let us go to Karabagh? Is it possible that the oath of the Dashnaks of Karabagh is different from ours? I am also a Dashnak soldier. You taught us the Dashnak revolutionary songs, you told us – you will become Andranik, you will become Gevorg Chavoush; serve your*

¹⁰ It should be reminded that under the leadership of the Armenian-American Monte (Avo) Melkonian only victories, and not a single defeat, were recorded. In 1991, he had founded "The Patriotic Detachment" and in 1992 he was entrusted the duty of the Chief of the Staff of the Martouni Region (Artsakh), and was the Commander of the defensive region. When he was in office, the region was the best defended and the most efficient from the military point of view. M. Melkonian participated in the self-defensive battles of Idjevan and Jambarak (Republic of Armenia), in the battles of the Shahoumian Region (Erkedj, Bouzloukh, Manashid, Karachinar), the liberating battles of Martakert, Martouni (Republic of Mountainous Karabagh). In September, 1992, in the months of March, May, June, 1993, the Regions of Martouni (occupied villages), Karvajar, Aghdam, etc. were liberated by the Armenian battalion under the leadership of M. Melkonian. For his unexampled exploits in the liberation of Artsakh, he was posthumously honored with the titles of "National Hero of Armenia," "National Hero of Artsakh," "Lieutenant-Colonel of the Army of the Republic of Armenia" (1994), as well as he was awarded the medals "Motherland" (RA), "Golden Eagle" (RMK), "Military Cross" of the 1st degree. "Don't drink to my health, but – continue my task," said Monte. [Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia, p. 481: Monte Melkonian, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monte_Melkonian. Today is the birthday of Monte, November 25, 2013, <http://www.kentron.tv/index.php/am/news/item/2421-news-2511>].

¹¹ Today is the birthday of Monte, November 25, 2013, <http://www.kentron.tv/index.php/am/news/item/2421-news-2511>.

¹² Monte Melkonian (Avo) (November 25, 1957 - June 12, 1993), Aphorisms, <http://monte-melkonyan.do.am/index/0-23> (in Arm.).

¹³ It should be reminded that under the heroically sacrificed commander, the Fresno-based Garo Kahkejian (White Bear) has formed and directed, in 1991, in Yerevan, the "Detachment of Crusaders," which recorded undeniable successes in the Karabagh war; until 1993, he has taken part in the self-defensive and liberating battles of the Ararat and Tavoush regions (RA), Askeran, Martakert, Lachin, Kelbadjar, Shahoumian, Shoushi Regions, Berdadzor sub-region (RMK), he has successfully realized reconnaissance tasks, he has transferred from the foreign countries to Artsakh a large quantity of humanitarian aid and medicine. [Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia, Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia, pp. 265-266, 659: Garo Kahkejian, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garo_Kahkejian].

*nation! The day has come, the time has arrived, and now you tell me: "Don't go!" I cannot understand that..."*¹⁴

It was already hard for numerous Diasporan volunteers, who had passed through the crucible of the Karabagh war and were tempered with the afflictions and victories of the nation to return back to the foreign world, consequently, many of them knowingly settled in the Motherland with the intention of contributing to the welfare of the country in peaceful conditions.

Thus, the Armenian-American from Los Angeles **Shahé Ajemian** (1962, Beirut), who fought selflessly in the Karabagh war as the Deputy-Commander of the "Detachment of Crusaders,"¹⁵ said about his decision to settle in Armenia: *"I could definitely settle here only in 1999, when I realized, that I had left my heart in Armenia and I am no longer able to adapt myself to the American psychology and people. ...I can no longer imagine myself without Armenia, my last minute will also be spent here. ...I am not disappointed, it is not easy to break my feelings toward my Motherland"*.¹⁶

The Land-Preservation of the Motherland in the Context of Preserving Armenianness of the Diaspora

Under the new geopolitical conditions created after World War I, the national-public life of the Armenians dispersed in different countries has proceeded in a violent struggle between two opposite ideological-political fronts, which was intensified following World War II.

If, in the past, the positive Armenian-Russian relations were directly proportional to the positive Diaspora-Armenia relations, then in the 20th century the sweeping political and social-economic processes, taking place in Russia and Armenia (the October Revolution in 1917, the sovietization of Armenia in November 29, 2000, World War II in 1939-1945, the repatriation in 1921-1936, 1946-1949, 1962-1982, the Cold War starting from 1946, the collapse of the USSR and the independence of Armenia in 1991, the post-Soviet crisis, the emigration, globalization, etc.), have created a political barrier between the relations of Armenia (consequently also of Russia) and some Diasporan organizations. As a result of that situation, the one-time friendly and realistic collaboration between the Diaspora and Armenia has been converted into an activity depending on international policy, causing considerable damage to the national strategic interests.

¹⁴ Petrosyan A., Armenians of Diaspora on the Battlefield. The division of Crusaders, Yerevan, 2000, pp. 72-73 (in Arm.).

¹⁵ Interview with Shahe Ajemyan, vice-commander of the detachment «Crusaders», n.1, «Zinuzh», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X4mjxfqxpU>. Dedicated to Shahe Ajemyan, vice-commander of the division «Crusaders» on the occasion of his 50th birthday, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kae4hgzellQ>.

¹⁶ Shahe A. Ajemian. 2014, February 23, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=420364954776280&set=a.10541196271659.10922.100004083370590&type=1&theater>. Personal Interview with the Assistant Commander of the "Detachment of Crusaders" Shahé Ajemian. 2014, July 17.

Thus, during the past century, the attitude of the Armenians of Diaspora, in particular, of the Armenian-Americans, with regard to the USSR, consequently also toward Armenia, has been bifurcated according to the course dictated, in international relations, by the Western countries, especially the USA.

Although there is today an Armenian Diaspora in the world numbering more than 10 million people, and despite the fact that after 1985 the liberalization processes occurring in the Soviet Union and, subsequently, the creation, in 1991, of the free and independent Republic of Armenia, as well as the liberation of the Mountainous Karabagh Republic, should have raise a wave of enthusiasm among the Diasporan national circles (who had, for decades on end, lost interest in the “Red Motherland”¹⁷, and had made tireless efforts with the dream of restoring the Armenian statehood and of having a “Free, Independent and United Armenia”), nonetheless, based on *biased ideas* and *preconceived circumstances*, all-community, coordinated, Land-preserving, that is - **Repatriation** and **Motherland-constructing** activities were not realized.

The diminution in the endeavor of Land-preserving among the Diasporan compatriots is the result of both objective and subjective circumstances. First, in a foreign environment, the idea of the cradle is *objectively* inclined to slackening concurrently with the generation change, especially, if the ideological basis of the national education of the communal structures is not realistic. In the given case, the Armenian-maintaining efforts of a considerable section of the Armenian Diaspora, following the Armenian Genocide, in the adoptive countries have assumed an emotional, symbolic, “homeless” character, since as a result of historico-political circumstances, the Motherland-deprived collective body did not have, for decades on end, a definite realistic - Land-preserving, ideological basis, despite the actual existence of Soviet Armenia, as the Mother Country. On the contrary, in some cases, based on *subjective* geopolitical motives, in the foreign countries attempts were made to oppose the realistic, Armenia-centered ideology to passive nation-preservation, whose advocates had put into circulation, still in the beginning of 1920s, the so-called “moral state,” “homeless state,” “spiritual motherland” conceptions, trying to prove that “it is not solely the Motherland that will become the basis of the completion, preservation and legal existence of any collective body,” the role of the Motherland can be assumed by “the nationality, which will gather around itself all those, who have the feeling of affiliation to the same nation.” Hence, “...their principal concern should be to group every Armenian community into one distinctive national unit and to endow it, according to the modern state laws and perceptions, with the necessary rights to conduct its intracommunal national-cultural affairs”¹⁸. Furthermore, every Armenian member of the foreign community should accomplish his duties with regard to the host

¹⁷ It concerns Soviet Armenia (1920-1991) included in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

¹⁸ The viewpoints of the editor of the Cairo-based newspaper “Housaber”, ARF member Vahan Navasardyan See in: Topuzyan H., The History of the Armenian colony of Egypt (1805-1952), Yerevan, 1978, p. 250 (in Arm.).

country “without giving a national (Armenian) shape to any of his steps and without linking his struggle with the fate of the Motherland (Armenia)”¹⁹.

The efforts of the ideologists and realizers of the idea of creating a “homeless state” abroad gained a greater momentum at the end of World War II and in the subsequent years with a view to keeping the Armenians away from their Homeland, which they had lost as a result of the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923) and had taken refuge on a piece of land 1/10 the area of their Historic Motherland, formed by the sovietization of Armenia, concurrently with the deepening of the USSR-Western states ideological-strategic and historical-political confrontation and the following Cold War.

In this manner, paying tribute to the Western - anti-Soviet, and after the collapse of the USSR - anti-Russian propaganda has, naturally, created favorable conditions among the predominant part of our Diasporan compatriots for the formation and the inculcation of “homeless” - segmental, local or selective identity.

As a consequence of all that, a definite segment of the gradually globalizing Armenian Diaspora (party member, ecclesiastical, pedagogue, journalist, sympathizer, etc.) with all its strata (emigrated before and after the Armenian Genocide, former repatriate emigrants, emigrants from independent Armenia) and generations (Armenian, of Armenian origin) is not willing to get involved in the Land-preserving efforts of Armenia and, in some cases, this group of Armenian people becomes opposed to the interests of Armenia and to the interest of its strategic partner countries, instead, they become the servitors of the state structures of the countries they live in, as well as of the international overstate organizations²⁰.

All this became possible also following the collapse of the USSR, in the former Soviet countries (including Armenia); the false alternative “Western values” were introduced internationally from abroad under the name of “democracy,” “openness” and “human rights” in almost all the spheres of life (political, economic, spiritual, scientific, educational, cultural, etc.), simultaneously, consistently, in a disguised and explicit manner.

All this was rendered possible also as a result of anti-Soviet (anti-Russian) propaganda, carried on, for decades on end, by some Diasporan structures abroad with a view to separating the Diaspora from Armenia, who, under the patronage and the close collaboration with foreign structures, conduct a consistent splitting activity²¹, peculiar intra-national “Cold War” struggle, something, which continues also to date.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 249-250.

²⁰ Avagyan K., The Prospects of preserving Armeniannes in the Diaspora. Who and why oppose to repatriation and nation-collection, New «Gladzor», p. 287-300.

²¹ It concerns the inception of the ideology of the creation of a “homeless” state, from the 1930s, the “Cold War” started in 1946, as well as the creation, in 1948, of the American National Committee to Aid Homeless Armenians (ANCHA) in the USA, by means of which 4,500 Armenian expatriates were transferred and settled on the American land [Barsumian N., Stowaway to Heaven, Ohio, 1961, p. 151], the schism of the Armenian Apostolic Church, provoked by the murder in the USA, in 1933, of the spiritual leader, the primate Archbishop Leon Tourian, and later, by the creation in Antilias (Lebanon), in 1956, of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, subsequently also in the

Or, under the conditions of the prolonged and disastrous war in Syria, appeals were²² made to restore and reconstruct even the ruined national structures, with a tendency to often overestimate, from the valuation point of view, the adopted land (the “Syrian motherland”) compared to the Motherland Armenia.

Even in that case, when Kuwait offered a considerable sum, 100,000 US dollars, through the Committee for Islamic Charity to Syrian-Armenians, who had found shelter in Armenia²³, the political-party segmental ideology, unfortunately, nowadays again, tries to keep the diverse sections of the Diasporan society away from the Motherland, preferring to support the refugee Armenians to settle abroad²⁴, offering the Armenians of foreign countries the option to (re)construct “motherlands” in alien lands, which is a meaningless activity, devoid of prospects, whereas the Motherland - the Republic of Armenia and Karabagh need the unbargainable assistance of their sons.

Unfortunately, the situation is the same also in other communities, where under the conditions of the development and expansion of similar or other events (which cannot be excluded in the course of time), the return to the Motherland remains bargainable, preference being given mainly to emigration to foreign lands (we have examples of Armenians departed and departing from Iraq, Egypt and Syria), whereas the free and independent Motherland (which is on its way to become united as well, following the liberation of Artsakh)²⁵ is being regarded as a springboard or a transit place.

That is to say, an attempt is gradually being made, based on political subjective motives, to ignore and to even bury in oblivion the fact about how and under what

1960-1970s, by the reinstatement of the ANCHA activities 18,500 Armenians from the Middle Eastern countries, as well as from Soviet Armenia emigrated to the USA [Pirumyan R., Avagyan K., United States of America, «Armenian Diaspora. Encyclopaedia», Yerevan, 2003, p. 37], etc.).

²² Toward Reconstruction. The Appeal of Aram I to the Armenian People from Troubled Aleppo. January 9, 2017, <http://asbarez.com/arm/272583/> (in Arm.).

²³ Kuwait to allocate \$ 100,000 to Syrian Armenians in Armenia. 2012, November 29, <http://news.am/eng/news/130510.html>.

²⁴ Thus, on November 11, 2012, the US government, responding to the appeal of four prominent Armenian-American lawyers, has reconsidered the former resolution of the Homeland Security Department of the US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) to grant the Armenian-Syrians merely a “Temporary Protected Status” (TPS) and has permitted to issue for them “Visa Waivers” [US Government responds to Prominent Armenian-American lawyers call upon US Government to issue visa-waivers for Syrian-Armenians. Center for Armenian Remembrance. Press Release. 2012, November 12, <http://www.centerarnews.com/>]. Before long, their innumerable friends and relatives from the USA and elsewhere expressed their readiness to assist the US government to ensure facilities to the Syrian-Armenians for their entry to the USA. Whereas, the Armenians of Diaspora should have displayed unanimity in order that the transfer and the accommodation of our compatriots from war-ruined Syria would have been realized in the Republics of Armenia and Mountainous Karabagh, concurrently with the activities of the local authorities, and not in the USA, as well as a substantial material aid should have been offered to our Diasporan compatriots to ensure their transportation to the Motherland, their lodging and their employment.

²⁵ “Free, Independent and United Armenia” - the credo of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF – Dashnaktsoutyoun), proclaimed in 1919. See: Independent and united Armenia, https://hy.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent_and_united_Armenia.

historical-political circumstances (Genocide, Patriocide: Motherland-deprivation) have the ancestors of our Diasporan compatriots found themselves in foreign lands. After all, as the ideologist of Repatriation and Motherland-construction, Garnik Svazlian has written: "We were not scattered all over the world in order to have a Diaspora, but violence and persecution have compelled us to be dispersed"²⁶.

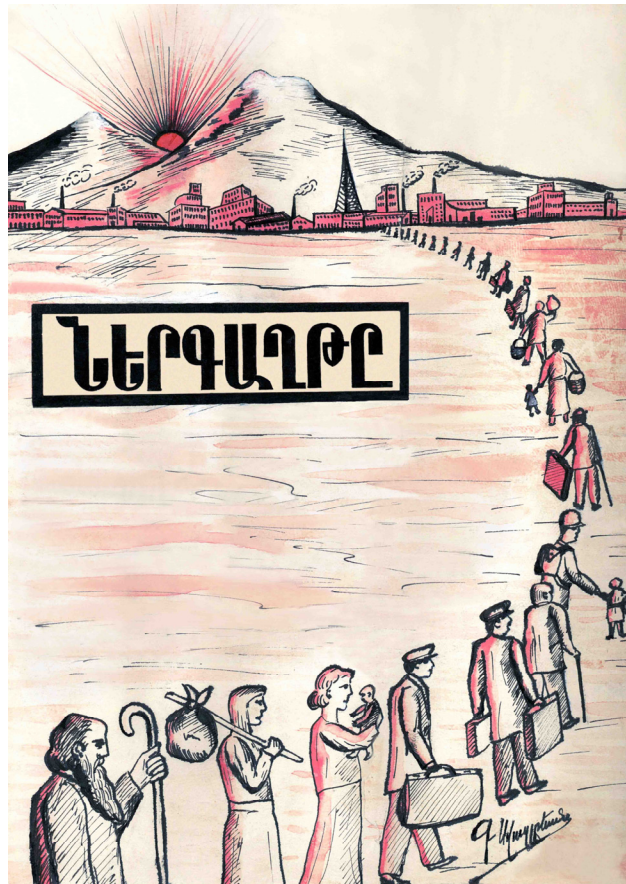
Undoubtedly, the expansionist-globalist interests of the West (i.e. USA, partly Europe) have perpetually been and continue to be opposed to the political interests of the region (Middle East, Russia and other countries, except Turkey and Israel), also Armenia. Consequently, the relations between the Diaspora and Armenia have always been and continue to be anchored in that political priorities, with all the sequels, resulting from them. That is why, the change in the political systems in Armenia, from the Soviet to the independent social system, did not bring about a substantial and turning point modification in the pan-national attitude of our Diasporan compatriots with regard to the Motherland and remained politicized. On the contrary, if in the days of the Soviet social system it was evident which fragment of the Diaspora was oriented toward Armenia (Democratic Liberal Party - Ramkavar, the Social Democratic Hnchak Party, the neutrals, etc.), and which are not (the Armenian Revolutionary Federation - Dashnaktsoutyun), then, under the conditions of independent Armenia, the political bodies and the communal structures, functioning under their patronage (with a few exceptions), are almost homogeneously, unanimously, speaking in one voice, if not to say – are collectively "positioned" toward the problems of Armenia. Those positions are, moreover, not always in agreement with the priorities of the economic, political, strategical interests of Armenia and of its strategic partner countries.

Under similar conditions, it is senseless to consider the efficiency of realizing a target-aimed and practical **"Armenian-preservation"** in the Diaspora and of "keeping the Diaspora itself" under the pretext of keeping alive the Armenian Case, a viewpoint, which is periodically announced in the Diaspora. The struggle for the Armenian Case, continuing already for a whole century, was converted into a never-ending, time-consuming and extremely expensive end in itself a lobbystic activity (which, at best, is aimed at the acknowledgment of the fact of the Armenian Genocide by this and that country or, nowadays, by the facts of the independence of Mountainous Karabagh), which, after all, leads to undesirable results for the national demand issues from the political and legal points of view, since it depends on the subjective attitude of the "political expediency" of the international structures and, consequently, it contradicts their general geopolitical projects²⁷.

²⁶ Svazlyan G., The sense of immigration and its value for my country, Yerevan, 1965, p. 76.

²⁷ Instead, on February 17, 2008, the fact of the Albanian authorities of Kosovo to win independence from Serbia, without a prolonged lobbystic activity, was immediately recognized by the USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, as well as 64 UN member states. While the UN Security Council members, Russia and China, on the contrary, showed their solidarity with Serbia. [Saryan S., On the Kosovo problem, 24.09.2010, <http://www.noravank.am/arm/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=5041>] That bargain became possible since the

And since **patriotism** should be at the basis of the realistic **Armenian-preservation**, consequently, it is necessary also to unreservedly assist, in practice, the **only** Motherland, with **mass Repatriation** and with **sizable Motherland-construction**.



*The perception of
“Land-preservation” - “The Repatriation” (1943)²⁸ to the Motherland
according to the repatriate writer and publicist, public figure and caricaturist from Egypt,
Garnik Svazlian (Pahak)*

creation and the protection of an independent administrative unit by the Albanian Muslims within Serbia, having a mainly Christian population, formed a pivotal part of the “geopolitical expediency” of international organizations, by banishing the Christians from the territories of strategic importance.

²⁸ This drawing is the staging advertisement of Garnik Svazlian’s drama “The Repatriation” (Alexandria, 1936), which was put on the stage in various communities of the world (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and elsewhere), in 1940s, raising an inspiring wave of repatriation in the circles of the Armenians of Diaspora [Topuzyan H., Svazlyan Garnik Markos, «Armenian Soviet Encyclopaedia», vol. XI, Yerevan, 1985, p. 88 (in Arm.). For more detailed information about him see Avagyan K., Preconditions of the organization and process of immigration (1947-1948 թթ.). Lessons of immigration ideology of Egyptian Armenian Garnik Svazlyan «1946-1948 Repatriation and its lessons. Problems of repatriation today», Pan-Armenian conference (December 12-14, 2008, Tsachkadzor), Yerevan, 2009, p. 120-140] (in Arm.). Starting from 1994, the drama “The Repatriation” was repeatedly put on the stage also in Yerevan and in various regions of Armenia with a view to prevent the started emigration [Danielyan M., To be consolidated in the Motherland, «Republic of Armenia», newspaper, 26 November, 1999, № 231 (2445), p. 7. Martirosyan Hr., Spectacle as an- alarm, «Noratert» newspaper, Yerevan, December 10, 1999, № 123, p. 13]. This drawing was also put into circulation by various authors; in addition, it was reproduced on the cover of the book (Stepanyan A., The XX century immigration in the context of Armenian identity, Yerevan, 2010 [In Arm.]).

We believe that the only fixed goal of real **Armenian-preservation** should always be to ideologically, physically and materially **prepare** the Diasporan generations and to **guide** them exclusively to the Republic of Armenia, now also – to Karabagh (Artsakh), to an **unbargainable mass Repatriation and Home-coming**, as well as to **Motherland-construction and rebuilding**, to continue and to expand, with a profound ideological conviction, the **implementation of target-aimed extensive strategic investments** (in economy, housebuilding and other spheres) in the interests of the development and progress of the country.

At the same time, it is necessary for the generations of the Armenians of Diaspora to exert efforts to comprehend the Motherland and its people, who are enduring the unspeakable everyday external and internal hardships of the unfinished war with Azerbaijan, to get accustomed, to adapt themselves to the native environment (as the Armenians of foreign countries, in the whole, are integrated into the foreign, heterolingual, heterodox and even heteroethnic various communities and even in the countries having uncommon customs, and as the Armenians, living in the Motherland, on the whole, are welcoming and mixing with the newcomers, often creating quite privileged conditions for the repatriates).

Taking into account the invariable geopolitical tendencies toward the strategic peculiarities of the region, as well as the global developments taking place on the international arena, following World Wars I and II and especially after the collapse of the USSR, Russia's factor has always been and continues to be, as a fundamental and decisive condition, at the center of relations between our compatriots of the Diaspora, who have become the citizens of the world, as well as certain national structures, cooperating with international organizations and Armenia, while the Russian orientation of Armenia has become the main constant reason of discord, speculations and plots.

Consequently, Russia's constant political and military successes recorded in the international sphere, its continually rising authority as a supporter of civilization and peace, the Armenian-Russian developing and intensifying trade-economical, military and political cooperation can have also a favorable influence on the Armenian Diasporan circles for the reconsideration of the hardened views shaped thus far with regard to the native land – Armenia and its strategic ally, Russia, to the restoration and reinforcement of confidence and, generally speaking, to the revision and revaluation of the political views of the Armenians of Diaspora themselves, in the interests of Russia, Armenia, the Caucasus and for the security of the whole region.

Consequently, it is possible, under the precarious, unpromising, highly dangerous conditions of the Middle East, as well as the Western countries, under the increasingly dreadful geopolitical conditions threatening the mankind and civilization, 100 years after the Armenian Genocide, once again under the menace of assimilation and physical annihilation in alien lands, to prepare the Armenians to make, from the ideological and moral-psychological viewpoint, a transition from a century-old passive, futile, vagrant, "homeless" *unwise Armenian-preservation to a practical Land-preservation*, "To the

Motherland” (“Depi Yerkir” - in Arm.) **Repatriation** and **Homeland-building**. Repatriation, which implies that the Diaspora should ideologically, physically and materially direct the Armenians to an unbargainable massive Homecoming, to the Republic of Armenia and to Artsakh, the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh, which was liberated at the price of the blood shed by the heroes.

Otherwise, the Diaspora, as a collective body of national importance, with its aimless, “homeless” and inefficient “Armenian-preservation,” is doomed to assimilation and disappearance under the constantly changing, rapidly globalizing geopolitical conditions, ceaselessly facing new challenges.

Whereas, real and practical **Armenian-preservation** is **Land-preservation**, which is ***the basis and the condition of eternity of nation-preservation***, while ***preserving Armenianness without Land-preservation is meaningless***.

***Translated from Armenian
by T. H. Tsoulikian***